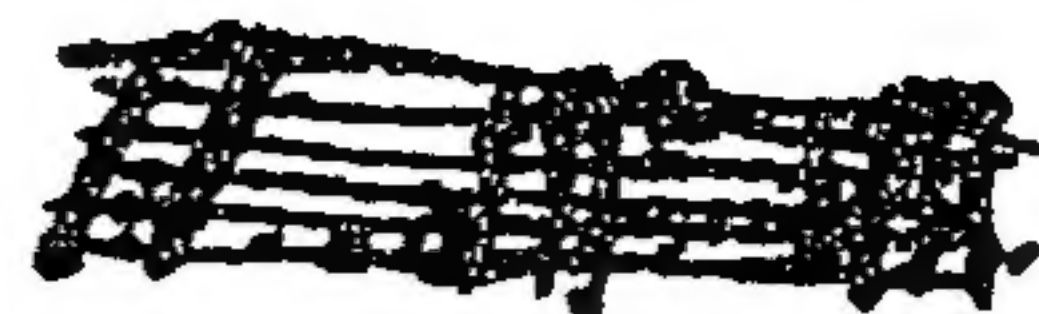


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VOL. V.



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MDCCLX.

MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK XVIII.

CHAP. XII.

Terra Australis : Or, A history of the Southern Continent.

SECT. I.

- I**T has been a long disputed point, whether Science stands more indebted to speculation, or to practice founded upon accident; whether the greatest discoveries have been made by men of deep thought, or by persons of long experience? It would, however, seem to be a controversy easily decided, by justly stating the proposition; since it is certain that the most useful discoveries have been the result of a just mixture of both. Hence it was that the first idea of the possibility of sailing round the world had its origin. The ingenious *Genoese, Columbus*, first laid down his system of the world from his conception; adding to it the proofs he had drawn from experience. Both he, *Magellan, Le Maire, &c.* were men of genius, erudition for those days, and experience; without the union of which we should, perhaps, never have owed the discovery of *America* to the first, of the streights called by his name to the second, nor the most commodious passage round *Cape Horn* to the third. In all attempts of this nature, those men only ought to be employed, who, to the competent abilities of seamen, have added a general capacity, a tincture of science, with a solid and enlarged judgment. The want of these has been the cause why mankind have so long been amused with idle fables, and monstrous absurdities substituted in the room of true and useful history. Voyages, in general, have been so insipid, tedious, false, and inconsistent, that a reader may toil through folios, and remain ignorant of the most essential articles; points of the greatest importance both to himself and his country. This has not only been an obstruction to true science, but also to the commerce, wealth, and power of nations; since, upon true relations of former attempts, depends the success of future enterprizes.
- c** To a narrow system of politics we may likewise, in some measure, attribute the many absurd and ridiculous accounts published of different parts of the globe, and more particularly of the Southern Continent, as a more perfect knowledge might probably interfere with the interest of certain corporations, or individuals, who bear a considerable influence. To what but such selfish views can we ascribe the conduct of the *Dutch*, who would seem no less diligent in suppressing, than others would be in publishing, every account of this great tract of country, which could induce people to open a communication with, or settle colonies in it? Can we help believing, that the reason why the journals of *Pelsart*, and other unsuccessful
- Introduction to the history of the Terra Australis.*
- Reasons why so imperfect relations of this part of the globe have hitherto appeared.*
- Mod. Hist. Vol. V. B voyagers,

Lib. Bib. Acad. Edin.

The jealousy
of the Dutch
East India
company, lest a
commerce with
the Terra Au-
stralis should
be opened.

The manner in
which the au-
thors propose to
describe the
Terra Austra-
lis.

voyagers, were permitted to see the light, was any other than to deter men by the hardships a they underwent, the frightful descriptions of the country, and monstrous pictures they drew of the inhabitants of *New Guiney* and *New Holland*, from approaching so inhospitable a shore? Certain it is, that nothing could be more prejudicial to the interest of all the *India* companies in *Europe*, though perhaps nothing would more conduce to the increase of industry and commerce, than the success of that design set on foot by the *Dutch West India* company in 1721, of opening a traffick with different parts of the Southern Continent. That the *East India* company looked upon it in this light, is apparent from their having seized *Roggewin*, the person intrusted with the expedition, and condemned his ship and cargo at *Batavia*, where he put in for refreshments (A). Experience proves how advantageous to trade, manufactures, and the naval strength of a nation, all new discoveries are; how they heighten the spirit of b industry, and enlarge the sphere and marts of trade; yet has this probably valuable country been almost totally neglected, and no attempts have been made by any nation in *Europe* to settle a colony in it. If we may judge from the climate, as well as from the relations of such mariners as have touched upon the coasts of *New Holland* and *New Guiney*, no part of the world more abounds in the richest merchandize, or at least is more capable of producing them. Some travellers even describe them as abounding with rich vallies, pleasant and wholesome water-brooks, gold, silver, mace, nutmegs, ginger, and sugar-canes of an extraordinary size, with fowls, fish, and every thing conducive to the happiness and luxury of life (B). However, as no complete account of the Southern Continent has yet appeared, we shall lay before the reader a view of the particulars in each voyage which best deserve his attention, leaving c him thence to judge of the truth of the preceding reflections. This we apprehend to be the most satisfactory method of treating the history of a country but little known, and most conducive to the success of future attempts towards new discoveries.

ALL the southern part of the globe has been little frequented. It would have the appearance of nothing more than a prodigious tract of ocean, unless capes and coasts had been discovered, a certain sign of a continent. In all the voyages hither, when the course was held eastward betwixt *Africa* and *America*, for a run of 48 degrees, continual signs of a neighbouring shore were observed; and one proof of the Southern Continent's being divided from the other parts of the world, is, that the circumnavigation of the globe has been performed parallel to the equator, always leaving the Southern Continent on that side. Hence it is, d that no irrefragable proofs have yet appeared, whether *America*, towards *California*, be joined to *Asiatic Russia*. But that a more distinct view of this matter, and the most complete materials for farther improvements, may be laid before the reader, we shall give a faithful abridgment of the chief voyages to the south, and sum up the whole with such reflections as naturally rise from the facts, without wresting or torturing any thing into a proof of a favourite hypothesis (C).

(A) The judicious reflection of the famous *John de Witte* merits attention. His words are these: "When the *East India* company had attained to a certain extent of wealth and power, their interest became opposite to that of their country. For, whereas the advantage of the *Dutch* consists in the increase of their manufactures, commerce, and freight of ships, that of the company inclines them to promote the sale of foreign manufactures, with the least traffick and navigation in their power. Hence it is a settled point, that if the company gains more by importing *Japan* cloths, *Indian* quilts, &c. than raw silk; or if, by creating a scarcity of nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon, and other things, they can raise the price of them, so as to gain as much by 100 tons as they would by 1000, we are not to expect they will import those raw silks, or put themselves to the expence of transporting 1000 tons of spices, though the former would assist our manufactures, and the latter increase our navigation." This judicious reflection we see verified not only in the conduct of the *Dutch*, but nearer home; where, to the eternal infamy of those in whose hands it is, the spirit of trade is rather confined than pushed to its utmost extent, as is evident in two monopolies in the kingdom.

(B) So little is this country known, that some writers take it for a part of the continent of *America*; other for a large cluster of islands; and one or two others for a fifth division of the terraqueous globe. *Dampier* positively affirms, that in no part does it communicate with *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*. Our reasons for calling it a continent will appear in the sequel.

(C) We give that part the name of the Southern Continent, which lies beyond the three southern points of the known world; that is, beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*, the *Moluccas* and *Celebes*, and the *Streights of Magellan*; a space containing about 8 or 10 millions of square leagues, which is more than a division of the globe. Nor is it possible to suppose such a vast tract of sea without a continent, and that an extensive one of solid earth, south of *Asia*, to preserve the necessary counterpoise and equilibrium of the globe in its rotation. Let any one consider the two hemispheres of the globe, cut by the equator and not by the meridian, he will be amazed to find so great an expanse of land in the one, and so little in the other. From such an examination of the whole it will appear, that there is a continent only of 120 degrees cut by the *Atlantic* ocean in the one part, while on the other a body of water remains of 240 degrees, separated only by some little islands. Hence we may conclude, that the weight of the Arctic hemisphere would be more than proportionable to the Antarctic, unless there was a tract of continent hitherto unknown in the latter. What the consequence of such an inequality would be, every one the least conversant with geographical problems is well acquainted with. Sufficient it is for our purpose, that physical reasons, as well as the proofs drawn from experience, assure us, that a large tract of hitherto-unknown country must necessarily lie south of the equator; and this we call the Southern Continent (1).

(1) Vide *Buffon's Works*, vol. ii. p. 125. *Collect. de Maurijas*, t. m. i. sub fin.

- a. BESIDES the voyages to the *Streights of Magellan*, the first persons who are said to have penetrated to *New Guinea* and *New Holland*, were *Binot Paulmier de Gonneville*, a Frenchman, and *Alvaar de Saavedra*, a Spaniard. All the best historians agree, that to the latter is owing the discovery of *New Guinea*, A. 1528; though the French labour hard to prove the merit of this discovery due to their own countryman; yet so fabulous is the account said to be drawn from the papers of *Gonneville*, so romantic the air of the narrative, as well as imperfect in dates, latitudes, and the longitude of the places he describes, that we cannot help looking upon the whole as a fiction^a. Admitting it to be true, it can prove of little use towards further discoveries, the true end of all such journals. *Saavedra* gave it the name of *New Guinea*, because he supposed it to be diametrically opposite to *Guinea* on the coast of *Africa*, as well as from the resemblance between the inhabitants of these two countries both in complexion, features, and the woolly hair. Others call it *Terra de Papa*, alleging, that *Papa* signifies *black*, in the language of the country^b. As in other respects the journal of *Saavedra* is greatly deficient, we shall pass it over, to recite those of subsequent navigators, who are more minute and exact in their narratives. Among the first is that of *Don Pedro Fernandez de Quiros*, a Portuguese by nation, who, in the year 1606, went to *Lima* in the squadron of *Alvaro de Mandano*, in which he served as pilot; from whence, it is probable, he had made a voyage into the *Pacific Ocean* before that time^c. Upon this occasion, he discovered the island called after his name, lying in 20° lat. and 240° longitude. Running after this 20° and 10' parallel, he discovered a number of other unknown islands. *Schouten* and *Roggewin* afterwards steered the same course with *de Quiros*; and his account is confirmed by the most experienced and faithful seamen, although it had been for a great number of years looked upon as fiction at the court of *Madrid*. *Philip III.* of *Spain* being extremely desirous to prosecute the discoveries already made in the *Pacific Ocean* by *Gallego* and *Mindano*, in both which expeditions *Quiros* had served, proposed to send him to conduct another voyage from *Peru*, where he was to be furnished with two proper ships, and every other necessary for the success of the design. *Quiros*, although he had suffered extreme hardships for the space of eleven years, in his former voyages, readily undertook this; the success of which will best appear from the contents of his memorial delivered in to the court of *Spain* after his return^d.
- d. IN this memorial he represents to his catholic majesty, that the continent he desired to settle was south of the equator, equal in bigness to *Europe* and the *Lesser Asia* together, a great part of it lying in the torrid zone; and therefore, in his opinion, likely to abound in the richest commodities. It ought, he says, to be esteemed the fourth part of the globe; an assertion we do not well comprehend, unless he reckons *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, the first part, the *East Indies* the second, *America* the third, and this new-found country the fourth division. As to its extent, his own experience led him no farther than the 15th degree southern latitude; yet, from what *De Torres* and *Mindano* observed, he conjectures it may be about 90° in breadth. The people about 15° S. L. he describes of various complexions, some white, some black, and others of a tawny colour. He is positive that the countries in this part are populous and well cultivated, the natives of a tame peaceable disposition, and extremely industrious, as far as their knowledge extends. He describes particularly in his journal (now lost), to which the petition refers, the plants, trees, beasts, birds, and fishes, with the whole natural history of it, affirming that it affords all the conveniencies of life in the utmost plenty, together with gold, silver, spices, and sugar-canes. He describes the bays of *St. James* and *St. Philip*, which are large and commodious, and their fine harbour, capable of containing 1000 ships, he calls *La Vera Cruz*, in the neighbourhood of seven islands; one of which he surrounded, finding it about 50 leagues in circumference. The haven lies in 15° 40' S. L. *Quiros* expatiates on the advantages that might arise from a settlement there, and insists particularly on its being the properest means for uniting the large dominions of *Spain* in the *East* and *West Indies*, as lying between both, and affording an easy opportunity of carrying on a safe and beneficial trade with either. This he offered to demonstrate to such commissioners as should be appointed by his majesty to examine into the affair, provided they were competent judges, and sufficiently skilled in geography. But whether these commissioners were ever appointed, and the proposals of *Quiros* examined, we have no proof.
- f. As a proof that commerce is carried on among the inhabitants of different countries of the Southern Continent, he describes them not only of different complexions, but says, that some wore long, black, and strait hair; others short, thick, and crisped wool upon their heads. They are very ignorant in mechanics, and live without fortifications or walls, without kings,

New Guinea discovered, A. 1527-8.

Voyage of Fernandez de Quiros into the Pacific Ocean. A. D. 1606.

An account of the memorial presented by Quiros to Philip III. of Spain.

A description from Quiros of the Terra Australis, or Southern Continent.

Quiros's opinion on that a commerce is carried on among the several

^a Hist. des Navigat. aux Terres Aust. tom. i. p. 102.

CHAS, tom. vi. p. 1442.

^b Hist. des Navigat. p. 104. tom. i.

^c PUR-

CHAS.

nations of the
Southern Con-
tinent.

laws, or government, in a kind of primitive simplicity and innocence (D). Notwithstanding which, their promiscuous manner of living occasions frequent quarrels and ruptures, when the weapons they use are bows and arrows, clubs, pikes, darts, &c. all of wood. They wear a sort of covering from the waist down to the middle of the thigh, and are finically nice in neatness and cleanliness, nothing offending their natural good-humour and chearful temper so much as a slovenly disposition. Hence *Quiros* concludes how easy it would be to establish a colony among them. They build with wood, covering their houses with palm-tree leaves. Pitchers and vessels they make of a kind of loam, or earth dried in the sun : scissars, saws, and knives, they make of mother of pearl and oyster-shells ; which shews that they are not so ignorant of mechanics as *Quiros* calls them ; especially as he acknowledges that the art of weaving or knitting is not unknown to them. Their boats are excellently fitted either to row or sail with the utmost celerity ; an undeniable proof that either they border upon some civilized nations, or have themselves made some progress in the arts ^c.

A description
of the people,
produce, and
nature, of the
Southern Con-
tinent.

THERE are three kinds of roots in great abundance, of which the natives make a very agreeable sort of bread, with very little trouble. The country abounds in the most delicious fruits, as almonds, cocoa-nuts, lemons, oranges, guavas, and mangoes. The palm-tree affords them a juice greatly resembling and little inferior to wine. From this they make a kind of whey and vinegar, as also an excellent honey by evaporation. A species of fruit they call the *cocos* is in great esteem among them, as it affords both meat and drink, besides an excellent burning oil, that exsudes from the shell exposed to the sun. From the whole description, however, of this fruit he dwells so long upon, it appears to be no other than the cocoa-nut ; which he mentions as a different fruit in another part of the memorial. Of the palm-leaves they make sails for their small boats, and a kind of ingenious mats or carpets, either for ciellings, floors, or hangings. *Quiros* affirms, that he has likewise seen melons, apples, pears, and other *European* fruits, among them, more excellent in proportion to the warmth of the climate, although this be a rule which does not hold universally. He has even tasted their beans, which, with the pork of that country, make an exquisite dish. The country affords plenty of hens, capons (for the art of castrating fowls is common among them), partridges, ducks, pigeons, turtles and stock-doves, besides cows, oxen, and goats ; none of which *Quiros* however saw. Their coasts abound with fish of various kinds, upon which *Quiros's* crew chiefly lived during their stay here. Nutmegs, mace, ginger, and pepper, they found here, some of which they carried with them to *Mexico*, it proving in every respect equal to what is brought from the *Moluccas*. He likewise takes notice of cinnamon, and says it is probable that the country likewise affords cloves, as it not only produces the other spices, but lies parallel with the island of *Ternate*, *Banda*, and the *Moluccas* ; a method of reasoning by no means unnatural. Many materials are produced for cordage and sail-cloth, and the whole abounds with wood of various sorts, of which the most valuable is ebony. He mentions a bituminous exsudation from the *cocos*, which might well supply the room of pitch, with a mixture of bees-wax and tallow, of which the climate affords abundance ; concluding, that nothing besides iron is wanting towards ship-building ; and this he thinks possible the country may likewise supply at a greater distance from the Tropics ^f.

As to the soil, it is rich and fertile, producing every thing almost spontaneously, or with very little culture. The fields are divided, interlaced, and watered, by pleasant brooks and rivers, that fall down from the mountains. Many of the rivers are so large as to afford the strongest arguments of the prodigious extent of this track of land. The air is pure and healthy, which he proves from the perfect health the whole crew enjoyed during their residence on the coast ; and one thing very remarkable is, that, unlike other warm climates, it is intirely free of every kind of noxious vermin ; no gnats, flies, and musquitos, in the air ; no crocodiles, serpents, or snakes, either by land or by water ; in short, nothing that can disturb or molest the most perfect enjoyment and tranquillity. Upon the whole, he scruples not to prefer this track of country to all the conquests of the *Spaniards* in both *Indies*.

THE account he gives of his taking possession of this fourth part of the globe, as he calls it, is somewhat remarkable. We shall therefore give it in his own words, especially as it will shew the reader the necessity we are under of giving only an extract of the whole. “ Such, Sire, are the greatness and goodness of the countries which I have discovered, of which I have already taken possession in the name of your majesty, and under your royal banner, as appeareth by the acts which I keep safely in my power, whereunto I proceeded in the following manner :
“ 1. Sire, we erected a cross, and built a church in honour of our *Lady of Loretto*. Then we

^c PURCHAS, tom. iv. p. 1423.

^f Ibid. tom. i. p. 1424. Hist. de Navigat. ibid.

(D) The reader is to observe that *Quiros* is here latitude, where he put into several bays on the continent. speaking of the people living about 15° 40' north

“ caused

- a “ caused twenty masses to be celebrated there, our troops all passing thither to receive certain indulgences upon *Whitsunday*. We also made a solemn procession, and observed the feast of the Blessed Sacrament, which was carried in procession, your majesty’s banner flying before it, through a great circuit of countries, honoured with the preference of the same. In three several places we set up our title, in each of which we erected a column with the arms of your majesty engraved upon them. Hence you have received a prodigious addition of territory, this country stretching beyond words into the continent. I have therefore presented to your majesty’s other titles, that of *La Austrialia del Espiritu Santo*, the which I wish may be blazoned and spread over the face of the whole world, for the glory of God, and the honour of your majesty^f.”
- b In another memorial, which *Purchas* has preserved in the original *Spanish*, he recites most of the particulars we have related, together with many other circumstances, which would seem to speak it his last effort to have colonies sent thither. Here, besides the country already described, he gives the names of about twenty islands; viz. *Yaumico*, *Manicola*, *Chicayana*, *Guatopo*, *Mecarayla*, *Tucopio*, *Fonoforo*, *Pilan*, *Papon*, and others, which it would be tedious to relate. Describing the bay of *St. Philip and St. James*, or *Baya de Sant Felipe y Sant Jago*, and harbour of *Vera Cruz*, he believes them to belong to the continent, as he judges from the high double mountains, and the largeness of the river *Jordan*. *Quiros* staid ten days in the island of *Yaumico*. Here the king, or lord, called *Tamay*, was of great service to him, with his people, in supplying the ships with fruits, roots, and fresh water. He was a man of sense, tall, and full-bodied; his colour of a sea-ware, or reddish; his eyes light, his nose aquiline, his hair and beard curled, with a grave aspect and majestic deportment. He described, by signs, about 60 islands, and a great country called *Manicola*, lying from S. S. E. to N. E. To represent the large islands, he drew large circles, or irregular figures, and smaller ones for the lesser islands. In representing the continent, he opened his arms, pointed to the sun, shut his eyes, and made other gesticulations, expressing that it would be ten weeks sailing to surround the islands. *Quiros*, the following day, saw many more of the natives, all of whom perfectly agreed in their accounts. When he departed, he carried off four of the inhabitants, three of which died before his arrival at *Mexico*; but the other, after having learned the *Spanish*, coincided with the relation given by his countrymen.
- c He carries off some of the natives with him to Mexico, whose account perfectly agreed with what *Quiros* related.
- d This man gave an account of an island distant about three days sailing from *Yaumico*, which, he said, was larger than *Yaumico* and *Chicayana* taken together. This he called *Guatopo*, inhabited by people chiefly of white complexions, and various-coloured hair. He launched out greatly into the fertility and wealth of *Manicola*, which induced *Quiros*, from the signs he made, to make trial how far he understood him, or how true his relation might be. On his arrival here, he found every thing corresponding with the account of the *Indian*, and rather exceeding than falling short of his description^g. Upon the whole, *Quiros* would seem to be of opinion, that those islands were in the neighbourhood of a continent stretching from 240° longitude to *New Holland* and *New Guinea*, the islands of *Solomon* lying surrounded by that part of the ocean from 12° lat. quite to the equinoctial line. How far his conjectures are verified by future navigators, we shall be able to judge from the voyages of *Roggevin*, and others (E).

^f Lib. ult. citat. p. 115. tom. i.^g PURCHAS, tom. i. p. 1425.

(E) We have not given the particulars of the voyage, as we found it in the *French* collection, for the following reasons. 1. Because we have some doubts concerning the authenticity of that journal, as *Purchas* speaks of it

as lost; and, 2. Because all the particulars contained in it are found in the Memorial and Journals of *Schouten* and *Roggevin*.

S E C T. II.

Giving an account of the voyages and discoveries of William Cornelison Schouten, and Jaques Le Maire, in the South Seas.

Account of Le Maire and Schouten, with the intention of their voyage.

THE exclusive charter of the *Dutch East India* company was extremely displeasing to a number of the most considerable merchants in *Holland*, who were desirous of fitting out ships at their own expence, upon new discoveries. They thought it an intolerable grievance that they should be prohibited by the government, contrary to the law of nature, from using those passages, and reaping the fruits of those circumstances which Providence so wisely intended. Among these was *Isaac Le Maire*, a rich merchant of *Amsterdam*, well acquainted with business, of an enterprising spirit, directed by a sound judgment. *Le Maire* was desirous of employing part of the wealth he had acquired in trade to the advantage of posterity, and in building fame for himself as a discoverer. With this view he applied to *Schouten*, a man in easy circumstances, of great reputation as a seaman, and perfect knowledge in the *East Indies*, to which he had performed several voyages in the different stations of master, pilot, and supercargo. The question proposed by *Le Maire* to the intelligent *Schouten* was, Whether he did not believe it possible to find another passage, besides the *Streights of Magellan*, into the *South Seas*; and whether, if this discovery was made, the countries to the south of that passage might not afford as rich commodities as either the *East* or *West Indies*? *Schouten* gave it as his opinion that such a passage was highly probable, and was still more positive with respect to the wealth and fertility of the southern countries. After many conversations upon the subject, a resolution was formed of attempting the discovery, from a full persuasion that the States General could not intend, by their exclusive charter to the *East India* company, to preclude their other subjects from discovering countries on the south, by a new route, distinct from either the passage to *India* by the *Streights of Magellan* or the *Cape of Good Hope*. In consequence of this, an agreement was entered upon, whereby *Le Maire* and his friends furnished one moiety of the expence, and *Schouten* and his friends the other. Accordingly, the following spring, A. 1615, two ships were equipped with every thing necessary for the voyage, which was to be under the direction of *Schouten* in person, and *Jaques Le Maire*, son to *Isaac Le Maire*, who was to act in quality of a supercargo.

They determine to search for another passage than the Streights of Magellan into the South Sea.

On *May* the 25th, they weighed anchor from the *Texel*, and had sight of the *Madeira*s on the 11th of *July*, where *Schouten* resolved not to touch, that no time might be lost. On the 20th they fell in with the north side of *Cape Verd*, a north-east wind obliging them to anchor there. Here the *Moorish Alcaid* came on board, and furnished them with a supply of fresh water, for a certain reward. *August* 21st, they weighed from the *Cape*, and, by the 31st, saw the high land of *Sierra Leona*, and also the island of *Madrabomba*, lying on the south point of the high land of *Sierra Leona*, and north of the shallows of *St. Ann's* island. By the 26th of *September* they made $6^{\circ} 25'$ S. latitude, sailing the remainder of that month mostly southward, till they made $10^{\circ} 30'$. *November* the 1st, they had the sun north of them at noon. On the 3d, they had sight of *Ascension* island under 20° , where they observed the compass to vary to the N. E. 12° . The 21st they came under $38^{\circ} 25'$, and here the variation of the compass was 17° to the N. E. *December* 6th, they had a prospect of land not very high, but rather flat and white; soon after which they fell in with the north side of *Port Desire*, and that night anchored within a degree and a half of land in ten fathom water, with an ebb that ran strongly southward. The 7th, keeping their course due south, they came before the harbour of *Port Desire*, lying under $47^{\circ} 40'$; at the entry of which they had very high water, but saw none of the cliffs which former voyagers described northward in sailing into the harbour. Cliffs, however, to the south, were visible enough, which might perhaps be those meant by *Van Noort*. Upon this, they went on sailing so far south, that they missed the right chanel. They soon came into a crooked bay of four fathom water at high sea, and but 14 feet at the tide of ebb. Here they found abundance of eggs among the cliffs, muscles, and fine smelts, for which they gave it the name of *Smelt Bay*. After this, they went to *Port Desire*, where they staid till *January* 13th, an. 1616. On the 20th, they got into 53° , when they observed a great current that runs S. W.; and now they reckoned about 20 leagues southward of the *Streights of Magellan*. From hence they held their course S. by W. and the same day saw land bearing W. S. W. from them, and quickly after to the South. Then attempting to get beyond the land by an E. S. E. course, the hard north wind that blew then constrained them to take in their top-sails, and reef the main-sail. The 24th, in the forenoon, they saw land about a league's distance, stretching out east and south, with high hills covered with ice, with other land bearing east from it, high and rugged as the former. These they conjectured lay about eight leagues asunder, with a good passage between them, because of a

* Histoire des Navigat. tom. i. livre iii. p 352.

- a brisk current that ran southward by them. About noon they made $54^{\circ} 46'$, and then began steering towards the above passage, but were prevented by a calm. Here they saw such an incredible number of penguins and huge shoals of whales, as forced them to proceed with caution, for fear of running the ships upon them.

- By the 25th they got close up by the east land, which, upon the north side, reaches E. S. E. States Island, as far as the eye can follow it. This they called *States Land*, and to that lying west they gave the name of *Maurice Land*. In this place they observed good roads and sandy bays, with ^{Maurice} great store of fish, penguins, and porpoises, as well as some kinds of fowls; but the land ^{Land.} adjacent seemed quite naked and barren. Having a north wind upon their entrance into this passage, they steered S. S. W.; so that by noon they made $55^{\circ} 36'$, and then held a S. W. course. The land on the south side of the passage seemed to run W. S. W. at the west end of *Maurice Land*, and S. W. as far as they could see it, it being rough craggy ground. In the evening, having a S. W. wind, they steered southward, meeting with prodigious billows rolling before the wind, which, with the depth of the soundings, gave them a full assurance that the *South Sea* was now before them, into which they had almost made their way by a passage of their own discovery. The sea-gulls here were as large as swans, their wings, when extended, measuring about a fathom. They would sit upon the sides of the ship, and suffer themselves to be taken, without attempting to fly away. The 26th they made 57° , and were overtaken by a storm from the S. and S. W. All this day they continued to steer southward, but at night changed it for a N. W. course; in which quarter they discovered very high land. On the 27th they were under $56^{\circ} 51'$, the weather cold, with hail and rain, a west and westerly south wind blowing. Here they went a southern course, and crossed northward with their main-sails. After this, they steered with a W. and then a N. E. wind, holding their course S. and then W. W. by S. which brought them under $56^{\circ} 48'$. The 29th they had a N. W. wind, and held their course S. W. which gave them the prospect of two islands surrounded with high cliffs, lying W. S. W. from them. These they called *Barnevelt Islands*, lying in 57° S. From hence taking a N. W. course, they saw land again in the evening, lying S. from the *Streights of Magellan*, to which they gave the name of *Cape Horn*, from its pointed figure, the extremity of which is in $57^{\circ} 48'$ S. They held their course westward from hence, and were fully convinced, by the billows rolling upon them, as well as the strong current, that the passage was open into the *South Sea*. This day they made the latitude of $57^{\circ} 31'$. At last, on the 12th of February, ^{The Streights of le Maire discovered, and they arrive in the South Sea.} they plainly discerned the *Streights of Magellan*, lying to the E. of them; from whence being assured of their happy new discovery, they gave thanks to their good fortune in three rounds of wine. The passage received the name of the *Streights of Le Maire*, he being the original projector of the enterprize. It is observable, that, during their passage through the new-found streights, they had settled bad weather, thick fogs, and strong currents, which made the navigation tedious, and their discoveries less considerable, than otherwise they probably might have been. On the 27th they made 40° S. lat. with fair weather, holding their course northward. After this they steered for *Juan Fernandez*, at which they arrived on March 1st. As the crews became extremely sickly by so tedious a voyage, the refreshments of this place were received with the utmost joy ^b.

- We find in this journal one of the oldest accounts of the two islands of *Juan Fernandez*; but as they are now well known, we shall pass it over. On the 11th they passed the Tropic of *Capricorn* a second time, holding their course N. till the 15th. When they made 18° , then they steered due west. April 3d they made $15^{\circ} 12'$, and had then no variation of the compass. Towards noon they discovered a small low island. They sent the shallop on shore here, and caught a great number of fish; finding nothing, however, upon shore but a species of dogs in every respect resembling *European* dogs, for which reason they called this place the *Island of Dogs*. It was covered by a fine long grass of a bright green, that gave a beautiful ^{Dog Island.} look to the coast, which might be about three leagues in circumference. The island lies in $15^{\circ} 12'$, and about 925 leagues from the coast of *Peru* (F). For four days they sailed W. and W. by N. when they fell in with a large but low island, from which an *Indian* canoe advanced to meet them. The men were naked, of a reddish complexion, with long black hair, of a robust make, and strong limbs, their eyes extremely sharp and piercing ^c. They kept aloof from the ship, but invited the *Dutch*, by signs and shouts, to come on shore. *Schouten* ordered his men to speak to them in the *Spanish*, *Dutch*, the *Moluccan*, and *Javan* languages, none of which they understood. The ship approached within musket-shot of the

^b HARRIS, vol. i. b. i. c. 1. §. 9. Hist. des Navig. l. iii. p. 364.
 Aufl. t. i. p. 361.

^c Vid. Hist. des Navig. aux Terres

(F) This is probably the island which *Magellan*, This at least is the conjecture of the *French* compiler according to *Jerom Bezon*, calls the *Unfortunate Island*. (1), which we think by no means improbable.

(1) Hist. des Navig. t. i. p. 358.

shore, but found no soundings; upon which he steered round, in expectation of finding a bay to cast anchor in. After having sailed about 10 leagues in a S. S. W. course, they came close to the shore, on which several of those naked people flocked close to the water-side, and invited them to land. One of their canoes put out, but would not venture to come on board. They were greatly pleased with the toys thrown to them, and at last encouraged to come to the ship. After they had for a while surveyed her, they ventured on board, where they immediately fell to work in taking the nails and bolts out of the cabin doors and windows, seeming to have an extraordinary passion for this metal. Indeed they did not confine themselves to iron only; for, when that was out of their reach, they paid their respects with great address to whatever lay nearest them.

THE inhabitants of this island are of a very particular humour, much addicted to stealing, at which they are abundantly expert. They go quite naked, the *pudenda* only being covered with a small mat. Their bodies are painted all over with the pictures of snakes and dragons, drawn upon a blue ground, resembling the effects of powder upon the skin. They drank eagerly of the wine given them, but could not be prevailed on to return the cup. The next day *Schouten* sent the shallop with about sixteen men armed on shore, who were no sooner landed than they were attacked by a body of 30 or 40 natives, that rushed upon them from the woods. As they were armed only with clubs, the seamen found it no difficult matter to repulse them; but, finding all their endeavours to bring them to traffick were to no purpose, they returned to the ship, and proceeded in their voyage. This island they called by the name of *Without Bottom*, because they were able to find no soundings. It is a long narrow island, seemingly fertile, abounding with palm and cocoa trees, and lying in latitude 15° S. about 108 leagues from *Dog Island* ^a.

ON the 16th *Schouten* fell in with another island, about 15 leagues distant from the former. The land is almost intirely overflowed, yet trees flourish upon the borders. Upon a little eminence they discerned a spring of fresh water, with which they supplied the ship, and thence gave the place the name of *Water Island*.

THE 18th they came to another island, 20 leagues distant westward. The boat was sent to look out for water, and soon fell in with a gentle stream at 40 fathoms sounding. The incredible swarm of flies and insects with which this island abounded, made it impossible for them to fill their casks, being forced immediately to return to the ship, with their clothes and faces covered over with those vermin. This they called *Fly Island*, and left without farther observations, having found however that it was inhabited.

ON the 23d they got under the latitude $15^{\circ} 4'$, where they had great billows rolling from the south. They conjectured they might as yet be 250 leagues from the Southern Continent described by *Quiros* (G). May the third they sailed westward, and made at noon $15^{\circ} 3'$, in which latitude they met several great *dorados* (a kind of gold-fish), the first they had seen in the *South Sea*. On the 9th they were under the latitude $15^{\circ} 20'$, when they conjectured they might be about 1510 leagues from the coast of *Peru*. This day they discovered a bark coming towards them, upon which they proceeded to meet her, but she turning her course, the captain ordered a gun to be fired to bring her to. As this had not the desired effect, the shallop was sent with a number of men armed to seize her, which she did, making prisoners of about 23 men, with some women and children. They were a cleanly decent people, of a copperish complexion, curled hair, naked to the waist, and from the knee downwards. The bark was of a very peculiar structure, but well adapted to the purposes of sailing. All that was found on board consisted of a few fishing-hooks made of stone, mother of pearl, tortoise-shell, or a kind of black bone. After endeavouring to procure information from them, they were dismissed, having received the kindest treatment; with which the poor savages were so delighted, that they pulled off their caps, stuck with gaudy feathers formed in the fashion of a coronet, and put them on the heads of the sailors.

SCHOUTEN, steering W. S. W. discovered on the 10th high land on the larboard side, lying south-east-by-south, about eight leagues distant. The 11th he came up with a very high island, and about two leagues southward discovered another flatter, and seemingly more fertile. Near this island another bark approached them with incredible swiftness, her men steering with oars astern. Taking the soundings, they found fourteen fathom water, in which they cast anchor. The island stands in $16^{\circ} 10'$, being one intire mountain, all covered over with cocoa-trees. They were soon visited by three large barks, and about ten canoes with white flags in token of peace. Those canoes were of an extraordinary make, being flat before, and quite sharp behind, notwithstanding which they row with great velocity. When they came

^a Hist. des Navig. p. 556. tom. i. HARRIS, ubi sup.

(G) It may be proper to observe, that although yet it is probable that *Le Maire* never saw his journal, *Quiros* had performed his voyage some years before, as it was not printed till the year 1613.

within

- a within a small distance of the ship, they leaped into the sea, and swam towards her with cocoanuts in their hands, which they bartered for nails and beads, giving five nuts for a nail. This traffick drew such a number of the natives to the ship, that she soon was crowded with them, going up and down with the utmost familiarity. *Schouten*, to avoid being troubled with greater numbers, sent the long-boat to look out for an anchorage on the other island; but she was presently surrounded and covered by a number of canoes, filled with a fierce and savage people, armed with clubs, who attacked the *Dutch* with great fury. The seamen fired upon them, but were laughed at, as no one happened to be hurt by the first discharge; but the second doing execution, the savages were terrified, and began to abandon the long-boat. Some of the wounded who were taken, being kept prisoners, and kindly treated, it soon induced others to
- b come on board the ship, with seemingly more friendly intentions. They were a strong-built, well-proportioned people, naked, thorough-bred, and excellent swimmers. Their complexion was inclining to black, their hair long and black, though some cut it short, and were extremely whimsical in their manner of dressing it.

THEY now began to come on board with cocoa-nuts, bananas, ubas roots, and live hogs; which they exchanged for the most trifling and useless toys, priding themselves greatly on having outwitted the *Europeans*. They wondered much at the strength and size of the ship, knocked against her with stones, and then turned up their eyes in admiration. The king of the island sent a black hog as a present to the ship, ordering the messenger to accept of no reward; an order which he did not chuse strictly to obey. After this he put out from shore in his royal galley, attended by twenty canoes, but did not chuse to come on board, although he permitted his son, to gratify his curiosity. When near the ship, his men gave a loud shout, by way of welcoming the *Europeans*; which was returned by drums and trumpets, with the music of which his majesty was highly delighted. The king then sent a *Matien* from his vessel, as a present to *Schouten*, which he returned with an old hatchet, old nails, and some glass beads, with which his majesty was quite transported, or pretended to be so.

- He was distinguished from his subjects only by the respect they paid him, going like them naked, and without any badges of authority. For a day or two this friendly commerce continued, but the *Europeans* began afterwards to suspect that the professions of the savages were not very sincere, and their conjectures were soon verified; for all on a sudden they inclosed the ship on every side, and, with a loud shout, began to board and batter her with stones. His majesty's ship was the first and fiercest in the attack; but they were soon dispersed and defeated by a general discharge of grape-shot and musquetry. All traffick being thus at an end, *Schouten* left the island, after giving it the appellation of *Traitors Island*, from the conduct of the natives ^b.

- SCHOUTEN arrived on the 14th at an island he called *Hope Island*, because here he expected to meet with refreshments; but, being disappointed, he continued his course, after having defeated the natives in a brisk attack they made on the ship. This island was covered over with cocoanuts, and appeared to be fertile in the vallies. On the 18th, being under $16^{\circ} 5'$, *Schouten* called a council, in which he represented, that they were about 1600 leagues eastward of *Peru* and *Chili*; and as they had not yet discovered any thing like a continent, so there was no probability of their succeeding in that design, as they had failed so far westward. The same course, he said, would bring them to the coast of *New Guiney*, where, if they found no passage, they must inevitably perish, since there was no possibility of returning eastward, on account of the easterly winds, which were continually set in that continent. For these reasons he proposed, that they should alter their course northward, so as to fall in with the north side of *New Guiney*. The proposal was embraced by the rest of the crew, and accordingly they began immediately to steer a north-north-west course. The 21st, at two leagues from shore, they were visited by two canoes, who insulted them without any provocation, but retired with the loss of two men from a discharge of some muskets. The 22d other canoes approached the ship, but with a peaceable intention, bringing cocoa-nuts, ubas roots, and hogs, in exchange for beads, nails, and knives. The houses of the natives were ranged along the shore, being about 12 feet high, covered with leaves, and a porch before each. All the furniture consisted of a bed of dried herbs, an angling rod, and a great club; his majesty's palace differing in nothing but the size from the meanest subject's cottage. The people in general swim and dive with great dexterity, nor are they less expert in thieving than the inhabitants of some former islands we have mentioned. This crime, however, is punished by the king with great rigour, as the *Europeans* experienced in the case of one of them, who stole a cutlass, for which he was soundly beaten, and would have been put to death, had the fact come to the ear of the king. They were greatly terrified at the noise of the cannon, yet the king had a great desire to see one discharged. For this purpose he was seated under a canopy, with all his court round him; but,

^b Auct. citat. ibid.

upon the explosion, he leaped out of his seat, and fled with the utmost celerity into the woods, ^a nor could all the assurances of the *Europeans*, that no danger was to be apprehended, bring him back, till he had recovered his fright. The *Europeans* went on shore to purchase hogs, in which they were disappointed, on account of their scarcity in the island; nor could they procure any supply of cocoa-nuts, although the natives seemed desirous of accommodating them. His majesty shewed them much friendship and respect; both he and his courtiers taking off their caps, adorned with plumes of beautiful feathers, and putting them on the heads of the *Dutchmen*^c. Notwithstanding this hospitality, he began to be apprehensive of their designs, and offered them a reward of ten hogs if they would quit the island.

As to the rest, the men are generally tall to an extreme, and strong built; they are of a yellowish complexion, with long black hair, which they wore after different fashions. Some ^b took great pains in curling or frizzing it, others bestowed equal labour in making it sleek and strait. Some tied it up in knots, and others wore it half an ell high over their heads, standing upright, with bits of wood and twigs to which they fastened it. The king and some of his courtiers wore two long locks, which hung down below their waist. As to the women, they are in general hard-favoured, of a disagreeable shape, with great loose breasts hanging down. Both sexes go quite naked, excepting a few leaves stitched together, which conceal the difference of sexes. They seem to be wholly devoid of religion, œconomy, industry, and knowledge. They live in the manner of brute animals, taking what the earth spontaneously puts forth, without care or labour. Here is neither sowing nor reaping, buying nor selling, every ^c thing being left to nature and chance. Nor is their regard to modesty greater than their industry and religion; for they use their women openly before the greatest assemblies, and even before the king, although they greatly reverence him, this being reputed no mark of disrespect or indecorum. Here is a good bay on the south side of the island, in a dock under 14° 16' ^d.

SCHOUTEN set sail from hence on June 11th, touching at no land till the 21st, when he fell in with a very low island, S.S.W. in latitude 40° 47'. Round it were four smaller islands, covered with trees. Soon after his casting anchor here he was visited by a canoe, of the same model as those of the above island. She carried four men, of a much darker complexion than any we have described, and armed with bows and arrows, the first they had seen in the *South Seas*. They told the ship's crew by signs, that there was more land and good accom- ^d modations to the westward, where the king dwelt; upon which *Schouten* weighed, and steered according to their directions. The 22d he sailed west-by-south-west, under 40° 45', and came within sight of a cluster of twelve or thirteen small islands, W. S. W. from them, which he left on the larboard. The 24th he saw three low islands on the larboard, all covered with trees of various sorts. These he called the *Green Islands*, on account of the pleasing verdure afforded by the trees. Soon after another island lying west-by-north presented itself. Upon this were seen eight or ten small hovels, plainly indicating that it was inhabited. This they called *St. John Baptist's Island*, because upon that day they discovered it. From hence they descried high land to the south-west, which they took to be the point of *New Guiney*. This they reached the same day, and, failing by it, sounded for anchorage, but without success. Two or three canoes filled ^e with men made an attack upon the ship with slings, but were soon dispersed. The inhabitants of this coast were exceeding black, wore no covering on any part of their bodies, and spoke a language quite different in sound from any of the former places they had touched at, but not less articulate and sonorous. All night they kept fires upon the shore, and seemed extremely apprehensive of the ship. In the morning they were no less shy, none of them being persuaded by the utmost civilities either to come on board, or to exchange any thing with the crew. Notwithstanding they were treated with all these marks of kindness, they soon assembled a body, and attacked the ship with slings, which they used with great dexterity, holding an obstinate engagement, till showers of grape-shot, fired among them, killed twelve or fourteen, upon which they dispersed. Their security seemed to be the sea, to which they fled, swimming and diving with the agility of natives of that element; however, the seamen in the long-boat found means to knock several of them on the head, as they emerged out of the water. Some they made prisoners, whom they afterwards ransomed for hogs and vegetables.

ON the 28th the ship set sail, and, holding a north-west-by-north course, they steered by ^{Three islands} land till the evening, in which they observed a number of bays and havens. This day they discovered three islands more to the northward, under 3° 20'. The 30th several canoes put out to them; and the *Indians*, boarding the ship with permission, broke staves in token of peace over their heads. Their canoes bore more of the marks of art than any of the former they had seen; themselves seemed to be more civilized and polished, notwithstanding they went naked from the waist upwards. They pretended poverty, and came only to beg, not to traffick; yet the ^g

^c HARRIS, *ibid.*^d *Histoire Moderne*, t. vi. p. 229.

a island afforded great plenty of cocoa-nuts. On *June* the first *Schouten* anchored between an island two miles in length and the continent of *New Guiney*, where he was soon surrounded by twenty canoes of the same people, who the day before had broken their slaves. By the conduct of these it would appear, that the ceremony performed by the others was intended only to lull the *Europeans* into security, when they might more easily attack them. They began their design with fixing upon the anchor, and pulling the cable with their girdles, thinking to draw the ship nearer to them. The others came about her in the canoes, making a general discharge from their slings. Upon which a volley of grape-shot was fired among them, which, killing thirteen, put the rest to flight.

b THE ship continued her course, coasting peaceably along the shore, holding a W. N. W. route. On the 2d, under $3^{\circ} 12'$, they saw low land on the starboard. The 3d they saw high land, and were carried along by an easy current. On the 4th, as they were passing the islands we have mentioned, they discovered about twenty more lying all in a cluster, of various heights and sizes; most of these they left a-starboard, and only three on the larboard. Some were distant a mile, others divided only by a narrow stream from the rest, all of them lying under $2^{\circ} 30'$ nearly. On the 6th a very high hill was descried, which they took to be the mountain *Goemenassi* in *Banda*; but on a nearer approach discovering three more hills resembling it, six or seven leagues to the northward, they were more assured of the truth of their conjecture. The 7th they sailed towards those high hills, on some of which they discovered volcanoes, from which circumstance they gave it the name of *Vulcan's Island*. It seemed to be well inhabited, and stocked with cocoas, but they could find no anchorage. The people were naked, timid, and shy, speaking a language very different from any they had heard, and unintelligible to any of the blacks on board. There appeared more islands to the N. N. W. but the ship held her course to a very low one that lay N. W. by W. from them. Here they observed the water of various colours, green, white, and yellow, which they ascribed to the mixture of some rivers pouring into the sea; and the rather, because the water was much fresher than that of the ocean, filled with leaves and boughs, some of which had birds and crabs fastened upon them. The 8th they anchored at a high island in $3^{\circ} 40'$, which seemed to be an unhealthy place, yielding nothing considerable besides ginger. It was inhabited by *Papooos*, or blacks, whose ridiculous fancy in dress, superadded to their natural deformity, made them appear highly disagreeable. Every one had something absurd about him, quite peculiar to himself. Nay, it would appear that nature was no less sportive and wanton than their own humour and caprice; for the features, limbs, and size, had nothing of a resemblance, or any certain national criterion. Round their necks they wore strings of hogs teeth; their noses and ears were perforated for rings, to which were suspended those inestimable jewels the hogs teeth. Their hair was short and frizzled, their features insipid and dead, and the whole turn of face and symmetry of parts such as could not fail to disgust. Nor were the women a whit more agreeable than the men, they preserving the same manners, and being stamped with the same unhappy and forbidding figure. They built their huts upon stakes, eight or nine feet from the ground, which seemed to indicate an unhealthy dampness or moisture.

c On the 9th they anchored in a more convenient bay at twenty-six fathom, with a sandy bottom mixed with clay. There were two villages of the natives near the shore, from whence they brought hogs and cocoa-nuts to the ship, but kept them at so high a price, that there was no bartering with them. But now, after sailing for several days along this coast, they were unable to determine whether or no it was *New Guiney*. At first, from the four high hills, they were assured they had got to *Banda*, in which however they were mistaken, as appeared by the continent that ran along to the southward. Neither did their charts agree, nor their opinions of the lands they had in prospect, which for the most part stretched N. W. by W. Notwithstanding this scruple, they still continued a W. N. W. course along the shore, by which, and the assistance of a gentle current, they made $2^{\circ} 58'$ by the 12th at noon.

f THE 13th and 14th they pursued the same direction, having sometimes very high and sometimes exceeding low land in view. On the 15th they reached two low islands about half a league from the land, and under $2^{\circ} 54'$ S. lat. Now they had good anchoring at forty-six fathom; and, seeing the country was well stocked with cocoa-nuts, the boat and shallop well armed were sent on shore. They were observed by the *Indians*, who gave them a warm reception with their slings and arrows, wounding sixteen of the men, and obliging them to fly with precipitation to the ship, without having leisure to try the effects of their fire-arms. The 16th *Schouten* sailed in between both islands, and dropped anchor in nine fathom water. The same day the boat well armed landed upon the lesser island, set fire to some villages, and carried off a booty of cocoa-nuts. Henceforward the natives became more peaceable and gentle, for, on the following day, they came with cocoa-nuts, bananas, ginger, and a yellow root which they

Vulcan's
Island.

Coast of New
Guiney, and
the island sur-
rounding it.

use for saffron. After the quarrel was made up, they ventured on board, exchanging the product of the island for old nails and beads. On the 18th they brought on board prodigious quantities of cocoa-nuts, bananas, cassava, and papada. The two last were inferior to what is found in the *West Indies*, but the use to which it is applied is the same, both baking it into large round cakes, which they use for bread.

Mofa Island.

Jufan Island.

Armeria
Island, and by
the French
commonly call-
ed Armoia, or
Arimoa.

THE lesser island, which lies the most eastward, the natives call *Mofa*, and to the other they gave the name of *Jufan*. The third island is by much the largest, standing about five leagues from the coast of *New Guinea*. This they call by the name of *Armeria*. *Schouten* naturally concluded, that these islands had been visited before by *Europeans*, for the natives were not terrified at the discharge of fire-arms, and a number of *Spanish* pots and jars were seen among them. This suspicion was the more confirmed, because those savages did not express the same wonder at the sight of the ship, or shew an equal curiosity to pry into every particular, as others to whom it was a novelty; which however did not seem to proceed from stupidity, or want of sensibility.

THE 21st *Schouten* sailed along by the north-west land, and at noon made $1^{\circ} 13'$. The current drove him then to a cluster of islands, where he anchored at thirteen fathom, with storms of rain and thunder at night. Getting under sail on the 23d, he was overtaken by six great canoes from the land, bringing with them dried fish, cocoas, bananas, and tobacco, with a small fruit resembling prunis. The natives of another island brought china, porcelain, and raw furs, to barter. These people, like most of the barbarians, were fond of iron nails and beads, which they received at a high price. They were remarkably distinguished from any *Indians* the *Dutch* had yet seen, by their orange complexion, and prodigious stature and strength. Some wore long hair, others short, but the language of the whole was distinct from that of the other islands. Their arms were bows and arrows, and the chief ornaments of their persons consisted of glass ear-rings of different colours, a sure proof that this island was known before to *Europeans*.

Schouten
Island.

Horn Island.

BEING under thirty minutes, on the 24th they steered N. W. and W. S. W. coasting along a pleasant island, on which they bestowed the name of *Schouten*, calling the west point of it the *Cape of Good Hope* (H). This seems to be the same island which is distinguished in most maps by the name of *Horn Island*. On the 27th a great extent of uneven land appeared on the larboard, lying S. S. W. by W. The 26th three more islands were discovered, stretching N. W. by W. On the 29th *Schouten* was under 29 minutes, having sight of large tracts of land to the southward, some high, some low, by which he passed north-west. The 29th an earthquake was felt, which shook the ship with such violence, that the men ran frightened upon deck, imagining she had struck, and bulged on a rock. Upon trial it appeared, however, that the sea in that part was unfathomable, from whence they concluded it to be the shock of an earthquake. On the 30th *Schouten* put into a large bay, but, finding no passage, he returned to a northern course. Here the ship was again violently agitated, the shock being immediately succeeded by loud and terrible claps of thunder, with balls of lightning, which they apprehended would have set the sails on fire, had not a deluge of rain poured down upon them. The 31st they passed the equator, steering due north; and, being almost surrounded with land, they anchored at twelve fathom, near a desolate island that stood close to the continent. *August* 1st they made 15° N. lat. going with a strong current close to the land, where they dropped anchor, because of a calm. On the 3d they made 35° N. latitude, where they saw several whales and tortoises, by which time they concluded they were at the end of the continent, and past the coast of *New Guinea*, after having sailed along it for 280 leagues^f.

Reflections up-
on this voyage.

To pursue the voyage farther would be trespassing upon our design, which is no other than to throw as much light as possible upon the navigation to the *South Sea*, and the attempts to find a continent towards the south. With this view it was necessary to be minute in relating the bearings, soundings, course of the lands and islands, as well as the nature of the winds. However tedious this journal may appear to a superficial reader, the deep thinker will form another judgment of it, as it gives room for useful and curious reflections and inferences. In order to render the journal as useful as possible, and to assist the reader, we shall beg leave to subjoin the following remarks. The first is, that *Schouten's* voyage seems to point out a kind of navigation capable of great improvement, and to which perhaps no nation has a better title than *Great Britain*, as the *South Sea* company would seem to be originally established chiefly with the view to make

^f Vid. *Histoire des Navigation aux Terres Australes*, tom. i. l. iii. HARRIS's Coll. Voyag. vol. i. p. 56.

(H) The *French* compiler observes from the journal of the chief mate, that here they found a fruit of an orange colour, and shape of a melon, extremely seedy, but of a pleasant taste. It was an aquatic, and greatly resembling a species of water melon which is produced in the *Venetian* territories (1).

(1) *Histoire des Navigat.* tom. i. lib. iii. p. 404.

a new discoveries in the *Pacific Ocean*, which might well supply the loss of the *Assiento* trade. 2dly, The observations of *Schouten*, with regard to the variations of the compass, the tides, winds, and mountains, plainly point out a continent larger and more extensive than has hitherto been discovered of *New Guiney* or *New Holland*; the latter lying so much out of his course, as not to affect him with any of the above circumstances². 3dly, The climate, the face of the country, the commodities brought on board, and the resemblance between the natives of the different islands and those of the well known parts of the *East Indies*, are sure proofs that they merit attention. Admitting that at present they do not produce spices, and the most valuable commodities, yet is it highly reasonable, if we may argue from analogy, that they are equally capable of producing them as the *Moluccas*. 4thly, If the vicinity and jealousy of the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* should be objected against the possibility of establishing settlements in them, we may answer, that the superiority of our fleets, and the vigour which for some time has reigned in our administration, will be sufficient to protect them against insults; nay more, that it will be the interest of most nations in *Europe* and the *East* to countenance a commerce which must necessarily lessen the price of some of the most valuable commodities. 5th, The great argument against establishing a settlement in the *South Sea* is the difficulty of a passage either through the *Streights of Magellan*, the *Streights of Le Maire*, or by doubling *Cape Horn*; and yet experience shews, that the inconveniences sustained by those who made that voyage arose more from a wrong conduct than from the natural difficulties of it. If people go at a wrong season of the year, embarrassed with superfluities, and destitute of necessaries, with an old, feeble, and decrepid crew, why should we draw any conclusions from thence prejudicial to the design; or indeed any other, than that such projects were directed either by weak heads, or corrupt hearts? If *Commodore Anson* failed, it was owing not to his own imprudence, but to that of his superiors. If *Le Maire* had better fortune, it can only be attributed to the wiser measures pursued by his constituents. Lastly, As complaints are every day uttered of the decay of commerce, of the restrictions upon trade by exclusive charters, of its being overstocked, and such-like, can there be a more probable prospect of opening new marts, and giving full scope to the labour and industry of the nation, than by making settlements in some of the islands of the *South Sea*, and, by their means, disclosing a new and extensive source of wealth and maritime power? Perhaps we have lost the fairest occasion for this, when the fine island of *Juan Fernandez* might have been seized from the sluggish *Spaniards*, who could possibly have no other motive for keeping it out of the hands of the *British* merchants, than that by means of it they would be able to render the *Philippines* less valuable to the crown of *Spain*. This occasion, it is true, is past; but it may again return, and this hint may not be useless, if it should be the fate of *Britain* to be again involved in a quarrel with *Spain*. To conclude our remarks, we shall only observe, in answer to an objection which may be started, *viz.* that the discoveries hitherto made in the *South Seas* consist only of small islands, or of a continent not sufficiently examined. This, in our opinion, is saying nothing, if it be admitted that such of these islands as have been thoroughly examined, are inhabited; and that the continent, not sufficiently known, is so situated as to justify our conjectures. It is, in short, no more than saying, that it is imprudent to attempt the discovery of countries from whence there is not a sure prospect of immense profits; which, in part, is affirming, that we are not to attempt discoveries at all. Had mankind always reasoned thus, we should have still remained more ignorant of the *East* and *West Indies* than we are of the Southern Continent; and what the consequences would have been, may appear from the consideration of the different circumstances of things since those discoveries were made (1).

To

² Vide preceding voyage, p. 276.

(1) It may not be disagreeable to our readers to see a short vocabulary of the language of *New Guiney*, as the many *onomatopoiæ*, or resemblances of sounds to the things they represent throughout all nations, seem to point out the possibility of forming an universal language. At least it shews that nature dictates the same expressions for the same feelings, however different in the progress of time they may prove by corruptions and refinements upon language. It cannot be denied, but men of all countries give appellations to animals in imitation of the sounds they utter, and that distinguish their voice from other animals. The examples of this are without number in every language, and here only have we a true primitive speech, and its roots. It would be easy to carry this notion to a high degree of satisfaction, but it would be a digression foreign to our purpose.

V O C A B U L A R Y.			
A hen	—	—	Coocq.
A hook	—	—	Taouli.
A king	—	—	Laliere.
A cocoa-nut	—	—	Lamas.
Water	—	—	Dan, Daan.
A fish	—	—	Hiffon.
A leaf of a tree or plant	—	—	Nomboug Po.
A boat or wherry	—	—	Bou.
Iron	—	—	Herees.
The head	—	—	Ea.
The nose	—	—	Niffon.
The eye	—	—	Tulingan.
The teeth	—	—	Tsang.
The neck	—	—	Poffon, Arang.
The hair	—	—	Nihong.
The hand	—	—	Limang.

To confirm those conjectures, it may be necessary to give a short abstract of some other a voyages to the *South Seas*, with intention to make new discoveries, and examine the truth of former journals. Of these one of the most curious is that performed by *Francis Pelsart*, who suffered shipwreck on the coast of *New Holland*.

Captain Pelsart's shipwreck, and coasting along New Holland.

In the year 1620 the *Dutch East India* company, animated by the prodigious returns of wealth made by the fleet under General *Carpentier*, were induced to equip a still larger fleet for the same voyage. Among these was the *Batavia*, Captain *Pelsart*, who was separated from the rest of the squadron on the 4th of *June*, after having doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*. The storm continuing with great fury for several days, the *Batavia* was driven quite out of her course, and at length struck upon shoals in the latitude 28° south, the same which the *Dutch* charts call the *Abrolhoes of Houtman*. *Pelsart* was sick in bed when this accident happened, b but, perceiving the ship had struck, ran upon deck. It was then night, the weather tolerably serene, the moon bright, the course they steered north-east-by-north, under full sail. The sea, as far as they could discover it, was covered with a white froth, which occasioned various opinions on board, previous to the accident ; some imagining that its whiteness was occasioned by the reflexion of the moon ; others, that it was a froth raised by the late commotion of the waters ; while others attributed it to the great number of shoals and rocks which broke the waves. *Pelsart* charged the master with the loss of the ship, who excused himself by protestations of his having done his duty with care and diligence. The question then was, What next was to be done ? After sounding, it was resolved to throw their cannon overboard, and ease the ship as much as possible, hoping by this to get her afloat again. While they were thus c engaged, another terrible storm of wind and rain arose, which made them despair of safety amidst surrounding rocks. After cutting away the main-mast, and taking every other precaution to save the ship, it was at length determined to abandon her, and endeavour with the long-boat to reach a desolate and rocky island, at the distance of three leagues from shore. The master, with the long-boat, being sent to examine the soundings, returned with intelligence, that landing would be difficult ; however, advising it as expedient, and the last resource. The women and children, with some provisions, were first put on shore ; and thus, in two or three trips, the greater part of the crew, about twenty barrels of beef, bread, and a few casks of water, this article being forgot in the general confusion, were got on shore. About 20 persons, male and female, were landed on the smaller island, and 180 upon the d greater, 70 still remaining on board the ship, in a most deplorable condition, the sloop being unable to weather the storm, after several attempts. These, however, found means to reach the islands in the skiff or the sloop, which, by means of rafts, they had made out of planks. The whole company on both islands amounted now to 270 persons, among whom there were no more than forty gallons of water. The first inquiry, therefore, was after some brook or spring ; in which, after the most diligent search, they were disappointed. On the small island the men began to murmur that the captain did not put to sea in search of some island that might supply their wants ; and this was soon resolved on, though *Pelsart* parted from the crew with the utmost grief. Hitherto they had imagined the island barren and desolate ; but a few savages, that appeared at some distance, convinced them that the greater island was inhabited. e These barbarians had long, strait, black hair, and went quite naked.

He goes in the pinnace to Batavia.

PELSART, according to the late resolution formed, put to sea in the sloop, well manned, and provided as well as the slender stores would permit. First he took an observation, by which he found they were in the latitude of 28° 13'. Then he carefully examined all the little neighbouring islands, but, finding no water, he continued his course, and soon got sight of the continent, which appeared to lie sixteen miles N. W. of the place where the ship struck. On the 9th of *July* he found himself about three miles from land, on which he plied all day, sometimes north, and sometimes in a westerly direction, the country appearing low, naked, and rocky. By the 14th he found by an observation, that he was in latitude 24°, having coasted for several days without being able to put to shore. The men, impatient of longer delay, f trusting to their dexterity in swimming, got to shore with much difficulty, the sloop keeping her station in the mean while as near as possible. After a vain search, they returned to the vessel, without having seen any thing besides a few savages, resembling those that had presented themselves on the island. On the 16th, after coasting a considerable way farther, they put again to shore, and had the good fortune to meet with some rain water in the clefts of rocks, than which nothing could be more seasonable, their stock of water being exhausted, and the crew ready to expire with thirst. Under 22° 17' they landed again, but found no water, nor success in their endeavours to come to a correspondence with eight of the natives, that approached within musket-shot of them. After having all this while beat about to no purpose,

The foot
The breasts
The belly

— — —
— — —
— — —

Makeigu. In the *French* voyages we have a long list of words,
Sen-fu. which it would be tedious to mention.
Balang.

a the resolution of going to *Batavia* was at last taken. This *Pelsart* looked upon as the only possible means of saving the hands with him, as well as the remainder of the crew left upon the islands. After various difficulties he at length arrived on the coast of *Java*, where he fell in with a *Dutch* ship, in which he went to *Batavia*^b, to obtain relief from the governor for his unhappy companions.

DURING the absence of *Pelsart*, *Jerom Cornelius*, a supercargo, after some villainous actions; obtained so much power among the crew left on the islands, that, after forming them into a small but ill-constituted community, he procured for himself the name and authority of captain-general. All the hardships they had sustained, although they exceed description, did not depress the wild ambition and turbulent spirit of this man. A great number, however, refusing to acknowledge the usurper, made their escape to a third island, after having about thirty of their number butchered by order of *Cornelius*. The rest kept their ground, and defended the island against all the attempts of *Cornelius*, till *Pelsart* arrived in the *Sardam* frigate from *Batavia*. He was greatly surprised to find these miserable remains accumulating their misfortunes by the most shocking crimes, dissensions, and hostilities. However, these he soon composed by a spirited exertion of his authority, by putting the ringleaders to immediate death, and taking every other measure requisite for the safety of the whole; after which he returned, and arrived safe in *Batavia*ⁱ.

An account of the rest of the crew left on the island during his absence.

Pelsart returns.

WE shall only remark upon this voyage, that, from the situation of the coast, it is certain it could be no other but that of *New Holland*, which hitherto had been very imperfectly examined. There had, indeed, been some rumours concerning the inhabitants of this continent, which the relation of *Pelsart* proves to be false. It was said, that when some *Dutch East Indiamen* attempted to land here, they were opposed by a gigantic race of men; whereas *Pelsart* met with no opposition but from the rocks, and saw no inhabitants besides a few naked, timid, and miserable natives, not exceeding the ordinary size. By this story, our former conjecture receives further confirmation, since so romantic a tale could be calculated for no other view than to deter other nations from venturing into those seas, or making discoveries on the continent. Besides, farther proofs appear, as well from the general conduct of the *Dutch*, as from the mysterious air they gave to the success of that ship which touched upon *Carpenter's Land*, in south latitude 10° 36', and returned with a considerable quantity of gold, spices, and other valuable goods. To prevent this accident from engaging other nations in the enterprize, the *Dutch* gave out that this cargo was not the produce of *New Holland*, but taken up out of the wrecks of an *India* ship cast away on that coast; although this was directly opposite to the account given by the officers and sailors, till they were silenced by authority. This plausible tale, however, received more credit from the repulse which some other ships affirmed they met with on that coast, a few years after. But as the public never were favoured with particular and attested journals, no great credit can be given to surmises inconsistent with themselves, and with this account of *Pelsart*; but tallying exactly with the interest and views of the *Dutch East India* company. The great object of this company has ever been to engross to themselves the richest commerce of the *Indies*, and to exclude not only other nations from it, but even to prevent their own from making such discoveries as might be prejudicial to the lucrative trade they carry on. Another maxim with them is, to make the *Moluccas*, and islands depending on them, a frontier, to prevent either *Dutch* or foreigners, not belonging to the company, from navigating these seas with security, or becoming acquainted with the roads, natives, and fertility of soil, with which the continent may abound. This will be more obvious, after the reader has perused the voyages of *Tasman*, *Roggewin*, and *Dampier*. Hence it is apparent, that the company are satisfied they have already as much territory and trade as they can well conduct and defend; and that extending either would be only lessening their value. Nothing, therefore, but either the decline of their *East India* trade, or their apprehensions that some other nations will take the advantage of their indolence, will oblige them to exert themselves in making settlements in the Southern Continent, or further discoveries in *New Holland* and *New Guiney*, or any of the adjacent islands.

Reflections on the voyage.

^b Hist. des Navigat. aux Terres Australes, tom. i. p. 451—456. HARRIS, tom. i. p. 322. ⁱ Ibidem ibid:

S E C T. III.

Containing the voyages of Captains Tasman and Dampier to New Guiney and New Holland. Their relations of the natives, soil, climate, and other particulars; with general reflections upon the different occurrences of the voyages (A).

IN the month of *August* 1642, Captain *Abel Jansen Tasman* sailed from *Batavia* with the ships *Heemskirk* and *Zeebaan*. On *September* 8th, he arrived at *Maurice Island*, in the lat. of 20° , and long. of $83^{\circ} 48'$, finding the island 50 *German* miles more east than it had been laid down in charts. He left *Maurice Island* on the 8th of *October*, steering south to the lat. $40^{\circ} 41'$, when he descried a variation of the compass, equal to $23, 24, 25^{\circ}$, till the 22d of *October*, that he came under lat. $45^{\circ} 47'$ S. long. $89^{\circ} 44'$, where the needle changed to $26^{\circ} 45'$ towards the west. From the first variation he continued an easterly course, inclining a little to the S. (B).

By the 6th of *November* he was in $49^{\circ} 4'$ S. lat. and in the long. of $114^{\circ} 56'$. At this time the variation was 26° to the westward. *November* the 15th, he arrived in lat. $44^{\circ} 33'$ S. long. $140^{\circ} 32'$, when the variation was found $18^{\circ} 3'$ W. and decreasing every day, till on the 21st, in long. 158° , it was no more than four degrees. On the 22d, the needle was in continual agitation, without resting in any of the eight points; whence he concluded that some mine of iron ore, or loadstone, was not far distant (C). The 24th, in the lat. of $42^{\circ} 25'$ S. and long. $163^{\circ} 50'$, he discovered land at the distance of ten miles, which he knew must *New Holland*. This coast he called *Van Diemen's Land*. The compass pointed right towards land, while he steered S. E. along the coast, to 44° S. where the land runs away E. and afterwards N. E. and by N. In the latitude of $43^{\circ} 10'$ S. long. $167^{\circ} 55'$, he anchored on the 1st of *December* in a bay which he called *Frederick Henry Bay*. There he heard, or fancied he heard, the sound of human voices on the shore, but could see nobody. Nothing occurred here that

New Hol-
land.
Van Diemen's
Land.

Henry Bay.

(A) We will beg leave to observe, that the great discoveries made by the *Dutch* in the southern countries were subsequent to the voyage and discovery of *Jacques le Maire*. In 1618, that part of *Terra Australis*, which the *Dutch* call *Concordia*, was discovered. An. 1619, the land of *Edels* received its name from the first discoverer. In 1622, that part of *New Holland*, which goes by the name of *Lerwin's Land*, was first found out; and, in the year 1627, a country between *New Holland* and *New Guiney* was discovered by *Peter Nuyts*, which bears his name. There were also several other voyages, of which we have accounts; but that the *Dutch* were constantly defeated by the natives in all their attempts to penetrate the Southern Continent. Indeed they appear to have unanimously suppressed many journals, which might reflect great light upon this subject. This loss we will endeavour to supply by the journals of *Dampier*, *Roggevin*, and particularly of *Tasman*, who made an exact survey of the coast. We are told by the *French* compiler, that this journal was originally written in *Dutch*, and in but few hands, till a *French* translation of it appeared by some accident. This has since been proved faithful, by comparing it with the original *Hist. des Navigat. aux Terres Australes*, V. i. p. 456.

(B) As Captain *Tasman* was curious in remarking the variations of the needle, it may not be disagreeable to the reader, that we take this opportunity of explaining the nature of this truly elegant invention, that the importance of the captain's remarks may appear with their full clearness and force.

It is well known that the needle points directly north only in a few places, and perhaps not constantly in them. In general, it inclines a little rather east or west, whence arise the terms *easterly* and *western declination*. This variation was first attributed to excavations or hollows in the earth, or to veins of lead, iron ore, stone, and other such causes. When it was afterwards discovered by repeated experiments, that this variation varied, it was concluded that none of the assigned causes were adequate

to the effect; since, according to them, the variation would always be the same in the same place; which is contrary to experience. Here, for instance, at *London*, an. 1580, the variation was observed to be $11^{\circ} 17'$ east. In 1666, it was $34'$ to the west; and, in 1734, somewhat more than 1° west. To find the variation with all possible exactness, mariners take the following method. They mark by the compass the point the sun is in after its rising, then taking its altitude. In the afternoon they observe when the sun comes to the same altitude, and the point it is in by the compass. The difference then between that and the north or south upon the card, which is pointed out by the needle, is the variation of the compass, and shews how much the north and south given by the compass deviates from the true north and south points of the horizon. Hence it is necessary, in order to ascertain the variation, and the variation of that variation of the compass, to have, from time to time, distinct accounts of the variation as it is observed in different places. It is true, the ingenious Dr. *Halley* gives a curious hypothetical solution of this matter; but as it is founded upon its agreement with observation, we may conclude that this sort of experience is necessary.

(C) This observation may seem to contradict what we have before advanced concerning the variation, and its causes. However, when the remark is attentively considered, every difficulty will vanish. When we assert that veins of loadstone act not upon the needle, and are not the causes of variation, it is to be understood of the constant variation of a few degrees to the east or to the west. But where the variation is altogether irregular, and the needle playing round the compass, Captain *Tasman's* conjecture may consistently enough be admitted. Yet we must own that we think it a point far from being proved, that such things affect the loadstone at a distance. This might indeed be easily determined, as there are mines of loadstone not only in the island of *Eila* on the coast of *Tasman*, but likewise in other parts of *Europe*.

- a merited notice, besides a number of fine trees, measuring two or two fathoms and a half in circumference, and from 60 to 65 feet in height from the root to the branches. They found steps cut out in the trunks, in order to climb up to the birds nests; whence they concluded that either the inhabitants must be of an extraordinary stature, or that they had a method of climbing peculiar to themselves. In one of the trees the steps appeared so recent, that they could not have been cut above three or four days. The marks of wild beasts were observed in the sand, but no human vestiges; they believed them to be the prints of a tyger's feet. After gathering some gum and bark off the trees, making remarks upon the tides, which ebb and flow about three feet, after discovering a smoke at some distance, erecting a wooden pillar, on which every man carved his name, and hoisting a flag at the top, he weighed anchor on the 5th of December; only observing that here, in $41^{\circ} 34'$ S. lat. long. 169° , the compass varied to three degrees eastward. Quitting *Van Diemen's Land*, he resolved to steer east to the longitude of 195° , in hopes of discovering the islands of *Solomon*^a.

Remarks upon
the country.

- DECEMBER 9th, he was in the lat. of $42^{\circ} 37'$ S. and in the longitude of $176^{\circ} 25'$, the variation being five degrees eastward. The 13th, in the lat. of $42^{\circ} 10'$ S. long. $18^{\circ} 28'$, he found the variation $7^{\circ} 30'$ eastward, when he discovered a high mountainous country, marked in the charts under the name of *New Zealand*. After coasting along the shore till the 18th, and then being in the lat. of $40^{\circ} 50'$ S. long. $191^{\circ} 41'$, he anchored in a fine bay, where he observed the variation to be nine degrees to the east. Here he met with a great number of the natives, a well-built robust people, with hoarse voices, but nothing supernatural in their size. They would not approach within musket-shot of the ships, but continued at a distance, playing upon a kind of instrument resembling a trumpet, which the *Hollanders* returned by the best music their ships afforded. The complexion of this people was a mixture of brown and yellow, their hair long, and almost as thick as that of the *Japanese*, which they combed up, and fixed in a knot on the crown of the head, with a nail or bit of ivory. They covered the middle of their bodies some with a mat, others with a woollen cloth, leaving the upper part of it, as well as from the middle of the thigh downwards, quite naked. In a few days they became bolder and more familiar; at last venturing on board the commodore's ship, in order to trade with the seamen. *Tasman* was then on board another ship, and, observing it, sent the shallop to advertise the crew of a surprise, and to put them on their guard. The shallop was instantly attacked with great fury by the savages, who killed three out of the seven on board, and obliged the others to save their lives by swimming. The crews would certainly have taken their revenge, had not a succeeding storm prevented it, and obliged the commodore to bear away from this incommodious station, after giving it the appellation of the *Murderers Bay*. The country appeared rich, fertile, and well situated; but the foulness of the weather hindered *Tasman* from making further observations, and indeed of getting clear of the coast.

New Zea-
land.

Description of
the inhabi-
tants of New
Zealand.

Murderers
Bay.

- On the 24th, the wind not permitting him to continue a northern course, doubts arising whether he should be able to find a passage on that side, and a flood coming in from the south-east, he concluded it would be best to return to the bay; but the wind coming round favourable on the 26th, made him pursue his former course, steering north, with a small inclination to the west. On the 4th of *January* 1623, in lat. $34^{\circ} 35'$ S. long. $191^{\circ} 9'$, he sailed quite to the cape which lies N. W. where he found the sea rolling to the N. E. whence he joyfully inferred that he had at last found a passage. There was in the strait an island, to which he gave the name of *Three Kings*. This he doubled, with intention to refresh the crews; but, as he approached the cape, the seamen perceived 35 persons, apparently of large stature, though the distance prevented their making any particular observations. They likewise imagined they discovered large clubs in their hands, that they were quite naked, and hallooing to them in a kind of articulate but unintelligible jargon. Some farther remarks were made with regard to the swiftness of their motions, and the length of their strides. Probable indeed it is, that the seamen's imaginations were a good deal warmed with the reports they had formerly heard concerning the gigantic stature and strength of these savages; for it is remarkable, that *Tasman* always mentions such circumstances as arising from the observation of the common men. After making the tour of the island, remarking that it was but thinly inhabited, and badly cultivated, with a fine river of fresh water, he determined to sail east as far as long. 220° , and thence north as far as lat. 17° south, and thence west, till he fell in with the island of *Cocos*, or *Horn*, discovered by *Schouten*, where he proposed refreshing the men, who had not been on shore from the time they left *Van Diemen's Land* in *New Holland* (D). Circumstances, however, occurred

Island of Co-
cos.

to

^a HARRIS, §. 22. l. i. c. 1. b. i. t. i. Hist. des Navigat. loco citato.

(D) That the reader may have a distinct idea of this passage, we will observe, that the island of *Cocos* lies in $15^{\circ} 10'$ S., and, according to the account we have given from *Schouten*, well inhabited, cultivated, and abounded with all kinds of refreshment.

Schouten, however, describes the people as treacherous and base to a degree of admiration. The island *Herne* lies nearly in the same parallel, is well cultivated and inhabited by a people of a tame,

to prevent the execution of his design. Being, on the 28th of *January*, in lat. $30^{\circ} 25'$ S. and a long. $192^{\circ} 20'$, the needle was observed to vary nine degrees towards the east. This, with a high and rolling sea from the south-west, made the commodore conjecture there could not be any land expected towards that quarter. On the 12th he found himself in $30^{\circ} 5'$ S. lat. and $195^{\circ} 27'$ long. with a variation of $9^{\circ} 30'$ to the east, a rolling sea from the south-east and south-west. From these observations of *Tasman* we may infer then, that the position laid down by Dr. *Halley*, of the needle's not being governed by the poles of the world, but by other poles moving round them, is highly probable; otherwise it would be difficult to conceive how the needle, as *Tasman* affirms, came to have a variation of near 27° to the west, in the lat. of $45^{\circ} 47'$, and then gradually decreasing till it had no variation at all; after which it turned east in the lat. of $42^{\circ} 17'$, and so continued increasing its variation eastward to this b time.

The islands of
Amsterdam
and Rotterdam.

On the 16th, *Tasman* was in the lat. of $26^{\circ} 29'$ S. long. $199^{\circ} 32'$, the variation of the needle being 8° . It may be observed from hence, that the eastern variation decreases; a circumstance intirely coincident with Dr. *Halley*'s hypothesis, as the reader will see from the short account given of it in the note (E). On the 19th of *January*, in lat. $22^{\circ} 35'$ S. long. $204^{\circ} 15'$, he observed a variation of $7^{\circ} 30'$ east. In this situation he discovered an island about two or three miles in circumference, very high, steep, and barren. This island they called *Pylstaurt*, on account of the prodigious number of those birds that were observed to inhabit it. Next day two other islands appeared, but with no circumstances that are remarkable. On the 21st, in the lat. $21^{\circ} 20'$ S. long. $205^{\circ} 29'$, the variation was 7° to the north-east. *Tasman* then c drew near to the island furthest to the north, which was the largest; this he called *Amsterdam*, giving the other the appellation of *Rotterdam*. Upon the former were found abundance of fowls, hogs, fruits, and all kinds of refreshment. The natives did not appear to know the use of arms, at least *Tasman* discovered nothing like a weapon among them. They received the *Dutch* with hospitality, and treated with them, in a commercial way, with great probity, excepting when an occasion offered of filching something which perhaps related not to the bargain. It ebbs north-east and flows south-west here; but the current is not considerable. A south-west moon causes a spring-tide, which rises seven or eight feet. The wind blows constantly S. E. or S. S. E.

TASMAN failing from hence was, on the 25th, in the lat. of $20^{\circ} 15'$ S. and in the long. d of $206^{\circ} 19'$, where the variation was $6^{\circ} 20'$ to the east. After getting sight of several other islands, he made that of *Rotterdam*. Here the natives resembled those of *Amsterdam*, being good-natured, hospitable, a little addicted to pilfering, and unacquainted with the use of arms. After taking in water, *Tasman* made the circuit of the whole island, which he found well-stocked with cocoa-trees regularly planted, saw abundance of garden-ground neatly disposed and laid out, plentifully stocked with fruit-trees planted in a beautiful order and taste, and the whole bearing the marks of a civilized and polished people. Quitting the island of *Rotterdam*, he determined to sail north to the height of 17° south latitude, and from thence to shape a westerly course, without falling in either with *Traitors* or *Horn Island* (F). On *February* the 6th, being in

a tame, gentle, and hospitable disposition, who furnished the *Dutch* with every convenience in their power. These were the reasons which weighed with captain *Tasman* to alter the plan he had laid down. The length of the voyage had greatly fatigued and dispirited his men; many of them being down with sickness and infirmities, owing to their long confinement, salt provisions, &c. How reasonable soever this alteration of measures was, he found reasons for not following it.

(E) The Doctor supposes that a large solid body contained within, and distinct from, the earth, having its own proper motion, and being included like a kernel in its shell, revolves circularly from east to west, as the exterior earth revolves from west to east in its diurnal motion. Hence he explains the position of the four magnetical poles attributed to the earth, by allowing two poles to the *nucleus*, and two to the earth, or *cortex*. As the two former perpetually shift their situation by their circular motion, their virtue, compared with the exterior, must be different at different times; consequently the variation of the needle will perpetually change. To the *nucleus* the Doctor likewise attributes an *American* south pole and an *European* north one, on account of the variations of variations observed in those places, which are much greater than

those found near the two other poles. He conjectures that these poles will finish their revolution in about 700 years; after which time, the same situation of the poles as the present will return, and the variations be the same again over the whole face of the globe. But this is a theory which only can be proved some centuries hence, and to which, tho' the best explication, there are many unsurmountable objections.

(F) If Captain *Tasman* was not limited by his instructions, it is difficult to conceive why he did not remain longer on *Rotterdam* island, than which nothing can be more commodiously situated for making discoveries. He owns that he traversed the whole island; that he found it a perfect paradise; and that the people gave him not the least apprehensions of doubting their faith, or his own security. In this case a party of the men might have remained on the island, by throwing up a slight fortification, while the ships went in search of the islands of *Solomon* on the one side, or the continent of *Quiras* on the other; from neither of which they were at a great distance. From so skilful a mariner neglecting this happy occasion for new discoveries, it is probable that he was circumscribed both as to his course and in point of time, by the instructions he received from the company. We cannot help therefore lamenting

- a in the lat. of $17^{\circ} 19'$ S. and the long. of $201^{\circ} 35'$, *Tasman's* ship was surrounded by about twenty small islands, each of which was surrounded by shoals, sand, and rocks. These are marked in the charts by the name of *Prince William's Islands*, or *Heemskirk's Shallows*. On William's the 8th he was in lat. $15^{\circ} 29'$, long. $199^{\circ} 31'$, with heavy rain, a strong north-east wind, and dark cold weather. Fearing, therefore, that he should run further west than by this reckoning he thought himself, or that he should be driven to the south of *New Guinea*, or be blown upon some unknown coast, he resolved to stand away to the north-north-west, till he arrived in the latitude of $4, 5$, or 6° south, and then to bear away west for the coast of *Guinea*, as the least dangerous course. Hence it appears that he laid aside all thoughts of farther discoveries, and for what reasons it will not be difficult to judge. When he was in this latitude, he could not
- b fail of knowing that he might, without difficulty, sail round by the coast of *New Guinea* back to the east. It is therefore highly probable, as the judicious compiler of *Harris's* voyages observes, that he was directed by his instructions to coast round that great southern continent, already discovered, thereby to know of a certainty whether it was joined to any other part of the world. Some men looked upon it, notwithstanding its vast extent, viz. from the equator to 43° of south lat. long. from 123° to near 190° , to be an island, divided every-where by the sea from any of the four known parts of the world^a. The reasons for such instructions, as the same sensible compiler observes, might have been, "that an exact chart being drawn from his discoveries, the *East India* company might have perfect intelligence of the extent and situation of this new-found country, before they executed the plan they were then contriving for preventing its being visited or farther discovered by their own or any other
- c "nation. This likewise accounts for the care taken in laying down the map of this country on the pavement of the stadthouse at *Amsterdam*; for as this country was to remain henceforward as a kind of deposit, or land of reserve, in the hands of the *East India* company, they took this method of intimating as much to their countrymen; so that while strangers are gaping at this map as a curiosity, every intelligent *Dutchman* may say to himself, "Behold the wisdom of the *East India* company! By their present empire they support the authority of this republic abroad, and by their extensive commerce enrich their subjects at home; and at the same time shew us here what a reserve they have made for the benefit of posterity, whenever, through the vicissitudes to which all sublunary things are liable, their present sources
- d "of power and grandeur should fail (G)."

To proceed on our voyage: Captain *Tasman* was, on the 14th of *February*, in the latitude of $16^{\circ} 30'$ S. and in the longitude of $193^{\circ} 35'$. Hitherto they had deluges of rain, and much foul weather; but the day clearing up, he hailed the *Zeebaan* his consort, and had the satisfaction to find that their reckonings agreed. On the 20th, in the latitude of $13^{\circ} 45'$, and in long. of $193^{\circ} 35'$, the dark cloudy weather, with thick fogs, a rolling sea, and the wind variable, returned. The 26th, in latitude $9^{\circ} 48'$ S. long. $193^{\circ} 43'$, he had a north-west wind, with continual rain, more or less, for the space of 21 days. March the 2d, in the latitude of $9^{\circ} 11'$ S. and in the longitude of $192^{\circ} 46'$, the variation was 10° to the east, the wind and weather still inconstant. The 14th, in the latitude $10^{\circ} 12'$ S. and in longitude $186^{\circ} 14'$, he found the variation $8^{\circ} 45'$ east; after which he passed several days without being able to take any observation, the weather being all the time dark and rainy. The 20th, lat. $5^{\circ} 15'$ S. long. $181^{\circ} 16'$, the weather being then fine, he found the variation 9° east. Two days after he had fine weather, and the benefit of the trade-wind from the east, in lat. $5^{\circ} 2'$ S. long. $178^{\circ} 32'$. The same day he had sight of land four miles to the west, which proved to be these islands laid down in charts by the name of *Anthong Java*. They are about ninety miles from the coast of *New Guinea*, or rather *New Britain*, which Captain *Tasman* frequently calls *New Guinea*. Ac-

^a HARRIS, tom. i. p. 328. Hist. des Navigat. aux Terres Austr. tom. i. p. 458.

lamenting this loss, as there never could have been found a person better qualified for the undertaking than *Tasman* (1).

(G) We cannot help quoting his words farther, they speak our own sentiments so exactly. "I cannot," says the compiler, "avoid supporting my opinion in this respect, by putting the reader in mind of a very curious piece of antient history, which furnishes us with the like instance in the conduct of another republic. *Diodorus Siculus*, in the 5th book of his *Historical Library*, informs us, that in the *African* ocean, some days sail west from *Libya*, there had been discovered an island, the soil of which was exceedingly fertile, and the country no less pleasant, all the land being finely

diversified by mountains and plains, the former thick-clothed with trees, the latter abounding with fruits and flowers; the whole watered by innumerable rivulets, and affording so pleasant an habitation, that a finer or more delightful country fancy itself could not feign. Yet he assures us, the *Carthaginians*, those great masters of maritime power and commerce, tho' they had discovered this admirable island, would never suffer it to be planted, but reserved it as a sanctuary to which they might fly whenever the ruin of their own republic left them no other resource. Should the *Dutch* be driven out of *Java*, *Ceylon*, &c. they might probably retire to the *Moluccas*, and avail themselves of the Southern Continent (2)."

(1) Harris, p. 328.

(2) Harris, *ibid.*

Mark
Islands.

according to *Dampier*, as we shall see, it is really a large island, distinct and separate from that great tract of continent which goes by the name of *New Guinea*. The 25th, in lat. $4^{\circ} 35'$ S. and in the longitude of $175^{\circ} 10'$, he found the variation $9^{\circ} 30'$ east. He was then in what he calls the height of the islands of *Mark*, discovered by *Schouten*. They are in number fourteen or fifteen, inhabited by savages with black hair, in their manners and dress similar to those he saw in *Murtherers Bay*, in *New Zealand*. On the 29th he passed the *Green Islands*, and, on the 30th, that of *St. John*, both discovered by *Schouten*. This last island he found to be of considerable extent, and lying about 1840 leagues from the coast of *Peru*. It was apparently well-inhabited, cultivated, and abounding with the necessities of life. The inhabitants were armed with slings, darts, and wooden swords, wore bracelets of pearl, necklaces, and the same jewels in their ears. They had canoes of all sizes, and seemed to have made some progress in the arts; however, they were very intractable, notwithstanding all the pains used to bring them to a friendly correspondence, which at length obliged *Schouten* to fire upon them. This might be the reason why *Tasman* did not touch upon land, or attempt to make any further discovery into the nature of the islanders.

On *April* the first he got sight of *New Guinea*, being then under the latitude of $4^{\circ} 30'$ south, and the longitude of $171^{\circ} 2'$, the variation being $8^{\circ} 45'$ to the eastward. Endeavouring to double the cape *Santa Maria*, he continued to sail along the coast lying north-west; after which he passed the islands of *Anthony Caens*, *Gardeners Islands*, and *Fishers Island*, advancing towards the promontory called *Strais Hoek*, where the coast runs S. S. E.; determining to pursue the same route till he should either discover land or a passage on that side. All this while, we cannot help thinking that he continued not on the coast of *New Guinea*, but on that of *New Britain*; for the cape *Santa Maria* is the same which *Dampier* calls *Cape St. George*, with the same islands on the coast as *Tasman* describes, under the same latitude and longitude. As for the continent of *New Guinea*, it lies behind the island of *New Britain*, and was laid down in all the charts before *Dampier's* discovery at least four degrees too much to the eastward. Besides, what *Tasman* relates of the inhabitants, coincides with the account of *Schouten* and *Dampier*; the former having found them a base and treacherous people, dexterous in the use of slings, black, and naked all but the waist.

APRIL 12th, in the latitude of $3^{\circ} 45'$ S. longitude 167° , the variation of the compass was 10° eastward. This night they were waked out of their sleep by a rough shock of an earthquake, which made them run upon deck, imagining the ship had struck; but, upon heaving the lead, there was no bottom to be found. It was succeeded by several other shocks, less violent than the first (H). On the 14th, in the latitude of $5^{\circ} 27'$ S. long. $160^{\circ} 57'$, the variation of the compass was observed to be $9^{\circ} 15'$ to the west. The land then lay N. E., E. N. E. and again S. S. W. from which they imagined there had been a passage between these two points. However, they soon found that it was all one solid coast. Thus they were obliged to double the west cape, creeping along shore, and often becalmed. Circumstances which tally remarkably with those described by *Schouten*, which proves that *Tasman* was now arrived on the coast of *New Guinea*.

Burning
Island.

On the 20th, in the latitude of $5^{\circ} 4'$ south, and in the longitude of $164^{\circ} 27'$, the variation was $8^{\circ} 30'$ east. This night they approached the *Brandonde Yland*, burning island, or *Vulcan's Island*, as *Schouten* terms it, where they perceived great flames and a smok issuing from the top of a mountain. Between that island and the continent they observed a number of fires lighted upon the shore, and half way up the mountain. Trees, bamboes, and shrubs, were likewise seen floating on the sea, whence *Tasman* concluded that the country was watered with rivers, and fruitful. The same observation was made by *Schouten*, who likewise took notice, that the copious discharge of fresh water altered the colour of the ocean, as well as the taste of the sea-water. *Schouten* also says, that the burning mountain is well peopled and cultivated; and that he afterwards anchored on the coast of the continent, where he endeavoured to trade with the natives, who made him pay dear for hogs, cocoa-nuts, and some ginger.

Jama Island,
their manners
and language.

On the 27th, being in the latitude of $2^{\circ} 10'$ south, longitude of $146^{\circ} 57'$, Captain *Tasman* thought he could discover the island of *Mofa*, or *Moa*, but that it proved to be that of *Jama*, to the east of the former. Here the seamen met with plenty of cocoa-nuts, and other refreshments. The inhabitants were exceeding black, and could easily repeat the words of any language they heard spoken; a presumptive proof that their vernacular tongue is copious. It is, however, difficult to pronounce, on account of the frequent use of the letter R, which often occurs twice or thrice in the same word. On the following day the ships came to an anchor on the island

(H) It is probable from this accident, which likewise confirms what *Schouten* observed, and from the volcano's and burning mountains described by both, that this country is subject to earthquakes; a presumption that it abounds with metals and minerals. All the writers likewise take notice that the people wore rings, altho'

they do not inform us of what metal they were made. This *Le Maire*, in particular, might easily have done, as he carried off a man from this coast, who, as he learned the language, could have told him of this, as well as of many other circumstances; such as that the language of every nation was different, &c.

- a of *Moa*, which they likewise found well supplied with all kinds of necessaries. Here they were detained by stress of weather till the 6th of *May*. They purchased by barter 6000 cocoa-nuts, and 100 bags of *pysanghs*, or *Indian* figs. One of *Tasman's* seamen was either accidentally or designedly wounded by an arrow shot by one of the natives; but such was the justice or fear of his countrymen, that the criminal was delivered up for punishment, without being demanded. They perhaps had not forgot the revenge taken upon them for bad usage, by *Schouten*, 1616. But here our author's observation is false; for *Schouten's* men, or rather the petty officer who commanded the shallop, grossly insulted the natives before they offered violence to his people; and then, though they made several discharges of small arms, the people forced them to retreat, which obliged *Schouten* to bring the cannon to bear on the island before he could reduce it. He tells us, they had earthen pots, glass beads, and ear-rings, with other *European* commodities, before his arrival: that they were a civilized people, their country well cultivated and fruitful: that they had a number of boats and small vessels, which they navigated with great dexterity: that they gave him a distinct account of the neighbouring islands, and were earnest in their request that he would fire on the *Ariawans*, with which nation they were then at war. From hence it appears, that the natives of *Moa* are a nation which it would be easy to draw into a commerce with the *Europeans*, by which they might be greatly facilitated in farther discoveries, as the instance given by *Tasman* is a strong proof either of their natural love of equity, or their dread of the *European* power^b.

- TASMAN, on the 4th of *May*, being in latitude 54 minutes south, and longitude 153° 17', found the variation of the needle 6° 30' east. He continued coasting the north side of *Schouten's Island*, which is about 19 miles in length, populous and fruitful, the natives exceedingly lively and active. They were so far from discovering a savage disposition, that they gave manifest testimonies of their having had an extensive commerce before *Schouten's* time. They shewed not only various *Spanish* commodities, but china ware likewise, of which they appeared to be great admirers. *Schouten* describes them as different from any of the natives he had seen, being of an olive complexion, some having long, others short, hair, dressed in various fashions. They were taller, more robust, and stronger made, than the natives of the neighbouring islands. Their vessels were the largest, and best adapted to use, of any he had seen; they readily parted with their bows and arrows in exchange for *European* commodities, and were particularly fond of glass and iron. In the vicinity of this island *Schouten* met with an earthquake, which so alarmed the ship's company, that they imagined they had struck upon a rock or shoal. There are some other islands at a small distance from this, well peopled and fruitful: as they lie on the confines of the Southern Continent and the *East Indies*, they enjoy all the advantages resulting from their happy climate, and from their commerce with their neighbours, especially the islands of *Ternate* and *Amboyna*. The inhabitants of these come thither yearly to purchase their commodities in exchange for their own, and their visits are returned in proper seasons by the inhabitants of the southern islands.

- THE 18th of *May*, in the latitude of 26° south, and in the longitude of 147° 55', *Tasman* observed the variation of the needle to be 5° 30' east. He was then arrived at the eastern extremity of *New Guiney*, which appears to be a detached promontory, though it is not marked so in the latest maps or charts. On the 15th of *June* he arrived at *Batavia*, after having performed the voyage in ten months, and partly surrounded the Southern Continent. Such was the end of this expedition, which has justly been considered as the clearest and most exact that was ever made for the discovery of the *Terra Australis Incognita*. It is a voyage no less to the author's honour, than to the advantage of trade and science, if the natural consequences of it had been prosecuted, and if the *Dutch* had not been biassed from the true interest of the nation by the influence of their *India* company. But, without staying to make our reflections on the whole of this sensible journal, we shall proceed to the second voyage into the *South Seas*, made by Captain *William Dampier*, as the reader will there find confirmed many of the observations made by *Tasman*, and the most complete history of *New Holland*, *New Guiney*, and the southern islands, that is yet published. This, with *Roggewin's* voyage, will, we apprehend, give the reader as clear an idea of the situation, climate, inhabitants, produce, and consequence, of the *Terra Australis*, as the discoveries hitherto made will admit of.

^b *Ausl. citat. ubi supra. Etiam Histoire Moderne, tom. vi. p. 236.*

S E C T. IV.

Dampier's voyage to the Southern Continent. He arrives on the coast of New Holland; describes the coasts, produce, natives, &c. and proceeds to New Guiney and New Britain.

Dampier's
voyage, in
quest of disco-
veries in the
South Sea.

Arrives on the
coast of New-
Holland.

Trees and
plants.

The animals.

Rosemary
Island.

Captain *Dampier*, whose voyage round the globe had now acquired him great reputation, ^a began this expedition, made expressly in search of discoveries in the *South Sea*. on the 14th of *January* 1699, at which time he lost sight of the *Downs*. After doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*, steering for the course of *New Holland*, and running a prodigious course, he fell in with land in $26^{\circ} 14'$ S. latitude, and $85^{\circ} 52'$ longitude east from the *Cape*, when he looked for an opening to drop anchor in, and refresh the men after the fatigue of so long a voyage. In the 26° S. lat. he discovered a large bay, but, on heaving the lead, found it 55 fathom water, foul and rocky. Continuing his course, he descried land again, with the opening he sought for, where he anchored on the 6th. This he called *Shark's Bay*, lying in $25'$ south latitude, and, according to his reckoning, in 87° longitude east from the *Cape of Good Hope*, which is less by 195 leagues than is laid down in the common charts. Here the land is high ^b and steep to the sea. The sand on the shore is small and mouldy, producing a great quantity of samphire with a white flower. Farther in, the sand is of a reddish cast, and bears some grass, plants, and shrubs. The country bears a good many trees, but small, hardly any exceeding ten feet in height, and three feet in circumference. Some of the trees were sweet-scented, and reddish within the bark, resembling *sassafras*, but somewhat darker; the leaves were on the lower side whitish, on the upper of a fine green colour. Most of the trees were in blossom of various colours, but in general a beautiful blue, which had a peculiarly agreeable fragrance. There were but few land fowls, our author having seen only a few eagles, and five or six different kinds of small birds. Of the latter, some were of the size of a cock, ^c others of a wren, but all musical, and singing with a great compass of voice, and much sweetness. The water fowls were ducks, cuckows, crab-catchers, cormorants, gulls, pelicans, and others peculiar to the country. As to the land animals, such as *Dampier* saw consisted of the maccroons, different from those of the *West Indies*; and a sort of *Guanas*, unlike any he had before seen, having a large ugly head, no tail, but a great hunch on the rump, resembling a head. They were speckled black and white on the back, and scaly like crocodiles. The fish were sharks, skates, thornbacks, guard-fish, bonettoes, and some others. Muscles, oysters, and limpets, were found on the shore in great abundance, and the whole coast most beautifully ornamented with a great variety of different figured and coloured shells, some of which our author carried away with him. The ship's crew took two turtles, each weighing about 200 lb. They also caught a shark eleven feet in length, with the head and bones of a hippo- ^d potamus in the belly. All *Dampier's* endeavours to find water there were in vain, nor could he by any means discover whether or not the coast was inhabited ^e.

SAILING out of this bay on the 10th of *August*, he coasted along the shore till the 20th, when he came under latitude $19^{\circ} 37'$ south. Here he saw a number of snakes curiously shaped, coloured, and of different magnitudes. At noon, bearing in south-east-by-east, the land appeared like a cape, but, anchoring about five leagues from *Bluff Point*, it proved the east end of an island, six leagues in length, and one in breadth, surrounded with small rocks, which seemed to deny all entrance to larger vessels. The tides he met with soon after gave the captain a suspicion there might be a kind of *Archipelago* of islands, and a passage to the south of *New Holland* and *New Guiney*, into the great *South Sea* eastward. This he was deterred ^e from attempting by a scarcity of water on board. The place where he imagines this passage to be lies in $20^{\circ} 21'$, whereas the common draughts, and even *Tasman's*, have it in $19^{\circ} 50'$, representing the land as joining by a small neck to the continent. He went on shore in the island near *Bluff Point*, which he called *Rosemary Isle*, from two or three shrubs he found on it resembling rosemary. He likewise found two sorts of grain like beans, one growing on bushes, the other on a sort of creeping vine. Here he saw cormorants, gulls, oysters, and limpets, with others of the same kinds of fowls and fish as he had seen in *Shark's Bay*.

On the 23d he bore out to sea, and did not discover land again till the 30th, in $18^{\circ} 21'$ S. latitude. Here he saw a great number of large smokes near the shore, at which he anchored at eight fathom. This evening he saw an eclipse of the moon, but the haziness of the weather ^f prevented his making the proper observations. The day following, the captain, with eleven

^a Vide tom. iii. DAMPIER'S Voyages, passim.

men,

- a men armed, went on shore to search for water, when they discovered three of the natives, tall, black, and quite naked, standing close to the sea. On the approach of the captain they ran towards a neighbouring hill, being joined by eight or nine more of their countrymen. The captain proceeded to the top of the hill, from whence he had a good view of the country, which, as far as he could see, consisted of a fine savannah. After gratifying his curiosity, he returned to the shore, and his men began digging for water, during which about a dozen of the natives assembled upon the hill, from whence they made a disagreeable menacing noise. At last one of them advanced, followed at a little distance by the rest, as if he wanted to come to a parley; but, on the captain's coming within fifty yards of him, ran away, nor could any of them be induced by all his endeavours to enter into a correspondence or commerce.
- b In the afternoon the captain, taking two men only with him, went along the country, to try if he could seize upon one of the natives, in order to procure information where he might be supplied with water. This led him on to skirmish with ten of them, who thought to make a prey of him and his men, in which one of the blacks was badly wounded with a musket-shot, and another of the captain's men hurt in the face by a wooden dart flung at him. One of the natives the captain inferred to be the superior of the rest, from some ornaments he wore, such as a white circle of chalk or lime round his eyes, a white streak down his nose, with the same kind of decoration on his breast and elbows. This gave him a ferocious look, adding greatly to his natural deformity; for all the natives of this coast, says *Dampier*, have most unpleasant aspects, and the worst features he had ever seen on
- c savages (A).

DAMPIER saw a great many places where they had made fires, and where there were commonly three or four boughs stuck up to the windward for shelter. In the evening the captain went on board, without having the good fortune to meet with water. He observed a strong tide, and a regular ebbing and flowing of the sea, the flood running south-east-by-south till the last quarter; then it sets in directly to the shore, which lies here south-south-west and north-north-east, the ebb setting north-west-by-north. The captain acquaints us, that, but for that sort of pleasure which accompanies the discovery of even the barrenest spot upon the globe, he could find no other reason to be satisfied with this country of *New Holland*. The lands upon this coast, as well as on all the others he had seen, are fenced by a chain of sand hills towards the sea, in such a manner, that there is no seeing what lies behind them.

d At high water the tides rise so amazingly high, that the land appears greatly beneath a spectator from a ship. At low water the coast is so filled with rocks, that hardly a small boat can put to shore, though in the flood tide she may safely go over all of them. For five or six hundred yards from the sea the land is such as we have described in *Sharks Bay*, and bearing shrubs of the same kind. Farther in, the country appeared low and level, chiefly savannah, and partly wood-lands; the former bearing a coarse grass, and the latter groves of small trees about fourteen feet in height. He saw but a few land animals, among which were lizards, a creature resembling a wolf; crows, hawks, kites, and turtle-doves. As to the fish, it is much the same he described ^b.

e Thus *Dampier* spent about five weeks on the coast of *New Holland*, making all the discoveries he could, and looking out for places of refreshment, that his men might be enabled to pursue his design with the more vigour, for the scurvy had begun to shew itself among them. He doubted not in so fine a climate to meet with some part of the continent, or some island, that could supply his wants. Being disappointed in this expectation, he reflected upon the next necessary measure to be taken, and resolved to continue coasting along the shore to the north-east, in order to make farther discoveries, and from a full persuasion that at least in the latitude $16^{\circ} 15'$ he should meet with sweet water and vegetables. This notion must be allowed reasonable, yet did the event prove it but ill founded. Every little accident becomes of consequence among a crew ready to lay hold of every opportunity to call their commander's

^b DAMPIER'S Voyage, vol. iii.

(A) This was probably the coast he touched at in 1699 in his voyage round the world, there he describes them in the following manner: "The inhabitants are the most miserable wretches in the universe, having no houses or covering but the heavens; or garment, except a piece of the bark of a tree tied round the waist; no sheep, poultry, or fruits; but feed upon a few fish, cockles, muscles, and the like, without religion or government; they cohabit promiscuously. For the rest, their bodies are tall, thin, and strait, with great heads and eye-brows, and round foreheads.

"Their eye-lids are constantly half-closed, to keep the flies out, which are exceedingly troublesome here. They have large bottle noses, thick lips, and wide mouths. Both men and women, old and young, want the two fore-teeth of the upper jaw; but whether they draw them, I am not able to tell. They have no beards, but black, short, curled hair, like the negroes of *Africa*. Their weapons are a strait pike sharpened at one end. Of their language I can say nothing, but that they speak through the throat (1)."

(1) *Vide Voy. vol. i. p. 163.*

knowledge in question, to magnify the difficulties of the voyage, and to countenance a whatever appeared to agree with their own favourite scheme of returning home, though impracticable.

The islands of
Timor and
Anamaboa.

With these sentiments Captain *Dampier* put to sea on the 5th of *September*, with a gentle gale, but he was soon compelled to abandon his design, the shoals along the coast rendering it difficult, hazardous, and almost impossible to keep to the land, or to put in if necessary; he therefore turned out farther to sea, in water from seven to thirty-six fathom. The next day he could but just discern the land, though he had then no more than thirty fathom sounding; nay, often out of sight from shore, the soundings were from seven to eight fathoms only. In this course he kept till *September* the 8th, when, finding he had passed the latitude where he expected to be supplied with water, without the possibility of landing, and being apprehensive that the same difficulties might continue for several degrees further, he resolved to steer for the island of *Timor*. On the 21st, he arrived on the island, where he met with a *Dutch* sloop, the master of which shewed great surprise at seeing the ship of any other nation in these seas. His whole conduct was intended to dissuade *Dampier* from landing, assuring him that the side of the island on which he was afforded no water, excepting a well hard-by the *Dutch* fort, near which he would find it impossible to come, as the natives would certainly oppose and use him ill. Nay, because *Dampier* had accidentally discovered the straits which divide the islands of *Timor* and *Anamaboa* (for these two are, in all charts, laid down as one island), they presumed that he must have robbed some *Dutch* vessel of her charts, since the straits are only known by them. With these suspicions and jealousies the sloop returned to the fort; but *Dampier* was neither to be intimidated or circumvented by the *Dutchmen*. He sent his boat on shore to the governor, to satisfy him that the ship was no pirate, imagining he could have no jealousy or resentment upon any other account. But he was soon undeceived. The governor complained of an infringement of the privileges of the company, saying that no other ship had a right to come into those seas; that it could be done with no good design; that it must be either to inspect into their trade, or to rob their settlements. In short, he seemed to claim to his own nation the sole right of approaching the islands of the *South Sea*. *Dampier*, unwilling to enter into arguments with him upon a point of which he was no competent judge, agreed to ride at anchor two miles from shore, provided the governor would supply him with water at any price. This was accordingly done; after which he set fail.

The Dutch
fort Concordia in the
island of Timor.

THE country appears pleasant to the eye, the mountains being covered with wood, and the adjacent meadows with grass. The island *Anamaboa*, or *Anabao*, is about ten leagues long and four broad; yet is this small tract of land divided into two kingdoms. The natives of both resemble the other *Indians*, and are of a swarthy copper colour, with straight black hair. The subjects of the king of *Anamaboa* are in league with the *Dutch* fort *Concordia* in the island of *Timor*; but inveterate enemies to the people of the other kingdom *Anabao*. The latter, besides managing their plantations of a few cocoa-trees, fish and strike turtles, and hunt buffaloes, killing them with swords, darts, or lances. They carry on a small trade, for the sake of conveniency, with the *Dutch*, whom they hate, and the *Portuguese*, with whom they live upon not the most friendly footing. They go constantly armed, and spend four or five days in hunting or fishing, without visiting their habitations. The fish or flesh they take, that is not wanted for immediate use, is dried on a barbacue, or wooden grate, standing high over the fire; after which they carry it home.

A description
of the fort.

HAVING procured some water, and made his observations, *Dampier* weighed anchor on the 22d, coasting along the shore till the 27th, when he put into *Copang* bay, where he discovered a good watering-place. He describes the island *Timor* to be about 70 leagues in length, the centre of it in 9° S. lat. and sixteen broad. It has no navigable river, nor any harbours, though there are bays where ships may ride with great safety at most seasons of the year. The shore is bold, free from shoals, rocks, or islands, excepting a few which are perfectly visible, and easily avoided. From the foot of the mountains to the shore is full of red *Mangrove* trees, excepting within 200 paces of the sea, which is covered with a particular species of pines. *Concordia*, the *Dutch* fort, is pleasantly situated; it has a river on one side (although the sloop informed *Dampier* otherwise), about forty yards from the walls, with a garden on the other. Here are all kinds of fallads, roots, and other vegetables for the kitchen, with a pretty parterre. In some parts of it are fruit-trees, as jacas, pumplenoses, oranges, sweet lemons, &c. and by the walls are cocoa-nut and toddy trees in great perfection and plenty. Besides these, they have musk and water-melons, pine-apples, pome-citrons, pomegranates, and other delicious fruits. Between this garden and the river is a kind of paddock for black cattle. Beyond the company's grounds the natives have their village or town, consisting of about fifty or sixty houses. The fort is defended by about fifty soldiers, and several pieces of cannon, as well as stone walls with bastions. Within the walls is a new chapel built of stone, and prettily decorated.

a As to the natives, they are of a middling stature, slender-limbed, strait-bodied, long-visaged, their hair black and lank, and their complexion swarthy. They are nimble, active, and dextrous, but at the same time lazy to an extreme: they are said to be dull in every thing but treachery and barbarity. Their houses are mean, their dress a bit of cloth tied round the waist. Some for ornament wear frontlets of mother of pearl, or thin pieces of gold or silver, of an oval form, the size of an half crown, curiously milled round the edges. Five of these they dispose in a certain manner above the eye-brows, both for elegance of dress, and a security to the forehead. Others again wear palmeto leaves, shaped into different fashions.

b THEY take as many wives as they are able to maintain, without limitation or restriction; they even often sell their children for a wife. Religion they would appear to have none, as they use no kind of ceremonies. Their common food is *Indian* corn, which every man plants for himself, and just as much as he imagines will maintain his family; if there should prove an overplus, he gives it to his neighbour, who perhaps may be deficient; and he again transfers it to a third, if himself does not stand in need of it. Their method of clearing the ground is by setting fire to the withered grass and shrubs, the ashes of which they find fertilize and enrich the soil.

c THEIR plantations are extremely mean; for, as their chief delight is in hunting, every part of agriculture is neglected for that, excepting the easy process of burning the grass, and sowing with lances, or a short thick truncheon, and a target on the left arm; the same weapons they use in war. The whole island is divided into five different kingdoms, viz. *Copang*, *Omabie*, *Fontribie*, *Popumbie*, and *Mamquimal*. Almost all the kings are sworn foes to each other; and their divisions are fomented and kept up by the *Dutch*, who find these perpetual animosities of use to their authority, which otherwise they would hardly be able to maintain. It indeed seems to be the prevailing maxim of their policy, throughout the whole empire of the *India* company ^b.

d THE *Portuguese* fort is on the opposite end of the island, which is reported to be greatly superior in strength and power to the *Dutch*. This at least is their own opinion, and with this idea they content themselves while the *Dutch* run away with the whole trade of the islands. They depend greatly on their alliance with the natives, with whom they are consolidated into the same nation by intermarriages; however, their influence or manners does not extend far into the country. They acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of *Portugal*, but will receive no officers appointed by him. The *Malayan*, the *Timoran*, and the *Portuguese*, are all spoken by the inhabitants in the vicinage of the *Portuguese* settlement, or rather a mixture of all three. *Dampier* says, that he did not see above three or four white men in the whole *Portuguese* factory, the rest being a kind of mixed descent, of whom there are several thousands. The chief of the factory has his residence at a place called *Porto Novo*, but he is commonly at the head of an army in the mountains, to guard the passes against the *Copangoyans* effectually in the dry season.

e THERE are also some *Chinese* merchants from *Macao*, who import hither gold, tea, iron work, china, and silk, both wrought and raw. For their mixed stamped gold, they get in exchange pure gold, bees-wax, sandal-wood, and coire. In short, the country, taken together, is rich and plentiful; fruits of all kinds abound in the island; rice, *Indian* corn, fowls, honey, wax, gold, copper, and many other necessaries of life, and rich merchandize, are found here; and to conclude, the island is no less wealthy than pleasant.

f ON the 12th of *December* Captain *Dampier* sailed from *Timor*, and saw during the remainder of the month several other islands. On *New Year's Day* he first discovered the coast of *New Guinea*, and soon after several islands. On *January* the 4th, 1700, he descried smoke in different places on the islands lying to the west of his course, to which he bore away with the advantage of a brisk gale a-stern. There two canoes came off within call, making signs to come on shore, and speaking in a language that none of the crew understood. They were returned in the *Malayan*, but made no answer. As they would not be prevailed on to come on board, the captain went after them with the pinnace, carrying with him knives, beads, and toys, such as he imagined the most likely to engage them in a commerce. At first they were shy, and hid themselves behind the rushes on the shore; but, on the captain's throwing them some trifles, they approached in a friendly manner, pouring water on their heads, and using other ceremonies of a perfect cordiality. The next day several canoes came on board, bringing with them fruits, roots, and other vegetables, which were all bought up.

g THIS island is called *Pulo Sabuda* by the natives, but has no appellation in the charts of the *New Guinea* coast. It is about three leagues in length, and two miles in breadth, of a good height, and to be discovered at sea at the distance of 11 or 12 miles. In general it is rocky,

but over the rocks in many places there is good red and yellow mould, not deep, but producing a tall trees bearing delicious fruit. These the natives plant, for in this mould nothing shoots up spontaneously. There is great variety of fruit on the island; what *Dampier* saw were only lemons, oranges, plantanes, cocoa-nuts, pine-apples, and a few others. He mentions indeed another kind, which he calls a wild jacas, about the size of a small pumpkin, full of stones or kernels, but exceeding delicious. The libby tree grows in the vallies of this island, from which the natives make fago-cakes. What they use for this purpose is the pith. *Dampier* bought a few nutmegs in the shell on this island, but he does not say whether they were the produce of the country. He saw a great number of sea fowls upon the shore, of these boobies and men of war birds were the chief. A sort of wild pigeon he mentions as peculiar to *Pulo Sabuda*, it externally appearing jet-black, till, on turning the feathers, the inside is of a snow-white; in other respects it differs nothing from an *English* pigeon. Here is also a kind of sky-coloured bird, which *Dampier* had never seen but on the coast of *New Guinea*. Bats as large as conies are found on the island, their necks, heads, ears, and noses, like foxes; their hair rough; that about their necks of a whitish yellow, that on their heads and shoulders black. Their wings extended are four feet wide, measuring from the extremity of each. Their smell is rank and disagreeable, like that of a fox. The fish of the island is of various kinds, mullets, bass, rock-fish, old wives, whiprays, and some other sorts, but of no kind is there any plenty. The island lies in $2^{\circ} 43'$ S. latitude, distant from *Port Babao* on the island of *Timor* 486 miles. The inhabitants of this and of several adjacent islands are a sort of tawny *Indians*, with long black hair, differing but little in their manner from the *Mindanayans*. There is a kind of subordination among them; for, besides the different degrees of rank among the natives, there is an inferior order of curl-pated *New Guinea* slaves, at least of the same complexion and features with these, which the captain believed might have been imported. They are in general poor, and naked, except a bit of cloth round the waist, made from the rind of the palmetto-tree; but the women wear a kind of callico loose dress. For ornament they wear blue and yellow bracelets made of glass beads. They are armed with bows, arrows, and broad swords, like the *Mindanese*; they have lances also pointed with iron.

THEIR method of striking fish by the fish-gig is ingenious, and something curious in the manner. They make the fish rise by means of a piece of wood cut out and painted like a dolphin; this they let down into the water by a line and weight to sink it; when they believe it low enough, they hale the line with the utmost celerity into their boats, and the fish, rising after the figure, are struck as soon as they appear near the surface. But the chief sustenance of the natives is drawn from their plantations, although they have large boats with which they trade to *New Guinea*, from whence, among other things, they import slaves and parrots, which they again export to *Ceram*, and exchange for calicoes. While the captain staid on the island, one of those trading boats arrived from *New Guinea*; but they would dispose of neither slaves nor parrots for any other merchandize than calicoes. Their houses are poor and mean on one side of the island, but much larger, and more convenient and splendid, on the other. He could not guess at their religion for certain, although he believed them to be *Mohammedans*, and for a very extraordinary reason; viz. that they drank brandy out of the same cup with the seamen, without scruple. An atheist would have done the same.

New Guinea,
and the islands
on its coast in
the captain's
return.
Cockle
Island.

ON the 20th, after laying in a stock of roots, fruits, and water, the captain weighed anchor, and left the island, and steered to the north-west cape of *New Guinea*, called by the *Dutch* *Cape Malo*. Off this cape lies a small woody island; to examine which *Dampier* sent his boat, which soon returned with a cockle of an incredible size, whence he gave it the appellation of *Cockle Island*. On landing he observed a greater number of pigeons than he had ever before seen together, although all the islands within the *Tropic of Capricorn* abound with this fowl. He reports, that on this shore his men found a cockle-shell, which, empty, weighed, what the reader will perhaps think incredible, 258 lb. The next evening he anchored near a pleasant island, about two leagues and a half in length; the country high, and finely clothed with wood of different kinds. Most of the spices were unknown to *Dampier*, but they were all in leaf, and yielded a delightful odour and fragrance. They bore flowers of different colours, some white, some green, yellow, blue, purple, &c. They were tall, strait, and of a smooth exterior; one in particular measured 70 feet in height to the branches, without a curve, knot, spot, or blemish, on the bark. The soil is shallow, black, but fertile. To this island he gave the name of *King William*.

King Wil-
liam's Island.

ON the 14th he was within six leagues of the continent of *New Guinea*, which appeared very high from the sea. He discovered two capes, distant from each other about twenty leagues; the variation of the compass here was four degrees to the east. Next day he fell in with an uninhabited island, to which he gave the name of *Providence*; it lies near the island discovered by *Schouten*, and is called by his name in all the *Dutch* charts. On the 16th he crossed the line, fell in with an island which he at first took to be *Wishart's Island*, but, perceiving

Providence
Island.

- a ceiving his mistake, he called it *Matthias Island*. Eight leagues to the eastward he saw another island, and after that several more, to the largest of which he gave the appellation of *Squally*, on account of the squalls and blowy weather he met with on the coast. After this, in order to indemnify himself for the sufferings he had sustained, and with so little profit, he determined to steer away clear of the islands, towards the continent, in hopes there to meet with something to compensate all the toil and labour the crew had gone through. He came within sight of it on the 18th, and describes it nearly in the following manner: The continent, says he, appeared high and mountainous, the face of the hills being all over covered with woods, and adorned with flourishing trees. The sides of the hills had many plantations, and tracts of cleared lands, which, with the smokes he observed, was a plain indication of the country's being inhabited.
- b When he was within a short distance of the shore he saw a proa, followed by three or four more coming out from the adjacent bays, as if they intended to approach the ship. In a little time a fleet of forty-six of these skiffs were got together, and came so near, that the ship's crew could see them beckoning to go on shore, and hear their language, which however they could not comprehend. *Dampier* endeavoured to put into the bay, but, being driven to the leeward, the proes gathered round him. He endeavoured, by shewing them several toys, to draw them into a commerce, of which they seemed to be shy. Upon this he put some knives, scissars, and beads, into a bottle, which they took up with great satisfaction; striking their left breast, and holding a black truncheon over their heads, in token of friendship. When the ship stood to the shore, they looked pleased, and frowned as often as she stood to a greater distance. There were 200 men in the proes round the ship, and the whole shore lined with inhabitants, which, with the shoals in the bay, deterred the captain from attempting to enter for that night. He had ordered his men to stand to their arms, and took every precaution against a surprise, as he was ignorant of their designs. At last he determined to land in the pinnace; which being observed by the natives, they began to sling stones with great dexterity from certain engines they were provided with; this bay he therefore named *Slingers Bay*. Upon the firing of a gun, they were greatly astonished, left off their slinging, and huddled together, as if they were consulting their future measures. The shot fired upon them did some execution; but *Dampier* was unwilling to repeat it, as he must thence cut off all hopes of any farther commerce with them.
- d NEXT day he sailed by an island, from whence two or three canoes put out, and laboured hard to overtake the ship, in which they failed, though she went with an easy sail. About three leagues to the north he opened a large deep bay, to the north-east of which lay two islands. One was small and overgrown with wood; the other a league in length, well inhabited, and full of cocoa-nut plantations. He attempted to get into a bay on the north side, but, finding it shoaly, he tried to get anchorage on the east end. Disappointed in this, he was steering on south-east, when a canoe came up close with the ship. She had on board three men, who came without fear or dread into the ship, and sold some cocoa-nuts to the seamen. Before these departed, two more canoes were seen coming; but *Dampier*, not chusing to admit a number of savages on board at night, steered off from land.
- e ON *March* the 3d he was got to *Garrat Dennis*, about 15 leagues in circumference, high, woody, and mountainous. Some trees were very large, and the bay abounded with cocoa-nut trees. The sides of the mountains were covered with plantations well laid out and cultivated. The mould in the new-cleared land was of a brown reddish colour, not deep, but exceeding fertile. The middle of the island lies in $3^{\circ} 10'$ south latitude, by which *Dampier's* course may be perfectly understood; for, from the island of *Ceram* north of the line, he surrounded the north point and islands of *New Guiney*, coasting along the continent till he came to the north-east side of *New Britain*. The natives of *Garrat Dennis* are a black, strong, well-limbed people, their heads quite round, their hair short and curled, but dressed into different forms, and dyed with all manner of colours, red, yellow, and blue. They have round faces, bottle-noses, yet not disagreeable, except they are disfigured by the strange ridiculous modes of the country, such as running rings as thick as the finger through the nose, both nostrils, and hanging down upon the cheeks. Their ears are also pierced, and, like the *Indians* of the *East*, distended into an almost incredible length down the neck and shoulders, with pendants of some heavy metal; for the lower the ear falls, and the larger the hole pierced in it, the more beautiful the owner is thought (A). They are active and dexterous in their proes, which are built upon a very ingenious model, ornamented with the carved figures of men, birds, and fishes, not badly executed. Their weapons are slings, lances, swords, with bows and arrows.

(A) We cannot help remarking how unjust the opinion is, that all distortions of nature first appear in the most civilized countries. If we want to see true simplicity of manners, we are desired to look for it among savages, and the wild untutored *Indians*; yet can any thing be

more contrary to nature than the customs which travellers relate of those rude and uncultivated nations? The people we are now describing afford a striking instance of this.

They have also wooden fish-gigs for striking fish, at which they are no less expert than the people of *Slingers Bay*. Their speech is clear, soft, and articulate ; the words they used the most were *Vacousee*, *Olamais* ; the others equally abounding in vowels and soft consonants.

Cave's
Island.

THE following day, *Dampier* visited another island in S. latitude $3^{\circ} 25'$, distant about 316 miles from the meridian of *Cape Mabo*. It is high and woody like the former ; but shews many proofs of industry by finely cultivated plantations on the brows of the mountains. On the south-east parts of this island are two or three more small islands, all of them covered with wood, chiefly of cocoa-nut trees. On the north is another island, larger and more flat than any of the former. Passing between this and the high island described, which, in the *Dutch* charts, goes by the name of *Cave's Island*, some canoes came out from shore, making signals for the crew to land, and doubted not but the ship might be run upon the shore with the same ease and safety as their canoes. On their coming on board, which with some difficulty they were prevailed on to do, the captain presented them with bits of mirrors, knives, and glass beads ; presents they were highly delighted with. He shewed them cocoa-nuts, pumpions, nutmegs, and gold-dust ; all which they said they had upon their island, calling the latter *Maneel*. They were of a jet-black complexion, their hair frizzled, tall, stout, and well-shaped men, speaking the same language as the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands. The captain says, that of all the natives of *New Holland*, or *New Guinea*, he had ever seen, these were the most civilized and polished in their manners. After this, he fell in with *St. John's Island*, the people of which spoke the same language with those of *Cave's Island*, and differed but little from them in their customs. From hence he descried a headland, beyond which he could discover no land ; whence he infers, that the continent runs away more to the west than it is laid down in the maps. This headland lies in the latitude of $5^{\circ} 2'$ south, at the meridian distance of 1290 miles from *Cape Mabo*. Between this and *Cape St. Mary's* the land is mountainous, rough, and woody, with a number of points jutting out so far into the sea as to form some fine bays. Here he observed a burning mountain at a considerable distance up the country, but neither the appearance of houses or plantations on this coast. The bay *Dampier* called *St. George's Bay*, giving likewise the same name to the opposite mountain. Next day he came within sight of a cape, which he called *Cape Orford*. It lies in $5^{\circ} 24'$ south latitude. On each side the cape the land is more savannah than woodland, and appears to be of little value. Steering along south-west as the land lies, he observed the coast to be high, but more pleasant, and apparently more fruitful, than the former. He now began to see smoke again in different places, whence he judged this part of the country to be better inhabited than the former. On *March* the 14th, he had sight of a deep bay, with some islands about it. The same day he saw a point projecting into the sea, and a bay within, where he expected to meet with fresh water. Here he saw all the marks of a well-cultivated country, as cocoa-trees, fruitful plantations, and a great number of houses. When he was within five miles of the land, several canoes came out to survey the ship. He spoke to them, made signs, and did all in his power to invite them on board, but could not succeed. Soon after, a large well-built boat, with about forty men, came within call of the ship. She was followed by another still larger, finely carved and decorated, with upwards of fifty men on board. As he suspected they came out with intention to fight him, he ordered the gunner to point a cannon charged with grape-shot between the two boats. This he executed with so much address, that all the shot fell just where he intended, without touching either boat, and had the desired effect ; for they pulled with all their might to shore ; after which the ship followed them into the bay. As she passed by the point, a great number of people were seen peeping out of the crevices of the rock ; on which the captain ordered a cannon charged with ball to be fired, to terrify them. It lighted so near them, that they took to their heels with great precipitation, looking behind them to see if any more balls were coming. They soon assembled again in a grove of cocoa-trees ; when the captain thinking it necessary, on account of their numbers, to inspire them with high notions of his power, ordered a third gun to be fired ; after which he sent his boat on shore, to wood and water. Some of the natives came running to her with presents of cocoa-nuts, and the seamen cut the necessary wood, and filled their casks, without opposition. However, it was difficult to bring them to trade ; for they refused him yams, hogs, and fruit, in exchange for money or toys. At last they were prevailed on to spare some cocoa-nuts ; yet still they seemed afraid, running away as soon as they had delivered them. For several days the captain staid in this bay, in expectation of establishing a friendly commerce with the natives. He describes the men as dressed with feathers about their heads, and lances in their hands, and the women without any ornaments, or even covering, except a bunch of green boughs stuck behind and before in a string tied round the waist. They were industrious, and perpetually passing with large baskets of yams on their heads. It is the captain's remark, that, among all the uncivilized nations he had ever seen, the women carry the burdens,

a thens, and perform the most laborious and servile employments, while the men parade before them with no other load than their arms.

ALL of a sudden, without any apparent cause, the natives became more shy than before, retiring a good way from the shore, pulling all their cocoa-nuts the preceding night, and driving away the hogs, with every thing that was moveable. The sailors followed them, and made signs to know what they had done with the hogs and goats; upon which they pointed to little huts at some distance, expressing the voices of the different animals by grunting and bleating, and their sizes by holding their hands at different distances from the ground. On the following day, the captain, accompanied with some of his men, carrying with him such trifles as he imagined would be most acceptable to them, went, with an intention, if possible, to bring them
b to friendly and familiar terms. He saw two men and a boy, one of whom was prevailed on by signs to come to the boat-side. He gave him a knife, a string of beads, and a glass-bottle; upon which he signified that he would go to a neighbouring village for cocoas. At the earnest request of his men, the captain permitted them to go to the bay where the natives had driven their hogs. Upon their landing, they assembled, and shook their lances, as if they intended to oppose them. The seamen held up such trifles as they had taken with them, but could not get them to approach or accept of any. Finding that their friendly endeavours had no effect, and determined to carry away some hogs, of which the ship was in great want, the seamen discharged some shot among them; upon which they all, except two or three, ran away. These kept their ground, and stood in a menacing posture; but soon ran off, upon one
c of them being wounded in the arm by a musket-shot. After this, the men shot nine hogs, with which they returned to the ship, but soon came back, and landed without opposition; nor did the natives even attempt to resist their carrying off as many cattle as they thought proper. One man ventured to bring some cocoa-nuts, left them on the shore, and after making signs to the seamen where they were, ran off. This was all the communication the captain had with this timid people.

DURING a stay of several days here, the weather was almost constantly clear, fair, and pleasant, only sometimes interrupted by claps of thunder and showers of rain. The sea and land breezes were regular and refreshing; the former S. S. E. and the latter from N. E. to N. W. In honour of his patron he called this bay *Port Montague*. It lies in $6^{\circ} 10'$ S.
d latitude; the country round it being mountainous and woody, but interspersed with beautiful and rich vallies, and pleasant fresh-water brooks. The soil in the vallies is deep and yellowish; that on the mountains more shallow, and of a brown colour; but all extremely fertile and prolific. In general, the trees are neither remarkably tall, strait, nor thick, but, putting forth a fine verdure, they greatly delight and refresh the eye. Some were covered with flowers, some with berries, others loaded with large fruit, but all of them uncommon to any of the crew. Cocoa-nuts flourish greatly here, as well by the sea-side as in the more remote vallies. They are of the common size, and the stalk and kernel rather more delicious than any the captain had tasted before. Here is ginger, yams, and several culinary roots and herbs. Hogs, dogs, and some other land animals, he saw; such as pigeons, cuckadores, crows, and parrots;
e also another bird resembling a black-bird, but larger, and many more of a small size, peculiar to the country. The sea and rivers are well-stocked with fish, such as yellow-tails, whipsays, cavellies, &c.

ON the 22d of *March* early in the morning, the captain was called up to behold what the crew called a miracle. It was a large pillar of fire, shooting gradually for three or four minutes, then sinking in the same space of time, till it became scarce visible. He knew it immediately to be a volcano, or burning mountain, and steered for it accordingly. On the 25th he found himself within three leagues of the island in which this volcano was, about six miles from the continent. The island for the whole time vomited out flames, smoak, and ashes, with dreadful explosions as loud as thunder. The interval between each explosion was near
f half a minute; neither were the eruptions equal in degree. Some were but faint convulsions in comparison of others; yet the weakest were terrifying. The stronger threw up a flame thirty or forty yards into the sky, and a stream of fire running down to the foot of the mountain, and even to the shore. From the chanel dug up by this liquid fire, they could in the ship perceive a smoke, which *Dampier* attributed to the half-consumed sulphur poured out from the funnel at the top of the mountain. This volcano is situated in $5^{\circ} 33'$ S. lat. The east part of *New Guinea* lies 40 miles west of this tract of land, and in most charts they are laid down as contiguous; but captain *Dampier* found a wide passage between them, calling the north-east promontory of *New Guinea* *King William's Cape*, and the island *New Britain*. It
g land, interspersed with fine vallies, and abounding with tall and noble trees. It is well inhabited by a race of strong well-made negroes, but so suspicious that the captain could hold no commerce with them. Farther east on the continent he discovered another island, which he called

Rooke's
Island.

Crown
Island.

Reflections on
the voyage.

Sir George Rooke's Island, about 12 leagues in length, well-cultivated, rich, and populous; another near, but more to the east, which, from its figure, he called *Crown Island*; after which he got to *Batavia* without any other material discovery.

FROM what has been said, the reader will perceive how strongly *Dampier's* account^f confirms what has been related from captain *Tasman's* journal, and the certainty that there lies a large, rich, and inhabited continent in the *South Seas*, from forty-two or forty-three degrees south latitude, quite to the equator, with a variety of fruitful, pleasant, and healthy islands. He will likewise observe, that however short of expectation this voyage turned out, yet that still it was of the utmost consequence. It has shewn a new *Indies*, or at least described one more minutely than former accounts had done, in which we may be able to undertake settlements as advantageous as any this or any other nation has hitherto made, whenever that spirit of industry shall revive which first gave birth, then extended, and at last established, the *British* commerce. This journal tallies so exactly with the relations of *Quiros* and *Schouten*, that we can hardly entertain a doubt of the possibility of finding in the *South Sea* countries which would fully compensate all the toil and expence of opening a trade with them. And, indeed, if there were no other merit in *Dampier's* expedition, this alone ought to recommend it, that it has for ever removed those suspicions concerning the authenticity of former journals, and fully assures us that there is a *Southern Continent*; a blessing reserved for the *British* nation, if she has prudence and resolution enough to embrace it. But this matter will be set in a still clearer light by the following extract of commodore *Roggewin's* journal.

^f DAMPIER, vid. vols. iii. & iv.

S E C T. V.

Containing an account of the parentage of Commodore Roggewin: his memorials to the Dutch West India company; their intention of equipping a fleet for this voyage; and, finally, the discoveries of the Commodore on the Southern Continent, with the seizure of his squadron by the East India company at Batavia.

Roggewin's
voyage to the
South Seas.

AT the expence, and by the appointment, of the *Dutch West India* company, commodore *Roggewin* sailed from the port of *Amsterdam* on the 16th of *July*, an. 1721, in search of discoveries in the *South Seas* (A). He had under his command three ships well provided for so long and hazardous a voyage. After various accidents he arrived at the island of *Juan Fernandez*, which he soon quitted, with intention to visit that part of the *Southern Continent* reported by Mr. *Wafer* to be discovered by captain *Davis* (B), an. 1680. *Roggewin* having the

(A) Mr. *Roggewin*, father to the commodore, a gentleman of great parts, penetration, and opulent fortune, which he had acquired in *India*, was the projector of this voyage for the discovery of that vast continent, and the infinite number of islands, which are demonstrated to lie in that part of the globe. His project, with explications of his plan, and arguments in support of it, he presented to the *East India* company anno 1696. It was well received, and Mr. *Roggewin* was assured by the company, that as soon as the state of their affairs would permit, he should receive all the assistance and countenance in their power. But the disturbances which soon after followed put a stop to their good intentions, and before any farther steps were taken, Mr. *Roggewin* breathed his last. He was a gentleman of the province of *Zealand*, who from his youth had applied himself to mathematical studies, at least such of them as relate to geography, navigation, and a perfect knowledge of the globe. He had a hearty zeal for the service of his country, of which he gave many proofs, but none so great in his own opinion as this project, the execution of which he earnestly recommended on his death-bed to his son.

After his father's decease, the young gentleman pursued his studies with the utmost vigour, and made so hasty a progress as to qualify himself for the post of counsellor to the judiciary at *Batavia*, whilst young. After his return from thence with a large fortune, he

resolved to perform the promise he had made to his father; and, in the year 1721, presented a memorial to the *West India* company, which was received with the same readiness the *East India* company had shewn to his father's, but executed with more alacrity; for he soon had a little squadron of three ships appointed him; viz. the *Eagle* of 36 guns and 111 men, commanded by Captain *Job Coster*; the *Thienhoven* of 28 guns, and 100 men, Captain *Borwman*; and the *African Galley*, 14 guns, and 60 men, under the command of Captain *Rosinbald* (1).

(B) As *Roggewin's* journal, or rather that published in *French* by a native of *Mecklenburg*, who performed the voyage with him, is greatly deficient in this circumstance, we will relate it from Mr. *Wafer's* account of the discovery. "We steered," says he, "from the *Gallipagos* South-and-by-East, until we came into lat. 27° 20' South, where we fell in with a low sandy island, and heard a roaring noise like that of the sea beating upon the shore, right ahead of the ship, it being then night. Upon this, fearing to fall foul of the shore before day, the ship was put about, and lay to till day. It proved to be a small island, without the guard of any rocks.—To the westward about twelve leagues, we saw a range of high land, which we took to be an island; for there were several partitions in the prospect. This land seemed to reach about 16 leagues in a range, and there came flocks of fowls. I,

(1) *Vid. Hist. des Navig. tom. ii. p. 226. Harris's Collect. p. 258. tom. i.*

a the benefit of the south-east monsoon, soon arrived in the latitude of 28° ; and in the longitude of 251° , he expected to meet with *Davis's Land*; and was the more assured of this prospect, when he saw fowls flying over the ship, and observed the wind often shifting and veering; both which are looked upon as certain signs of land. So strong were their hopes, that some of the company imagined they saw it, though, to their great mortification, after a fruitless search, they could not fall upon it. Hence he concluded, that he had either passed it, or that there existed no such land; but we are not to be surprised at his disappointment, as it appears from *Wafer's* account, that he sought it ten degrees too far to the west^a.

Pursuing his course for 12 degrees west, he still saw great flocks of birds, which attended him till he fell in with a small island, about 16 leagues in extent, to which he gave the name of *Pascha*, or *Easter Land*, it being discovered on *Easter-day*. The smallest of the vessels was sent to sound and examine this coast; and she returned with advice that it seemed fertile and populous, as they discovered a great number of smokes in different parts of the island. When the squadron was about two miles from shore, an *Indian* canoe came off to them. They made signs for it to come on board, which the man to whom she belonged readily agreed to; and was accordingly well received. As he was naked, the first present made him was a piece of cloth to cover him; then they gave him toys, such as glass beads, knives, and other things; with all which he was overjoyed. His body was all over painted with figures of different animals. His natural complexion, as far as could be discovered through the cover of paint, was a dark brown, and his ears excessively large and long. He was tall, well-made, robust, and of a happy countenance. His spirits were good, his limbs active, and his temper disposed to cheerfulness, as appeared by his gestures, and the agility with which he traversed the ship. They gave him a glass of wine to drink, which he threw away, probably for fear of being poisoned, or perhaps, being accustomed to drink water, the smell might be offensive to him. They next clothed him from head to foot, putting a hat on his head; with which he appeared to be greatly incumbered and uneasy. They gave him victuals, of which he ate heartily; but could not be prevailed on to use either knife or fork. They then ordered their music to play, which highly delighted, and set him a skipping and dancing. As they could not get to an anchor that night, they thought it proper to set the *Indian* in his canoe again, letting all the presents they had given him remain with him, in order to induce others to come on board. But so far from expressing a desire to return, he was uneasy, and seemingly affronted, that it should be required of him. He held up both his hands, looking wishfully, then, pointing to the island, he cried out, *Oderoga! Oderoga! Oderoga!* in a distinct and articulate voice. This they imagined to be his *god*, because they found a number of idols erected on the shore. On *Roggewin's* entering the gulph on the east side of the island, the ship being close to land, several thousands of the natives came on the beach with loads of fruits, roots, and fresh provisions, particularly trouts. Many came on board, and were civilly treated. As the ship drew nearer, the natives crowded down to the sea-side, sacrificing to their idols, probably to protect them against the strangers, whose formidable and unusual appearance greatly terrified them; for those who were bold enough to come on board betrayed marks of fear, that made it obvious they were desirous of conciliating the favour of the *Europeans*, rather from motives of terror than of love, or any particular hospitality to strangers.

The next morning early they were seen prostrated before their idols, making burnt-offerings.

In the mean time, *Roggewin*, with about 150 seamen, was preparing to land; just as they were entering their boats, a large fleet of canoes, with every commodity the island afforded, came to the side of the ship. Among these was the friendly *Indian* they had so kindly treated on board, who returned with symptoms of the strongest joy, which he expressed by some ridiculous capers and skips along the deck. There was likewise one man perfectly white, with large pendants in his ears, of a grave and solemn deportment, and an air either of deep melancholy or gloomy religion; from which the *Dutch* conjectured he was a priest. During this state of friendly offices, one of the natives was shot dead in his canoe (by accident, says the journalist), which spread such terror among the rest, that they leapt into the sea, and

^a HARRIS'S Collect. p. 269. tom. i.

"and many more of our men, would have made this land; but Captain *Davis* would not permit it. The small island bears from *Copayopo* 500 leagues almost due east, and from the *Gallipagos* under the line 600 leagues (2)." From hence it is apparent, that *Roggewin's* project, when he set out from *Juan Fernandez*,

of steering this course, was not only natural, but founded on experience, and the lights afforded by actual journals. He had good reasons to believe there was a Southern Continent; and this account of *Davis's Land* seemed to prove to him, that this range described by *Wafer* was a part of it.

(2) *Harris's Collect.* p. 265.

swam ashore with the utmost precipitation. They were followed by the *Dutch*, who, finding the shore crouded with these miserable creatures, thought themselves under the necessity of brutally making their way through them by force. This they did by a discharge of small arms, which instantly cleared the coast. Nothing could be more imprudent, barbarous, or insolent, than this unprovoked act. By their own acknowledgement, the *Dutch* were received with all possible demonstrations of friendship; why then unnecessarily commence hostilities, and shed the blood of those very men who were paying them all possible marks of regard and devotion! The natives, forsooth, had presumed to stand in their way, and even, out of curiosity, to touch their arms; which atrocious crime must cancel all the obligations received from their hospitality. No arguments, indeed, can palliate the conduct of the *Dutch* on this occasion; for it appeared equally devoid of religion, humanity, and policy, too much akin to that brutal pride and over-weening insolence they had shewn in all their settlements in the *Indies*, both to natives and *Europeans*.

Pascha or
Easter Island,
mentioned by
Tasman, and
here minutely
described.

By this discharge a great number were killed and wounded; among the former of which was the poor *Indian*, who had been twice on board to welcome them with so much cordiality. Upon this, the natives kept at the distance of ten yards, supposing that space sufficient to secure them against the effects of the musquetry; nor did the *Dutch* chuse to repeat their wanton cruelty. Although the consternation into which they had been thrown was very great, as was apparent from the dismal shrieks and howlings they uttered, yet finding that no further attempts were made against them, they soon laid aside their resentment, to resume those acts of benevolence more agreeable to their disposition. Men, women, and children, presented themselves before the proud usurpers, with branches of palm, in token of peace, and with offerings of fowls, fruits, and the best produce of their country. Even their women were given to the *Dutch*, and nothing refused that could either demonstrate the affection, the fear, or the submission of the inhabitants. Softened with such tokens of deep humility, the stubborn hearts of the *Dutchmen* deigned to treat them with kindness, and even to return their presents by a number of toys and baubles, by way of atoning for the innocent blood they had spilt.

THE natives perceiving that no further injury was intended, brought them 500 live fowls, large quantities of red roots and potatoes, which they use instead of bread, several hundreds of sugar-canes, and loads of *pisans*, or *Indian* figs, of the size of a gourd, and covered with a green rind. The pulp of this fruit is sweet as honey; the figs grow in branches, sometimes an hundred on a bough, and shaded with leaves six or eight feet long, and three broad. No animals besides birds appeared on the island; of these there were great numbers and an infinite variety, some of the most beautiful the *Dutch* had ever beheld. But they thought it probable that some parts of the country were not without cattle and other beasts, because the natives expressed as much by signs.

Description of
the natives,
their customs
and manners.

THEY dressed their food in earthen pots, of the manufacture of the island; and their most common food is drawn from vegetables raised by cultivation. The *Dutch* imagined that every separate family or tribe among them had its peculiar village. The huts or cabins, which compose them, were from 40 to 60 feet in length, and six or eight feet in width, formed of poles stuck perpendicular in the earth; the spaces between which are filled with a kind of loam or fat earth, and the roof made of palm and pisan leaves. All their plantations were staked out, neatly divided, and finely cultivated. When the *Dutch* were there, almost all their fruits, plants, herbs, and roots, were in full maturity; so that nothing could present a more rich and beautiful prospect to the eye than the whole face of this island, blooming with the elegant verdure of the spring, and the plentiful mellowness of autumn. The houses were but indifferently furnished, yet sufficient to prove that the arts were not wholly unknown to the natives. The chief ornaments were red and white coverlets, of a pretty fancy, and neat execution, which at night they used as bed-cloaths, and in the day as a defence against the piercing rays of the sun. The stuff was smooth and soft as silk, appearing by many tokens to be absolutely of their own manufacture.

As to the persons of the natives, they were in general an active, slender, strait, and well-made people, extremely swift of foot and agile. In point of temper, they were of a sweet, mild, modest, and agreeable disposition, timid, fearful, and faint-hearted, to a degree of weakness and effeminacy. Whenever they brought the *Dutch* any provisions, they instantly fell down on their knees, and then hastily retired; nor indeed can we be surprised at this rear, after the proofs of gratitude the *Hollanders* had already given. In general, they were of a brown complexion, or rather of the olive copperish colour of a *Portuguese Indian*, though many of them were absolutely black, and others almost fair, if not completely white. Another *cast* or tribe of them had a complexion intirely red, as if their skins had been scorched by the sun. Their ears hung down to their shoulders, and some wore white pendants or ear-rings

^a Hist. des Navigat. aux Terres Aust. T. ii. p. 231.

a of an enormous size, which they considered as very ornamental. Their bodies were painted with the figures of birds, serpents, goats, hogs, and other animals; a strong presumption that such were not unknown to them. Of these, several of the figures displayed a happy talent at the imitative art, being lively representations of the life.

As to their women, they had an artificial bloom on their cheeks, of a crimson far surpassing any thing known to us in *Europe*; nor could the *Dutch* by any means discover the composition. On their heads they wore little hats, neatly made of reeds or straw, with no other covering than the coverlets we have mentioned. They did not excel in either modest coyness or chastity; for they often beckoned the *Dutch* into their houses, throwing off their mantlets when they sat by them. What is very singular among these islanders is, that not the smallest vestige or appearance of arms was to be seen among them. When they were attacked, they immediately fled to their idols for protection, and implored their assistance with a pathetic and warm devotion. What pity that minds so excellently disposed, were not directed to the knowledge of the true God! The statues of their deities were of stone, representing a human figure, with a crown on the head, large ears, but the rest nicely proportioned, and so highly finished, that the *Dutch* were struck with amazement at the progress they had made in sculpture. Round those idols were erected palisades of stone, well cut, at the distance of 20 or 30 yards. Some of the natives appeared more zealous and frequent worshippers than the rest; and these the *Dutch* imagined to be their priests, both for this reason and because they wore many marks of distinction, such as, their heads closely shaved, and large white balls suspended to the ears, with a bonnet of white and black feathers, resembling those of a stork; from whence the *Dutch* concluded, that when these birds leave their usual place of residence, part of them at least take up their abode here. But this conjecture the journalst seems to contradict in some other observations upon the nature of this curious fowl.

No appearance of civil government or subordination could be discovered in this island, much less any chief, prince, or king, who had dominion over the rest. On the contrary, they all acted and spoke with equal freedom; and yet no inconveniency was observed to result from this natural order; for they lived in the greatest tranquility and harmony imaginable. The father, indeed, in each family, had an apparent supremacy, and his authority was readily obeyed. Some marks of honour and ceremonies of respect were likewise paid to the aged; pure nature and good-sense seeming to dictate those distinctions. The old men wore on their heads bonnets or caps, fringed round with feathers like the down of ostriches, and truncheons, or short thick sticks, in their hands, which the *Dutch* naturally supposed to be some marks of degree and authority. This island the journalst thinks might be settled to great advantage, as the climate is fine, in $28^{\circ} 30' S.$ lat. the air clear and wholesome, the soil rich and fruitful, proper for corn in the low lands, and in the higher grounds capable of being improved into vineyards. In short, the *Dutch* must undoubtedly have made great discoveries here, as well as on the continent, which they had reason to believe could not be a great way distant, had they not been driven from their moorings just as they were preparing to penetrate into the heart of the island, and to make a kind of settlement to which they might return for refreshments from their inquiries on the continent ^b.

LEAVING the island of *Pascha*, it was not long before *Roggewin* found himself in the height of the island called *Badwater* by *Schouten*. Here he was in expectation of meeting with some part of the Southern Continent; but, by changing his course, he ran 300 leagues out of the way, and at least 150 leagues further than *Schouten*. That famous seaman one day gave chase to a small vessel, that bore away directly south from him; whence he naturally inferred, that there must certainly be land on that side. Indeed, from all the lights of reason and experience, there could be any doubt of there being a continent here of at least 2000 leagues in extent; to which a direct course from *Europe* is certainly S. S. W. and from *America* N. E. or N. E. and ^f the commodore ranged through this ocean for the space of 800 leagues, sometimes one course, sometimes another, in hopes of falling upon the promised land; but none could be found till he came under lat. $15^{\circ} 45' S.$ and long. 28° , when he met with an island, which he conceived to be intirely a new discovery; and therefore took the liberty of giving it a name; viz. the *Island of Charles Court* or *Carlshoff*. He describes it about three leagues in extent, with a stake or mark fixed in the middle. Charles Court Island.

AFTER parting with this island, the wind began to come round to the S. W.; from which he inferred that the current of the air was altered by some neighbouring coast. By this sudden shifting of the wind he was driven in the night among a number of little islands and rocks, upon one of which the *African* galley foundered. The inhabitants, roused by the noise which this accident made, kindled fires on the hills, and flocked down to the shores. This alarm obliged the commodore to guard against a surprise, which the darkness of the night made

^b Hist. des Navig. aux Terres Austr. T. ii. p. 234.

an easy matter. To this end he fired grape-shot on the coasts, without ceremony, till daylight appeared, when he discovered the great danger to which he was exposed, being environed by four considerable islands, surrounded with shoals and rocks, from which he found it a difficult matter to extricate himself.

Mischievous
Island, and
others adjacent

THE crew of the *African* galley had saved themselves on one of the islands, to which the commodore sent his boats to fetch them on board. They all returned, except a few, who, in the hurry, had mutinied against their officers, and preferred living among the savages rather than run the hazard of a court martial. These, not all the eloquence and assurances of the commodore could prevail upon to return; and they put it out of his power to compel them, by flying into the heart of the country. These islands are situated in S. lat. 15 and 16 degrees, at the distance of twelve leagues west of *Carlsbeff*. To that on which the *African* galley was lost, they gave the name of the *Mischievous Island*; the two next they called *The Brothers*, and the fourth *The Sister*. All four were covered with a verdure altogether charming, abounding with tall trees, most of them cocoa-nuts. The herbs growing here were so refreshing and medicinal, that the ship's crew, many of whom were ill of the scurvy, soon recovered by the use of them. An incredible quantity of cockles, muscles, mother of pearl oysters, &c. were found, which gave reason to hope that a very advantageous pearl-fishery might here be established. These islands are so flat and low, that they must frequently be overflowed. against which calamity the natives have secured themselves by a great number of canoes, boats, and stout barks, with cables, ropes, and sails. Pieces of those were found on the shore, which seemed to be made of hemp. The natives of *Mischievous Island* were of a gigantic stature; and the seamen affirmed that they measured several prints of feet not less than 20 inches in length each. Their bodies were painted with various colours; their hair was jet-black and long; their features were large, hard, and fierce, bespeaking a mind no less fierce and uncultivated. They were armed with pikes or lances 18 feet in length, marching in parties of 80 or 100, and inviting the *Dutch* by signs on shore, probably to draw them into an ambuscade. While the seamen of the *African* galley were on shore, they kept them at a distance by continual discharges of their musquetry; which, however, rather astonished than terrified them. The commander perceiving that no refreshments were to be procured on this island but by force, weighed from it, and next day arrived on the coast of another island, eight leagues to the westward, which he called *Aurora*, from his having discovered it about sunrise (C). It was about four leagues in extent, covered with a charming verdure, and adorned with trees and shrubs of all kinds. But as the commodore found the coast foul and rocky, he did not attempt to anchor, only taking as near a view as safety would permit. The same day, towards evening, he came up with another island, which from hence he called *Vesper*. In circuit it was about twelve leagues, the land flat, but cloathed, as the former, with a beautiful green, and stored with various sorts of trees.

Aurora Island

Vesper Island.

STILL he pursued his course, steering west, to about the fifteenth degree south, when he discovered land, and a great number of fires, which indicated its being well peopled. Thither he made all possible sail, in hopes of meeting with water and fresh provisions, of which he was in want. As he approached nearer, the inhabitants were seen diverting themselves in their canoes on the coast. He likewise perceived, that what he had taken for one continued coast was really a chain of islands, separated by small arms of the sea. He was soon so entangled in those guts, that he found it a hard matter to get clear; but at last a passage through the islands was discovered, by which he again got fairly into the open sea. Six of these islands were exceedingly beautiful and pleasant to the eye, and all of them together he reckoned might measure thirty leagues in circumference. They were situated twenty-five leagues west of *Mischievous Island*; the *Dutch* called them *The Labyrinth*, from their having been obliged to make frequent tacks to get clear of them. As it was dangerous to anchor on the coast, and none of the natives coming to meet them, the commodore did not think fit to stay here. He therefore continued his course westward, and in a few days discovered another island, which

^c Hist. des Navigat. T. ii. p. 235. Etiam Suite à l'Histoire Ancienne de M. Rollin, T. vi. p. 98.

(C) Here it was that the ship *Tienhoven* narrowly escaped the fate of the *African* galley; an accident which produced a mutiny on board. The seamen insisted either that the commodore should immediately return, or at least give them security for their wages, whether the ship should be lost or not. *Roggeveen* listened to their complaints with an humanity worthy of a man of honour, and then bound himself by a solemn oath, that they should receive the last farthing, whatever

might be the fate of the ships; or the event of the expedition; an oath which he afterwards religiously performed, when the fleet was seized at *Batavia* (3).

To say the truth, the demand of the seamen was reasonable. They were even every day exposed to the most excessive fatigues, and every squall of wind, or sudden shock, made them run the hazard of losing in a moment the fruits of all their labour and toil.

(3) *Harris* T. i. b. i. c. 1. §. 7. 20.

a at a distance appeared extremely high and pleasant. On his nearer approach he found the ground foul and the coast rocky, by which he was deterred from going close to shore. But as he stood in need of provisions, the scurvy prevailing again on board, he ordered each pinnace to be well manned for a descent. No sooner did the natives perceive his design, than they hurried down in crowds to oppose their landing. They were armed with long pikes, and soon gave proofs of their dexterity and valour. However, the fire-arms from the pinnace disconcerted them, and they stood in astonishment at this unusual thunder. After this skirmish the *Dutch* landed, shewed their presents of looking-glasses, beads, and other baubles, and in a short time established a truce with the inhabitants, who received the trinkets with joy, suffering the *Dutch* to gather what herbs and vegetables they thought proper; nay, they even b assisted, and shewed them the best herbs, as soon as it was known that no injury was intended them.

Next day the commodore sent a stronger body on shore, not only to gather vegetables, but likewise to make all the discovery possible into the nature of the country. They set out with presenting the king or chief with a considerable number of chosen trinkets; which he accepted indeed, but with such an air of indifference and contempt as prognosticated no good to their future commerce. His majesty was, however, polite enough to return the compliment by a present of cocoa-nuts. The prince was distinguished from his subjects by a variety of pearl ornaments, in value about 600 *Dutch* florins, which he wore. The women expressed great fondness for the white men, almost stifling them with caresses; but it was all affected, c false, and designed to lull them into security, the more effectually to destroy them. Indeed, had the event succeeded equal to the subtlety of the contrivance, the *Dutch* to a man must have been cut off. Suffering them to advance into the country, and shewing them the best vegetables, while the women were continuing their dalliances, the men were forming an ambuscade in the woods, caves, and neighbouring vallies. As soon as they thought the *Dutch* were sufficiently cut off from the sea, and surrounded beyond all hopes of escape, on a signal given, they poured out of their lurking-places, and in an instant made a general discharge of stones. The *Dutch*, upon this, formed themselves, and fired briskly upon the enemy, which they sustained without shrinking, and answered by repeated volleys of stones. At the second or third fire their king was killed; but this, instead of discouraging, rather animated and inflamed d them to a degree of fury. After the engagement had continued obstinate for half an hour, the *Dutch* all the while retreating towards the shore, at last they got on board their boats, all of them wounded, and many mortally, but with still greater loss on the side of the enemy. Neither side had much to boast of; the *Dutch* were contented that they had got clear at any rate, and the natives were no less pleased in having rid themselves of invaders, who they imagined covered deep designs under the specious pretext of gathering simples.

To this island, situated in 16° south latitude, longitude 285° , they had given the name of Recreation *Island* the day before, on account of the fine sallads and pot-herbs found on it. In extent it is about 12 leagues, the soil fertile, and producing a great number of trees, but chiefly cocoas, palms, and iron-wood. The *Dutch* had some reasons for thinking the heart of e the country abounded in mines; but our journalist does not venture to affirm that, nor to specify the arguments in support of the conjecture. As to the inhabitants, they were men of an ordinary size, robust, active, and well skilled in their military discipline. Their hair was long, thinning, and black, which they anointed with the oil of cocoa-nuts, a custom practised by most *Indian* nations. Their bodies were painted in the manner of the natives of *Easter Island*. The men covered the middle of their bodies with a net-work fastened to a girdle before, and tucked up behind. The women, more decent than those of the other islands, were entirely covered with mantles of their own manufacture, to the touch and sight resembling silk. About their necks and wrists they wore necklaces and bracelets of pearls. Their persons were f stait, slender, and genteel, with features by no means disagreeable, although they had that flatness of countenance peculiar almost to blacks and mulattoes, with the thick lips, the round forehead, but set off with extremely lively, piercing, and expressive black eyes^d.

AGREEABLE to the resolution of a council of war, which was held on the commodore's departure from this island, it was determined, after much opposition, to steer their course towards *New Guiney* and *New Britain*, and from thence to the *Moluccas* and *Dutch* settlements. The third day of their voyage, on a north-west course, several islands were discovered in the latitude of 12° south, longitude 290° . Upon drawing nearer, it was perceivable they were planted with fruit-trees of all sorts; that the country produced herbs, corn, and roots, in great plenty; and that the coasts were well cultivated, and laid out into neat and pretty plantations regularly disposed. The natives no sooner discovered the ships, than they came in their boats g with cocoa-nuts, *Indian* figs, fish, and other fresh provisions, in exchange for which they had

^d HARRIS, § 22. l. i. c. i. § 20. T. i. etiam ubi supra citat. ibid.

Bowman's
Islands.

variety of trinkets most acceptable to the *Indians*. It soon appeared that the islands were a exceeding populous, since thousands of men and women, the former accoutred with bows and arrows, came down to the shore to look at the ships. Among the rest was a very majestic personage, who it was presumed was king or sovereign of the nation, from the honours paid him, and the dress he wore. This great person stepped into his canoe, attended by a beautiful young woman, and was presently surrounded by an infinite number of boats, which seemed to form a guard. All the inhabitants of these islands were white, differing nothing in their complexion from *Europeans*, but that they were more sun-burnt. They were inoffensively lively and gay, of an agreeable good-natured disposition, extremely obliging, and treating each other with visible marks of civility and kindness. Though they were active and diligent, yet they shewed nothing wild or savage, all their endeavours appearing to be calculated to make life as happy and easy as it was possible. Unlike the other *Indians*, they were handsomely clothed from the waist downwards, the body being however left naked, but without the decorations of painting and monstrous figures. This tunic or petticoat was made of a species of silk fringes, very neatly folded and plaited. On their heads they wore hats of a prodigious size, to shade them against the sun, and about their necks collars of the most gaudy and beautiful flowers. The country itself appeared exquisitely charming, being agreeably diversified with hills, dales, brooks and groves, as lovely as imagination can paint. Some of the islands were ten, some fifteen, and some again twenty, miles in compass. It appeared that each cast, family, or tribe, had its particular district or village, and that the natives were divided into separate governments. They were in every respect the most civilized and refined people *Roggewin* had hitherto met with. Instead of discovering any signs of fear or apprehension on the arrival of the *Dutch* among them, they treated them with the utmost kindness, expressed great satisfaction at their stay, and manifested a deep concern and sorrow on observing that all their assiduity and diligence to render every thing agreeable could not prevail on the strangers to continue among them. The *Dutch* themselves felt many of them a like concern and reluctance in leaving so civil a people and plentiful an island, where the wholesomeness of the air, and the abundance of fine vegetables, would have perfectly recovered the sick. To all the other advantages of these islands, they had one peculiar almost to themselves, and that was good anchorage in fine sandy bays of twenty fathom water, and sheltered from all the winds, at least from three points of the compass. Such were the people, and such the enjoyments, the *Dutch* were forced to abandon, to pursue a voyage big with hazards and difficulties, and attended with not one happy circumstance to compensate all their fatigue and labour *.

Groninguen
and Tichoven
Islands, prob-
ably a part
of the Terra
Australis.

WEIGHING from *Bowman's Islands*, and keeping a north west course, they gained the next morning sight of two islands, which they took to be *Traitors Island* and *Cocoa Island*, discovered by *Schouten*. The latter at a distance appeared to be high land, about eight miles in circuit, the other more flat, the soil red, and without trees or shrubs of any kind, both lying nearly in the latitude of 11° south. Soon after they fell in with two more islands of large extent, to which they gave the names *Groninguen* and *Tichoven*. Many of the officers on board were fully assured that the former was no island, but a part of the great Southern Continent they were lent to discover. As for the latter, it appeared to be rich, beautiful, and fertile, the country moderately high, the meadows of a fine verdure, and the inlands clothed with trees of all denominations. They observed, as they coasted along, that it formed a kind of crescent, one of its points turning towards *Groninguen*; whence it is probable, that what have been mistaken for two islands, are really a part of the *Terra Australis Incognita*. The author of *Roggewin's* journal acknowledges, indeed, that he traversed the coasts of islands in that neighbourhood 150 leagues in circumference; which coincides with *Dampier's* account of his having discovered a streight between *New Guiney* and *New Britain*.

PURSuing his course, *Roggewin* doubted not but he should soon fall in with the coast either of *New Guiney* or *New Britain*; but, after sailing many days, no land was discovered, and he began to be satisfied of the vanity of his calculations. To this disappointment was super-added the disagreeable circumstance of a sickly crew labouring under inexpressible anguish. The scurvy swept off numbers every day, cries and groans were perpetually ringing in the ears of those who were still able to stand to the duties of the ship. The stench of the dead and sick was so intolerable, that even the healthy swooned away on approaching them; so that they were avoided as a pestilence, and left destitute when they most wanted assistance. Many on the deck who were sufficient to excite terror and compassion; worn away to the bone, lay dead by inches in the open air, rather than confine themselves to beds, deserted by all their friends. At length it pleased God to put a period to the miseries of this unhappy crew, by giving them a sight of the coast of *New Britain*; which was received with so much transport and emotion as is altogether inexpressible, and not to be conceived but by those who have felt it.

* *Hist. des Navig.* p. 236. HARRIS, loco citato.

- a THE country of *New Britain*, as well as many of the neighbouring islands, is composed of high land, many of the mountains hiding their tops in the clouds. The sea coasts are equally fertile and pleasant, the meadows wearing a perpetual verdure, and the hills being covered with various sorts of fruit-trees. From the face of the country, as well as its situation, between four and seven degrees, the *Dutch* had all the reason in the world to look upon *New Britain* as a terrestrial paradise, in their present condition; it was therefore determined at all events to make a descent, notwithstanding the party's being cut off must have been fatal to the whole crews. Both ships could hardly spare hands enough to man the shallop, and, in its absence, to navigate one of the ships; but the passions of the seamen were so strong, and
- b their necessities so pressing, that a landing was determined upon. Accordingly the shallop was manned, and instructions given to the officer to effect a landing at any rate, but rather by fair means, if he could compass it. Force was to be used, if gentle remonstrances did not succeed, as it was almost equally eligible to die by the hands of barbarians, and to be cut off piecemeal by want and diseases. The nearer the seamen approached the coast, the more were they charmed with it, every necessary they could wish for presenting itself in full view to their ravished eyes. The natives crowded upon the coast, but not in a manner pleasing to the poor seamen; who dreaded meeting with any obstruction to the enjoyment of the felicity they saw before them. The inhabitants were well armed with bows, arrows, slings, and javelins, demonstrating by their gestures their resolution to oppose the landing of those strangers. As
- c the shallop drew near the shore, they threw themselves into a frantic despair, made frightful faces, howled, and tore their hair; and then immediately, as if they had borrowed courage from the great sense of their misfortunes, they hurried off in their canoes to meet that danger they saw was unavoidable. On coming up with the shallop, they discharged a shower of arrows, which was followed by the javelins they had in their hands, and these succeeded by a storm of stones that came pouring in like hail among the *Dutch*. This salute was returned by a continual fire from the musquetry, which soon broke and disconcerted the enemy. Their confusion was extreme; they even forgot the proper channels to the shore, and in the hurry run their canoes on rocks and shoals, which added to the despair of the *Dutchmen*, who now saw new obstructions to their landing. To complete their misery, a violent storm of that kind which
- d they call a *prassat*, rising in the midst of a calm, came on, and forced the ships to sea, leaving the shallop to shift for itself, among such a variety of dangers from enemies, foul coasts, and storms. They were without relief, and almost without hope, when on a sudden the shallop was driven on a shoal, and exposed to all the violence of the winds and waves. But as despair often gives men strength and spirits altogether supernatural, they dragged the boat on dry land, where, by the favour of Providence, they all got without the loss of a single man. Night coming on, before they had time to look out for a safe retreat, they contented themselves with collecting pieces of wood, and broken branches of trees, of which they made a fire to dry and warm themselves, keeping out a strict watch to prevent a surprise from the enemy, whose howlings in the woods gave them reason to apprehend that the night would not be passed
- e in quiet. By the light of the fire they discovered a number of little huts or cabins round them, deserted by the inhabitants. In these nothing was found but a few nets, curiously wrought, upon which the *Dutch* seized. They likewise saw a number of cocoa-trees, but were disagreeably tantalized by the near view of such delicious fruit, without the possibility of tasting it, as they had brought no hatchets with them.

New Britain described, and

a sharp skirmish with the natives.

- f FROM the journalist's relation, as well as that of *Dampier*, this country appears to be exceeding fertile, especially in all kinds of fruits. The mountains promise a variety of mines; and indeed there are hardly any countries under this climate, the mountains of which do not produce rich metals. As for the inhabitants, they were tall, well-made people, of a mulatto complexion, with long black hair in curls and ringlets down to the waist. They are extremely nimble and agile; and so expert in the exercise of their arms, that no doubt can be made of their being accustomed to war, either among themselves, or with neighbouring nations. The sensible compiler of the voyages called *Harris's Voyages* observes, that it has been long questioned, among the most experienced navigators, whether this land ought to be accounted a continent or an island? A question which we think sufficiently answered by the discoveries of *Dampier*, if we allow any weight to his authority. This able seaman has so minutely described the streights through which he passed, separating *New Guiney* from *New Britain*, that no doubt can remain of the latter's being an island, if we admit that *Dampier* at all failed the course he pretends to have followed. We may likewise observe, that the journalist agrees so exactly with *Dampier's* description of the natives of this coast, as well as of the bay, that we
- g are led to believe *Roggewin's* shallop must have landed in the bay called by *Dampier*, *Slingers Bay*, from the dexterity of the inhabitants in the use of those weapons. To these reflections it may not be improper to add, that *Dampier's* and *Roggewin's* want of success ought by no means to deter men from prosecuting so important a discovery; since it is certainly possible for ships to reach those countries without sustaining the losses and hardships of *Roggewin's* crew.

The coast of *New Britain* is, from their accounts, well known, and so accurately laid down in our charts, that there is no danger of an expert seaman's missing it. If therefore a small squadron sailed from hence directly to that coast, there is all human probability that we should, in a short time, be masters of a country equivalent to the *Spice Islands*, and our loss at *Ambony* ^a.

THE misfortunes the *Dutch* met with here made such an impression, that they called this part of the country *Storm Land*. Without making any farther attempts, they quitted the coast, with intention to seek relief on either the island *Moa* or *Arimoa*. They had reason to commend the care and exactness with which *Schouten* laid down the situation of these islands, since from his relation they quickly discovered them. No sooner did they come within sight of the shore, than a descent on *Arimoa* was resolved on; but the hospitality of the natives rendered violence unnecessary, for the ships no sooner appeared, than canoes crowded to them with cocoa-nuts and other vegetables. Next day they returned again with fresh cargoes of cocoa-nuts, *Indian* figs, roots, and fallads, for which the *Dutch* offered them toys; but they would enter upon no bargains, giving their commodities *gratis*, and accepting of small presents in return, with a civility and obliging manners becoming a more polished people. The *Dutch* were extremely earnest to procure some hogs, and, to gratify them, the natives brought three or four large dogs, having mistaken the signs made by the seamen. The islanders did all in their power to induce the ships crews to land; but *Roggewin*, dreading some treachery might be intended, which could not fail of being fatal in the present distressed condition of the seamen, he declined the invitation. ^b

It was observed, that as often as the *Arimoans* went on board their vessels, they took in their hands a stick, with a flag tied to it, which they guessed to be a flag of truce; thence concluding, that they were at war with some neighbouring power; and probably with the *Moans*. Their conjecture was corroborated, by observing that their canoes never touched on that island; on the contrary, that they hurried by it with a visible precipitation. This remark suggested to their imagination a project for procuring speedily a fresh stock of provisions. They were satisfied that the island of *Moa*, or *Mosa*, was but thinly peopled, although no less pleasant and fertile than the other; and this engaged them to attempt, by a sudden descent, to carry off at once what might enable them to prosecute the voyage, without danger of again falling into the distresses they had so lately sustained. The scheme was bold, and required courage, prudence, and presence of mind, to conduct it with address. It was proposed that a landing should be effected in different places; that one body only should march into the country, while the rest made all possible efforts to unite, and, if occasion required, to support, the advanced party. The project succeeded to their wish; the execution being as intrepid as the plan was wisely formed. As soon as the *Dutch* began to cut down the cocoa-trees, the natives, who lay in ambush amidst some coppices and brushwood, sallied out, pouring a shower of stones upon them; from which, however, they escaped unhurt, and so vigorously returned it by a brisk discharge of their fire-arms, that several of the enemy being killed, the rest sought security in flight, leaving the *Dutch* to the quiet possession of the cocoa-nuts, as the reward of their valour. After this defeat, the enemy, by their cries and howlings, endeavoured to alarm the rest of their countrymen; but in vain: for so judicious was the disposition of the *Dutch*, as to be able to attack them in flank and rear, had they descended from the mountains. The booty the *Dutch* carried off consisted of 800 cocoa-nuts, a great number of pomgranates and *Indian* figs, or pisans, with which they joined the ships, extremely well satisfied with their expedition ^c.

WHILE they were preparing to leave the coast, the islanders, perceiving that they had no other design than to gather some fruit, came off from shore in two hundred canoes, with large quantities of fresh provisions, which they exchanged for the usual baubles. This visit the *Dutch* understood as intended to prevent a second descent; for which reason they refused admitting but a few at a time on board; and when they attempted to rush on board in numbers, they fired upon them. This made the *Indians* plunge into the sea, and, as soon as they had raised their heads above water, set them in a violent fit of laughter. As soon as this strange intercourse of hostilities and kindnesses was over, the admiral weighed anchor, continuing his course through a sea so replete with little islands, as made it impossible to number them; he therefore gave them the name of *The Thousand Islands*. ^d

Thousand
Islands.

THE inhabitants of these countries were negroes, of a short squat make, their heads, like the negroes of the coast of *Africa*, covered with a thick curled wool. The journalist describes them as a bold, mischievous, and untractable race of savages. Their women and children all went naked, with no other ornament or covering than a kind of belt, or sash, composed of teeth and bracelets of the same kind. Some, indeed wore straw hats, mingled with the feathers of the bird of paradise, which, it is reported, are found no-where but here. Those on the coast of *Africa* differ widely from these in their size and plumage. Such of the islands as are situ- ^e

^a Vide lib. in locis citatis.

^b Suite à l'Histoire Ancienne, Tom. sixieme.

^a ated near the west point of the continent of *New Guinea*, are still called the islands of *Papoes*, or *Papoes*, as the continent itself has been called the land of *Papoes*, till the name is now being was imposed on it from its lying in the same latitude with *Old Guinea*, as we have already observed ^b (D). Besides their girdles, the inhabitants of the *Iberford Islands* have another ornament, viz. a bit of wood of the size of a tobacco-pipe, about three inches long, which they thrust cross the nostrils, to give them an air of ferocity. They were, as our author assures us, the very worst sort of people he met with during his voyage, being vicious, brutal, and savage, equally unpolished in their external appearance, and untutored in their minds, void of delicacy, decency, and all kind of sentiment, feeling, and humanity ^c.

As to the neighbouring continent of *New Guinea*, it appeared to him a very high country, full of plants, trees, and all sorts of excellent vegetables, inasmuch that, in a course of 400 leagues he could not discover one barren spot. This differs considerably with what *Dampier* alleges; but we are to consider the seasons of the year when each performed the circuit. He thinks it extremely probable, that this country abounds in many rich commodities, as metals, spices, &c.; the rather, because none of the countries discovered in that parallel were found different in those particulars. He adds, that persons of credit assured him, that some of the free burghers in the *Moluccas* make an annual voyage to *New Guinea*, and exchange small pieces of iron for nutmegs. *Schouten*, as we have seen, and other navigators, conceived high notions of the wealth and fertility of this country, which they constantly represent as one of the finest in the world; but they were not able to penetrate far into it, nor can this be effected with a small force, against a numerous, martial, brave, and well-disciplined people.

^c THE remainder of *Roggewin's* voyage being taken up in his passage on the north of the equator, through places already discovered, we shall finish our abridgement of journals, taking it for granted, that the reader is sufficiently convinced of the truth of the assertion, that there lies a continent in the *South Seas*, of prodigious extent. It is greatly to be lamented, that *Roggewin's* proposals to the *West-India* company were never published. It cannot be doubted but they contain a variety of curious particulars, which might reflect great light upon this subject. However, as this is a particular rather to be wished than hoped for, we must content ourselves with endeavouring to supply this deficiency, by a close attention to his and other voyages we have abridged.

^b Suite à l'Histoire Ancienne de M. ROLLIN, T. vi. p. 172. ^c Hist. des Navig. aux. Terres Austr. p. 242.

(D) Whenever the inhabitants of these islands go to any of the *Moluccas*, to expose the produce of their country to sale, such as salt pork, ambergris, gold dust, &c. they likewise carry with them some birds of paradise. What appears extraordinary is, that these birds are constantly found dead, the natives being entirely ignorant whence they come, or where they breed. Certain it is, however, that they are seen sometimes very high in the air. This bird is exceeding light, as it chiefly consists of feathers, which are so very beautiful as to render it one of the greatest curiosities of nature. The plumage of the head is bright as burnished gold; its beak of a shining, soft, and elegant green, with a tail and wings resembling a peacock. Such, at least, is the description given by the Journalist, which differs considerably from the accounts of some naturalists, and indeed from what we have seen called the *bird of paradise* in the collections of some virtuosi. As to the rest, in its beak and form, it comes nearest a swallow, but larger. Those *Papoes*, who deal in them, would persuade strangers, that, having no feet, when asleep, they suspend themselves by the feathers to the branches of a tree; but the truth is, they cut off their

feet, in order to render the curiosity more wonderful. They likewise allege, that the male has a cavity in its back, where he lodges the young till they are able to fly; another story raised by the tricks of those honest dealers. They also assert that the bird of paradise is continually on the wing; a natural consequence of its being without feet; and that it lives upon insects, which it snatches in its course through the air. The feathers of the male are more beautiful and gaudy than those of the female; and it is very extraordinary, that, of all the animals of which we have any knowledge, this inversion of nature and peculiarity appears only in birds, the female of all other animals being the most beautiful. In the eastern language, this bird is called *Mantidrata*, that is, the *Bird of God*. The *Moors*, the *Arabians*, and the *Persians*, esteem them greatly, using their feathers to adorn their saddles and horse furniture; and, to heighten their lustre, they intermingle them with pearls and diamonds. They wear them likewise in their turbans, especially when they go to war, from a superstitious notion that they are a kind of charm to secure them from wounds. The shah and mogul used to present them as tokens of the highest favour and esteem (5).

(5) *Roggewin's Journal*, p. 276.

S E C T. VI.

Containing the reasons why the Spaniards neglect cultivating and pursuing the discoveries of Quiros; a general view of the Terra Australis; arguments why the English ought to endeavour to establish colonies there; maxims relating to the prosecution of discoveries; proposals for planting settlements in New Britain; and philosophical conjectures concerning the inhabitants of the Southern Continent.

The reasons why the Spaniards do not prosecute the discoveries of Quiros.

WE observed, at the conclusion of our abstract of Don *Fernandez de Quiros's* memorial ^a to Philip III. that the whole project of this enterprising man came to nothing, though the court had then so good an opinion of it, that they ordered commissioners to take it into consideration, and the memorial to be printed at *Seville*, A. 1610. It had been indeed a settled maxim for many years afterwards, in the *Spanish* cabinet, not only to abandon the pursuit of these discoveries, but even to treat as fiction the relations of them published from the best authority. They were reduced so low as to be no longer in a condition to execute enterprises of this nature, or even to attempt them with any probability of success. They foresaw, that if they should establish themselves in two or three islands only, it would encourage their more potent maritime neighbours to dispossess them, and by that means gain not only the settlements from whence they were driven, but a step towards fixing colonies between their *American* dominions and the *Philippine Islands*. As this would be a most pernicious stroke to the *Spanish* trade, the ministry have always declined the immediate advantage that might result from a commerce with the Southern Continent, rather than hazard the future inconvenience. However prudent this conduct may be in the *Spaniards*, it is wonderful, that other nations have not endeavoured to reap the fruits which naturally flow from the peculiar circumstances of that court. Before we proceed to those political observations, it may be proper we should first lay down succinctly and clearly the several discoveries made by the principal navigators into the *South Seas*. It is evident from what has been related, that *New Guinea*, *Carpentaria*, *New Holland*, *Anthony Van Diemen's Land*, and the countries discovered by *Quiros*, make all one continent, from which *New Zealand* on the one side, and *New Britain* ^b on the other, are disjoined by streights. The former may perhaps be part of a continent corresponding to *Africa*, as the *Terra Australis* does to *America*. This Southern Continent stretches from 44 degrees south latitude quite to the equinoctial, extending from 122 to 188 degrees of longitude; a tract of country altogether prodigious, to have so long lain undiscovered, but far short of the limits ascribed to it by *de Quiros*. To comprehend the nature of this discovery, and the situation of the Southern Continent, a short view of the southern hemisphere may be necessary.

A general view of the southern pole, and the adjacent countries.

If then we suppose the south pole to be the centre of a chart, of which the equinoctial is the circumference, a division of four quarters will be made, which if thoroughly known, this part of the world would be perfectly discovered. What we mean is, that if the course ^c from 44 degrees south quite to the line had been strictly followed, and then the tour round *New Britain* and the north end of the continent made, the general chart of this tract would be sufficiently clear. Within the first of these divisions, *viz.* from one to nine degrees of latitude, lies the great continent of *Africa*, the most southern point of which is the *Cape of Good Hope*, lying in the latitude of 34 degrees 15 minutes south. Between this cape and the pole several small and very inconsiderable islands have been discovered, affording us only this certainty, that to the latitude of 50 degrees there is no land of any consequence. Mr. *Bouvet*, in the year 1738, performed a voyage purposely to discover whether there were any lands to the south in that quarter. On the 18th of *July* he sailed from *Port l'Orient*, and on the first of *January* fell in with a country in 54 degrees south, the coasts of which were covered with ice ^d. This country was in the longitude of 28 degrees 36 minutes; the variation of the compass being there 6 degrees 45 minutes to the west ^e. In the next quarter, *viz.* from ninety degrees of longitude to 180°, lie the countries of which we have been speaking, or that large southern continent or island extending from the line to 44 degrees south latitude, which is the extremity of *Van Diemen's Land* in *New Holland*. In the third quarter there is very little discovered with any degree of certainty, that is, from 150 to 170 degrees of longitude. Captain *Tasman* indeed visited the coast of *New Zealand*, in the latitude of 42 degrees 10 minutes south, and in the longitude of 188 degrees 28 minutes. But excepting this, and the islands of *Rotterdam* and *Amsterdam*, we know very little. If there be any doubts then about the

^a Hist. des Navigat. aux Terres Austr. T. ii. suppl.

^b HARRIS, b. i. c. 11. f. 20.

- a reality of a Southern Continent, it must be with respect to that part of it lying within this third division, through which *Schouten* and *Le Maire* sailed, without discovering any thing but a few islands. The fourth and last division of the southern pole is from 270 degrees of longitude to the first meridian, within which is included the continent of *South America*, and the island of *Terra del Fuego*, the most southern promontory of which is supposed to be *Cape Horn*. This cape, according to the best charts, is situated in the latitude of 56 degrees, beyond which there has been nothing discovered with any degree of certainty, on the south-east or the west sides. On the whole, however, it appears, that three continents are already tolerably discovered, which point towards the south pole. Hence it is highly probable there is a fourth, lying between the country of *New Zealand*, discovered by Captain *Tasman*, and those lands seen by Captain *Sharpey* and Mr. *Waser*, in the *South Seas*. Leaving this matter to the industry of future ages, we will return to that great southern island or continent, by whichever of these names the reader may chuse to call it, which was actually surrounded by *Tasman*, *Dampier*, and in a great measure by *Schouten*, the bounds of which are pretty exactly ascertained.

*The certainty
we have of
the Southern
Continent.*

- THAT the reader may have a further idea of the importance of the country, it will be requisite to say something of the climates in which it is situated. As it lies upon the equinoctial line, and near the forty-fourth degree of south latitude, the longest day in the most northern parts must be 12 hours, and in the southern about 15 hours some odd minutes. Thus it extends from the first to the seventh climate, which shews its situation to be the happiest in the world; the country called *Van Diemen's Land* in every thing resembling the south of *France*.
- c In all countries some parts are observed to be more wholesome and pleasant than others. If we may reason from analogy, we may infer, that the countries situated within two or three degrees of the Tropic of *Capricorn*, which passes through the middle of *New Holland*, are the most unhealthy and disagreeable parts of the whole. Here, as the days and nights are always of an equal length, the climate must be hotter than under the line. Two degrees further from the tropic, that is, under the latitude of 27 degrees south, the days are thirteen hours and an half, and the sun twice in their zenith, which must cause a scorching heat for two months, or more; although near the line, or beyond 27 south, that is, in both extremities of the continent, the climate must be equally wholesome and pleasant.

*The climate of
New Holland
and New
Guiney.*

- As to the wealth and fertility of this continent, both reason and experience seem to unite in making it one of the happiest countries in the world. Both *de Quiros* and *Dampier* have described it in glowing colours, such as might be thought to flow from the pencil of fancy, if farther experience, and the very nature of the thing, did not support their assertions. The country, called by the former *La Australia del Espiritu Santo*, in the latitude of 15° 40' south, he affirms to abound with gold, silver, pearl, mace, nutmegs, and ginger. It is opposite to the country called *Carpentaria*, and, from its situation, gives the strongest credibility to the warm description of the discoverer. Captain *Dampier* speaks of the land about *Cape St. George* and *Port Montague* in much the same language, but enumerates fewer of the rich commodities, which might probably arise from the superficial view he took of the country; whereas *Quiros* actually resided for some time in the parts he describes, and consequently had better opportunities of being acquainted with the produce. *Schouten* and *Tasman* likewise take notice of nutmegs and ginger, as well as cocoa-nuts, pisans, &c. which they sow on the coast. It cannot either be supposed, that all those writers were mistaken, or that they concurred in a settled plan of deceiving the public, and imposing on their readers. The perfect harmony between their reports, and the situation of this continent, the trees on the land, and the fish on the coast, corresponding exactly with the trees of those countries, and the fish on those coasts, where these commodities are known to abound within land, strongly intimate a conformity throughout, and take away the least suspicion of their authority and veracity.

*Of the wealth
and fertility
of those
countries.*

- If the islands of *Sumatra*, *Java*, and *Borneo*, abound in precious stones, and other valuable commodities, and the *Moluccas* in spices, *New Guiney* and the regions behind must, by a parity of reason, be as plentifully endowed by nature. If the island of *Madagascar* is so fine, and such a country as all authors speak it; if gold, ivory, and other commodities of great value, are common in the southern part of *Africa*, from *Melinda* down to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and up again to *Cape Gonzalez*; here are the same parallels in *New Zealand*, *New Holland*, and *Carpentaria*. If *Peru* overflows with silver, if all the mountains of *Chili* are filled with gold, the *Brazils* with every sort of wealth, this continent enjoys the benefit of the same position; and therefore whoever thoroughly discovers and settles it, will infallibly be possessed of territories as rich, as fruitful, and as capable of improvement, as the *Moluccas*, the *Cape of Good Hope*, *Peru*, *Chili*, or the *Brazils*, and indeed as any that have hitherto been discovered in any part of the terraqueous globe.

* Hist. des Navig. T. ii. p. 393.

Reasons for
not apprehend-
the power of
the Dutch in
India.

As to the possibility of planting colonies, and establishing settlements here, we must confess, that at first sight considerable difficulties would seem to arise with respect to any *European* nation, besides the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*. The former, in particular, might either from *Batavia*, the *Moluccas*, or even from the *Cape of Good Hope*, settle with ease where they thought proper. However, as they have neglected this for near a century, no reason can be given why their conduct should be a rule to other nations. It would likewise be absurd to dread the resentment of the *Hollanders*, for endeavouring to turn to advantage countries which they have so long permitted to lie waste and deserts, at least with respect to *Europe*. The power of the *Dutch* is doubtless very great in the *East Indies*; but the superiority of the *British* marine, with a due exertion of *British* spirit, would not fail of keeping them in awe, and affording all necessary protection to the new colonies. That the *Dutch East India* company would be jealous of such an establishment, and do all in their power to impede its progress, is too obvious from their conduct to the *Dutch West India* company, A. 1722-3. But are we therefore to sit still, and be awed and intimidated by a company! We have reason to thank God that we are now governed by a king who has ever shewn an equal regard to the welfare of his people, and the dignity of his crown; who is biassed by no connections with *Holland*, or with any other maritime power, that can in the least interfere with the commercial interest of *Great Britain*. If the weak and timid measures of the administration made us relinquish the trade of the *Moluccas*, the popularity, vigour, and integrity of the present ministers, afford the happiest opportunity for retrieving that loss, and giving a more severe blow to *Holland* than all the power of our navy could, under the protectorate of *Oliver*, or the indolent reign of *Charles* the Second. Perhaps the consequences of the tragical affair of *Amboyna* and *Pooloway* have not ceased, through a series of years, to this moment. The *Dutch* have ever since maintained these islands, and engrossed the whole spice trade. Long possession has now given them a kind of right, which it would be hazardous and expensive to dispute with them, as their garrisons are strong and numerous in their different settlements in the *East Indies*. But they can neither pretend an exclusive right, nor, if they did, could they maintain it in any countries south of the equinoctial. Their dispute with the *Dutch West India* company proves what the general sense of that nation was to the rights of the *East India* company. The decision of the commissioners, who were all civilians, and persons knowing in trade as well as learned in the law, was clear against them, although the influence and power of the *East India* company deterred the *West India* company from attempting to reap the fruits of the verdict given in their favour. We have nothing to fear on that head, our fleets and armies, as well as the justness of the undertaking, would be our defence.

Reasons for
establishing a
commerce and
settlements in
the Southern
Continent.

WE cannot do better than present the reader with an abstract of what the new compiler of *Harris's Voyages* says upon this subject. We know the reader will excuse it, on account of the good sense, the public spirit, and true commercial knowledge, so conspicuous in every page of this judicious historian. The first point with respect to a discovery would be, as he observes, to send a squadron on the coast of *Van Diemen's Land*, and thence round by the coast of *New Guinea*, following the course of *Captain Tasman*. By this the nation who attempted the discovery might possibly acquire a certainty of the commodities, harbours, and manner of commencing a trade, with the Southern Continent. Such a voyage might be finished at a small charge by the *India* company in the space of eight months; nor is there any thing improbable, that the legislature, when disengaged from war, and intent upon the affairs of commerce, may be directed to make such an expedition at the expence of the public. Hence all the back coast of *New Holland* and *New Guinea*, quite to the equinoctial, might be thoroughly examined, the country penetrated by a sufficient force, and certain information be obtained, how far a colony settled there might answer the expectations of the best judges. To persons acquainted with the navigation to the *East Indies*, the expedition could neither be thought dangerous or difficult. It is already known, that there are islands every-where on the coast, where ships, upon such a discovery, might be able to obtain refreshments.

If we reflect upon all the circumstances mentioned in the journals we have quoted, the credit of the several authors, their apparent connection, and the impossibility of making forgeries coincide so exactly with reason, with experience, and with each other, we must conclude, that there is ample evidence of there being a continent and many islands to the south, all rich, fertile, and populous. If a trade to these was opened, the same reason shews that it must be very commodious, and produce as great, or greater advantages, than those which have resulted from the discovery of *America*. Is it not therefore astonishing, that this powerful and busy nation should never have undertaken to gratify their curiosity, by the fullest conviction of the state of this continent! Many expeditions have been made to the *South Seas*, but not one for the purpose we have mentioned, unless we except *Dampier's*; much less for effecting a settlement. Indeed no *European* power ever fitted out a squadron adequate to the design, or able to penetrate by force into the bowels of the country. The *English* and *Dutch* have

- a have contented themselves with running along the coasts, without venturing to make a descent, either for fear of being overpowered by the inhabitants, or of wanting provisions in their return. *Roggewin*, indeed, made some attempts; but without endeavouring to penetrate farther than the groves of cocoa-trees, and the skirts of the country. The author of *Roggewin's* journal specifies these as reasons for the miscarriage of that expedition, and lays down the following maxims, which, he thinks, if steadily pursued, would greatly assist, if not absolutely effect, this important discovery. “ In the first place,” says he, “ such a design is not to be undertaken by one or two ships, but by a squadron; and these too of several kinds, some of force, some tenders, all well provided, manned, and victualled, for a long voyage. 2dly, The ship’s company ought to be composed chiefly of good seamen, whereas hitherto the crews of such vessels have at least had a majority of soldiers on board. In such a voyage it is natural that both should decrease; but the consequence is by no means equal; for if there be seamen enough left, they can make shift to fight; but the land-men, in what numbers soever, will not be able to navigate the ships. 3dly, Some months after the departure of the first squadron, there should be another sent after it, which would prevent the bad effects of the scurvy, and of bad provisions, since it would give an opportunity of shifting crews, and prevent either squadron from remaining too long at sea without a convenient supply. 4thly, As it is impossible to foresee the accidents that may occur in a voyage, a certain place of rendezvous should be fixed upon before the squadron sails, and the captain of each ship be strictly enjoined to repair thither, and continue there for a certain time, to wait for the comforts and junction of the whole fleet. Lastly, Whoever is intrusted with the chief command of such an expedition, should not be limited or restrained by his commission. Much should be left to his discretion, that he may be able to pursue circumstances, and accommodate himself to contingencies, which it would be impossible to foresee. Upon this, and his own prudence, depends the success of the whole expedition.” Our journalist had reason to mention this last maxim; for he saw the confusion which attended the limited and strict orders of *Roggewin*, who was forced by his instructions to return to *Batavia*, at the very time when he might have entered upon his discoveries with advantage and success^d.

Maxims relating to the prosecution of discoveries in the Terra Australis.

- PROBABLY the reason why no *European* state has attempted settling colonies in the *Terra Australis* may be, that they all wait till some one begin, which, having opened a way, the rest may follow with less hazard and expence; yet what reason is there to suppose that the first discoverer would, in this instance, be less tenacious of his right than the *Spaniards* are of theirs in *Peru*, the *Portuguese* in the *Brazils*, the *French* in *Canada*, the *English* in *Virginia*, and the *Dutch* in the *Moluccas*. The law of nations gives an exclusive right to the first discoverers and colonies, who are the lawful sovereigns of this trade; and in this case, would soon become the most considerable maritime power in the world.

- WITH regard to ourselves, perhaps, the greatest difficulty attending the sending a squadron to *Diemen's Land*, to make the necessary inquiries previous to the establishment of settlements, would consist in having a fair and impartial account of the expedition when made; for private interest is so apt to interfere and clash with the good of the public, that it is no easy matter to procure the surest intelligence where so many persons are concerned to prevent it. The instances of the *New Russia* trade, and Captain *Middleton's* voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage, are sufficient proofs of this. The latter of these terminated in a warm dispute whether that passage be discovered or not; the person supposed to have made the discovery maintaining the negative. This obstruction might, however, be surmounted by prudent cautions in sending none but men of ability and integrity upon such expeditions, who, on their return, should be obliged to deliver their journals upon oath. The principal officers under him should also be obliged to keep their journals distinct and separate, not to be inspected by their superior; and all of them to be published by authority, that every man might have the liberty of examining them, of proposing his objections, or confirming certain circumstances from reason, from experience, or from history. In short, of giving a full and scrupulous critique upon each journal, that the public might have the clearest information that was possible. From hence would appear the expediency of prosecuting or abandoning the design; experience would be assisted by philosophy, and it, on the other hand, be confirmed by experience. Science and practice would go hand in hand, and the public would be freed from the danger of embarking upon expensive ideal projects, which too frequently are the tools of knaves, and the schemes of the artful and designing.

The difficulty of procuring an impartial relation of discoveries.

Proposal that the journals be delivered upon oath, and published by authority.

- If extending this commerce, and settling new colonies, might be thought burthensome to the *India* company, whose trade is already sufficiently great for one corporation; if it should be thought grievous to a company that has purchased her privileges, at the expence of a large loan upon low interest, to undertake such an expedition, merely to serve the public, promote

Project that the African company should be invested with the ex-

^d Hist. des Navig. p. 257. HARRIS, T. i. sect. 20.

exclusive right
of making discoveries and
settlement in
the Southern
Continent.

the exportation of our manufactures, and increase the number of industrious persons maintained by foreign trade; in that case there can be no objection to putting the project in the hands of the *African* company. As they are in a less flourishing condition, they may probably pursue it with more industry. They have opportunities nearly equal with the others, as the voyage may easily be performed from their settlements in ten months. If the trade was found to answer, it might encourage them to settle a colony in *Madagascar*, from which island the trade to *New Guinea* might very commodiously be conducted. Should it be objected, that the *French* settlements on *Madagascar* met with no success, and soon fell into ruin, we might answer, that the case is widely different. There they began upon a stock raised at an exorbitant interest; here they are supposed to set out free at least. There the trade was confined to a narrow compass, and markets forestalled by the *Dutch*, *English*, *Portuguese*, and *Danes*; here it would be carried on with a new-discovered country, probably rich in many articles hitherto unknown, as well as in those of the greatest value, now engrossed by the *Dutch*; a country the property of the company, from which foreigners, and *Britons* not of the company, are excluded. We cannot, indeed, presume to say how far such a trade might be consistent with their present charter; but we will affirm it might be conducted without interfering at all with the rights of the *East India* company. If then it should be found advantageous to the public, and beneficial to the company, there can be no reason assigned why it should not be secured to them in the most effectual manner.

A VERY small progress in this new commerce would soon restore the reputation of the company, and perhaps ease the nation of the annual expence of maintaining forts and garrisons on the coast of *Africa*, as well as bring a large additional revenue to the crown. Something of this sort is absolutely necessary to justify the charge the public is at. If the trade, for conducting which a company is established, proves, by a change of circumstances, inadequate to the support of that company, and a load upon the government, this ought to be the strongest motive with that company to endeavour the extension of their commerce, the striking out some new branch of trade, which might restore it to its pristine splendor, and put it upon an equality with other corporations. As this hath an apparent right, and fair prospects, there is not the least room to doubt of its meeting with all the countenance and protection of a king and parliament, devoted, as the present are, to the good of the public, and every scheme that promises the promoting industry and trade, and increasing the maritime power of *Great Britain*.

Proposal that
a colony be
planted in
New Britain.

SHOULD this project ever take place, perhaps the island of *New Britain* might afford a commodious spot to fix a colony in. The situation, extent, and condition, of that island, we have mentioned from *Dampier*. The climate, we have seen, is fine, the vallies fruitful, and the mountains covered with useful wood. It is well-inhabited by a robust, strong, well-limbed race of negroes, daring and bold in many parts of the coast, as *Dampier* experienced; but easily brought into commerce, and even a perfect submission, with gentle and good usage. The misfortunes that befel this officer ought to have no weight in the present case; since, though he was an excellent pilot, he appears to have been but an indifferent commander. Besides, the *Roebuck*, in which he sailed, was a worn-out frigate, hardly fit to put to sea: we need not wonder then at the impatience of the crew to return from an expedition, the pursuit of which they saw must be attended with so imminent danger. Yet, after all, he performed the business he was sent upon. By the discovery of *New Britain*, he secured to us an indisputable right to a country that is, or might be made, very valuable. A country so situated, that a trade from thence with the *Terra Australis* might be carried on in its utmost extent, and with the most valuable islands of the *East Indies*, to great emolument and profit. In short, all the advantages proposed by a junction of the *Dutch East* and *West India* companies would, by this means, be procured to *Great Britain*. Passing a law only, in favour of the *African* company, would more than give them sufficient credit to equip a squadron at once capable of securing the possession of that island, and of giving the public such conviction of its importance, as might be requisite to obtain farther powers and assistance from the government, if that should be found necessary. It would be easy to point out some peculiar advantages that would naturally result from such a project to the *African* company; but it will be time enough to make them universally known, when the company shall discover an inclination to prosecute the design.

If neither the *India* or *African* company should think it expedient or consistent with their interest to pursue discoveries, and establish settlements, in the Southern Continent, there is yet a third company, within the spirit of whose charter the prosecution of such a design immediately lies. We mean the *South Sea* company, who never, we believe, sent a single ship in search of inquiries to the *Terra Australis*, altho', from the extent of their charter, one would naturally imagine this to be the great point proposed in their establishment. To prove this, we need only lay before the

- a reader the limits assigned this company by their charter, which we shall do in the words of the sensible author of the *Present State of Europe*, who, in his revival of *Harris's Collection of Voyages*, has fully and clearly stated this matter in a new and uncommon manner. The extract from the charter is as follows: "The corporation, and their successors, shall for ever be invested in the sole trade to and from all the kingdoms and lands on the east side of *America*, from the river *Oroonoco* to the southermost part of *Terra del Fuego*, and on the west side thereof from the said southermost part of *Terra del Fuego*, through the *South Sea*, to the northermost part of *America*, and into and through all the countries, islands, and places, within the said limits, which are reputed to belong to *Spain*, or which shall hereafter be found out or discovered within the limits aforesaid, not exceeding three hundred leagues from the continent of *America*, on the said west side thereof, except the kingdom of *Brazil*, and such other places on the east side of *America* as are now in the possession of the king of *Portugal*, and the country of *Surinam*, in the possession of the States General. The said company, and none else, are to trade within the said limits; and if any other persons shall trade to the *South Seas*, they shall forfeit the ship and goods to a double value, one fourth-part to the crown, another fourth-part to the prosecutor, and the remaining two fourths to the use of the company. And the company shall be the sole owners of the islands, forts, &c. which they shall discover within the said limits, to be held of the crown under an annual rent of an ounce of gold, and of all ships taken as prizes by the said company, and their shipping; and the company may seize by force all other *British* ships trading in those seas." Our author judiciously observes upon this, that it is impossible for any man to imagine that either these limits should be secured to the company for no purpose in the world, or that these prohibitions and penalties should take place, notwithstanding the company's never attempting to make use of the powers. Hence he infers, that new discoveries should be made, new plantations settled, and a new trade carried on, by this new corporation, agreeable to the rules prescribed, and for the general benefit of the nation. This, he apprehends, was provided for, and chiefly considered, in putting the trade under the management and direction of a particular company.

- AWARE of the objection, that this Southern Continent lies absolutely without the limits prescribed by the charter, and that there is also a proviso in the said charter, which seems absolutely to exclude the *Terra Australis*, he reasons in the following manner: "In this case," says he, "I presume the legislature will not permit the private advantage of any particular company to stand in competition with the good of a whole people. It is upon this principle, I say, that the Southern Continent is within the intention of the *South Sea* company's charter; because, I presume, the meaning of that charter was to grant them all the commerce in those seas not occupied before by *British* subjects: for if it were otherwise, what a condition should we be in as a maritime power? If a grant does not oblige a company to carry on a trade within the limits of that company's charter, and is at the same time of force to preclude all the subjects of this nation from the right they before had to trade to those limits, such a law is plainly destructive of the national interest, and to commerce in general. I therefore suppose that if the *South Sea* company should think proper to revive their trade in the manner I propose, this proviso could be explained by parliament to mean no more than to exclude the *South Sea* company from settling or trading in or to any place settled in or traded to by the *East India* company. As this interpretation would secure to each company its rights, and at the same time reconcile the laws for establishing them to the general interest of trade and the nation, there is great reason to believe it to be the intention of the legislature." We have insisted the longer upon this point, as we believe it to be peculiar to the author we have quoted, and of such importance, that, without it is understood in the sense he explains it, there is an end to all hopes of extending trade on this side, which is perhaps the only side on which there is the least probability it can ever be extended; For as to the north-west passage into the *South Seas*, that seems to be blocked up by the rights of another company. According, therefore, to the letter of our laws, each company is to enjoy its full rights and privileges without infraction, whilst the nation is to have no rights at all.

- If, therefore, the settling of the Southern Continent should devolve upon the *South Sea* company, as an equivalent for the loss of their *Affiento* contract, there can be no doubt but it may as well be executed by them as by any others. The trade, as far as we are able to see, may be carried on without the least prejudice to the rights of either the *India* or the *African* companies. It is true, if that once a considerable settlement was established in the southern part of the *Terra Australis*, the company then might fall into a larger commerce in the most valuable *East India* goods, very probably gold, spices, &c. yet would not these fall within the exclusive proviso of their charter. This proviso undoubtedly must have been intended to prevent their trading in such goods as are brought hither by our *East India* company. But

Reasons why the South Sea company might carry on this trade consistently with the spirit of their charter, and without prejudice to the rights of the East India company.

Arguments in support of this proposal by the editor of Harris's Voyages.

is there any difference, with respect to that company, between our being supplied with cloves, a cinnamon, mace, or nutmegs, by the *South Sea* company, and our receiving them from *Holland*? They would certainly arrive in *Europe* some months sooner by *Cape Horn* than by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and consequently cheaper. But if it should still be insisted, that the *South Sea* company should by no means meddle with *East India* commodities, we should be glad to know why the *West India* merchants are permitted to import coffee from *Jamaica*, when it is well known that the *East India* company can supply the whole demand of the kingdom from *Mocha*? Should it be answered, that the *Jamaica* coffee comes cheaper, and is the growth of our plantations; the reply is ready, that these spices will not only be cheaper, but better, and purchased by our own manufactures; which are reasons perhaps as strong as the others. b

WE have all the assurances that can possibly be obtained in a point of this nature, that spices actually grow in some parts of the Southern Continent. *Quiros* met with spices of all kinds in the country he discovered. *Schouten* and *Le Maire* saw ginger and nutmegs; so did *Dampier*; and the author of *Roggewin's* journal asserts, that the free burghesses of *Amboyna*, and the other islands of the *Moluccas*, make an annual trading voyage for nutmegs to *New Guinea*.

WE have hinted before, that had the nation, in the last war with *Spain*, thought of prosecuting the discoveries in the *South Seas*, a settlement might commodiously be made in *Juan Fernandez*, which would equally assist the design of planting colonies, and carrying on a successful commerce with the *Terra Australis*. Perhaps it might be possible still to affect this by c a reasonable consideration and equivalent to the crown of *Spain*. The chief difficulty would be to persuade the *Spaniards*, that our commerce with the Southern Continent would produce no inconvenience to their trade with the *Philippines*, which we are fully of opinion it would not, or if it did, would be compensated by the advantages it would bring to the *Spanish* dominions in *Mexico* and *Peru*.

Proposals for settling the first colony either in *Juan Fernandez* or in *New Britain*.

UPON the whole it is evident, that if a proper traffick with the Southern Continent was opened by means either of a settlement in the intermediate island of *Juan Fernandez*, or in *New Britain*, these three consequences must necessarily result from it. 1st, That a new trade would be opened, which would consume a great part of the produce and manufactures of *Great Britain*, which cannot at present be brought to any market; or if they can, at least not d to so good a mart as if there were a greater demand. 2dly, It would render this navigation, which at present is so uncommon, and consequently so terrible to us, easy and familiar. This might be attended with advantages that cannot be foreseen, especially since there is, as we before observed, another Southern Continent still undiscovered. 3dly, It would greatly increase our shipping and seamen, which are the true and natural bulwarks of this country, extend our naval power, make our marine formidable, and raise the reputation of the nation. The most distant prospect of such blessings, one would think, would warm the soul of the most dastardly, who has the smallest regard for his country, and inspire him with courage to brave all dangers, and to despise the imputations that may be laid upon him as a visionary projector for taking such pains about a matter that can never turn out to his private advantage (A). e

IT is well known what prodigious profits arise from the exportation of the most frivolous toys, in exchange for the commodities of foreign countries, especially the *Indies*, where the natives are unacquainted with the value of the merchandizes they deal in. It is the rivalry of nations only which gives them any notion of raising their price. When these savages perceive the *Europeans* striving to forestall and anticipate the markets, it is natural for them to conclude they must have reason for this conduct, and consequently to make their advantage of it. But where one nation only, and the trade of that nation is under the direction of a company, then it is no difficult matter to keep the merchandize at the first price. No emulation appearing, the natives must remain in perpetual ignorance of the value of the goods they give and receive. f

Philosophical conjectures concerning the inhabitants of the Southern Continent.

THE people of the Southern Continent, in particular, would seem to be possessed of a very peculiar sort of philosophy, which consists in calculating whether the fatigue of procuring certain conveniencies of life does not overbalance all the satisfaction they afford. Deciding this matter in the affirmative, they pass their time in an indolence and sloth truly beastly. No foresight, no thought for to-morrow, is taken. They live upon what the earth puts forth spontaneously, clothed with no other dress than what nature afforded, insensible to the rigour of seasons, the burning sun of the day, and the sickly damps of the night, and equally hardened to every suggestion of shame, decency, and what nature would seem to dictate. We speak only of

(A) The greater part of these reflections we found scattered up and down in the new edition of *Harris's Voyages*, and the *French* collection of voyages to the *South Sea*. We arrogate to ourselves, therefore, little

merit besides that of having here presented them in one collected view, and adapted them to the present times, and the purpose of our history.

a some of the inhabitants of the continent of *New Holland*, described by *Dampier*. They esteem the *Europeans* great blunderers in political and philosophical arithmetic, for taking such pains to procure things which custom only renders necessary. But how much soever attached to sloth, ignorance, and prejudice, they may be, it is not to be doubted but the establishment of colonies would soon gain them over to a more rational method of acting and thinking. The natural promptitude to society, observable in all men, would make this task both easy and meritorious; for what greater benevolence can be exerted than in impressing the marks of religion, virtue, and knowledge, upon the minds of whole nations plunged in the deepest ignorance, sloth, and barbarity?

b BUT not to insist upon a topic self-evident, we shall beg leave to add a conjecture which seems to be corroborated by the strong similitude in features, complexion, and manners, between the inhabitants of *New Guinea* and the natives of the coast of *Africa*. It is, that the thick-lipped, woolly-headed negroes of both, are the primitive natives, the *Aborigines* of the Torrid Zone; a species of men more stupid, savage, and brutal, than any other on the globe. That these, formed, according to the poet's expression, in a more perfect manner, and finer organization,

Quis meliore luto finxit prœcordia Titan,

c profiting by the natural advantages given them, attacked and drove the original negroes from their possessions in *Asia*, forcing them to conceal themselves in inaccessible places, where they gradually diminish and decrease. This conjecture will account for the great variety of different people found on the islands, and possessing the continent of *New Holland* and *New Guinea*. If we admit that this variety existed from the first peopling of both, it will destroy all the philosophy hitherto laid down concerning national character. This problem has ever been solved by the influence of the climate, as well as the manners and customs prevalent among each. But, in these islands, the natives of one shall in every respect resemble the *African* negroes, while those of another island, not five leagues distant, shall have *European* features, long black hair, a sprightliness of wit and understanding, as well as a decorum of manners, intirely unknown to the former. Yet do they all live in the same climate, under the same d parallels, while the characters of each are as strongly marked as those of the most polished but distant *European* nations. What seems to confirm our conjecture is, that those negroes are found in countries long possessed by *Europeans* or *Asiatics*. In *America* they are greatly decreased since the conquests of the *Spaniards*. In *Africa* they are driven from all the coasts possessed by *Europeans*. In *Asia* they are no-where to be found but south of the equinoctial, except in the south end of *Madagascar*, and those parts of *Monopotapa*, *Cafferes*, *Simbabas*, and the country of the *Hottentots*, south of the line. Sometimes the primitive inhabitants are to be met with in the interior and remote parts of great islands. Upon the whole, perhaps the continents of *New Holland* and *New Guinea* are the only parts of the known world where they are found absolute masters of their first possessions.

e IT would really be a curious research to examine by a scrupulous philosophy the primitive nature of man; to make experiments upon those untutored savages; to watch what ideas the human organization, the fingers and toes, would excite; to observe how far this physical sensibility might be the cause of ideas, as the ingenious M. *Helvetius* asserts; and, in short, to discover whether these negroes are really endowed with the same powers and faculties as the rest of mankind, or whether they are not a distinct species, whose minds are incapable of receiving all the advantages of culture and education, from a defect in the powers of reflection, or the minuter animal organization. But these are inquiries to be left to philosophers. The province of history is to record things as they are, without entering upon nice disquisitions and subtle distinctions. The present occasion, however, so fairly offered itself, that we could not f well avoid hinting this conjecture, which we leave to be prosecuted by, others, who have more leisure and ability.

g HAVING now finished all that is material concerning the discoveries made in the *Terra Australis*; having recited whatever is to be found concerning the climate, soil, produce, people, their manners, customs, complexion, and other circumstances; we shall proceed to lay before the reader a short view of the labours of the principal circumnavigators, which we apprehend will be an useful supplement to our history of the *East Indies* and Southern Continent, and no unapt introduction to our account of *America*. In this particular, perhaps, it is that the moderns can boast of their only, at least their greatest, superiority over the antients; we mean in discoveries made of new worlds by the application of mathematics and astronomy; by a true knowledge of the terraqueous globe, and great improvements in navigation, from the right and happy use of fortuitous principles. This we cannot but esteem as one of the noblest trophies of the human intellect, at least with respect to judicious reasoning upon axioms once established, however those axioms might be the result of accident and chance. It is plain

plain from the astronomical tables; calculations of eclipses, and many other particulars remain-
 ing in the works of *Ptolemy*, *Archimedes*, and *Hipparchus*, that the antients had no true idea
 of the figure of the earth; that they were extremely ignorant in practical astronomy, and that
 they must ever remain children in navigation without a thorough knowlege of the pro-
 perties of the loadstone. With respect to the figure of the earth, their sentiments were no
 less various and absurd. One imagined it hollow like a dish; another taught that it was flat,
 like a table; a third believed it was erect, like a stone column or pillar; and a fourth, more
 extravagant if possible, than any of the former, affirmed that it floated like a bowl on the water.
 Some described it as approaching to the figure of a drum; and some of the earliest Christian
 writers imagined the earth was infinitely extended downwards; building this notion upon
 sacred authority, or rather wresting holy writ in support of their idle conjecture (B). From
 this diversity of opinions, it is evident, the antients could infer nothing justly either with
 respect to the parts undiscovered of the terraqueous globe, or the rational means of discovering
 them. To this a true idea of the figure of the earth was necessary, without which every hy-
 pothesis must be in vain, idle, and false. True it is, that the moderns themselves, after the
 discovery of *America* and the *East Indies*, after navigation was brought to its utmost per-
 fection, the magnet discovered, and science arrived at a great height, still differed with
 regard to the figure of the earth. Some held it to be an oblate, others an oblong sphere. But
 these differences, although they account variously for some curious problems in astronomy,
 yet have no influence on the general principles either of astronomy or the art and theory of
 sailing.

As to astronomy, *Hipparchus* was the first philosopher who framed a catalogue of the fixed
 stars, about 150 years before the Christian æra. His tables were corrected by the famous
Ptolemy, about 500 years after, and a system erected upon his principles, which lasted for a
 great number of years, although future ages discovered it replete with absurdities and errors.
 Later discoveries were made by the use of the telescope, an instrument intirely unknown to
Hipparchus and *Ptolemy*, and even to *Tycho Brahe*, the famous *Dane*; yet did this philosopher
 arrive within two minutes of the true longitude and latitude; whereas the former generally erred
 half a degree in both; a circumstance which every one knows must greatly affect the theory
 of navigation. But the antients chiefly failed in not being able to determine the four cardinal
 points, and each of the intermediate ones, with any tolerable degree of accuracy. The ne-
 cessity they were under of coasting along the shore, having no certain criterion for the north
 and south poles, made their voyages very limited. In the day, indeed, they were able to
 find a meridian line by the sun's rising and setting; at night the *Ursa Major*, and the pole-
 star in its tail, pointed out the north; but a cloudy sky deprived them of the benefit of this
 expedient. Another method used by the antients was, by observing the direction they had
 run in; for knowing the first course in which they had set out, they kept an exact register of
 the inflections and variations of that course; a method equally tedious, perplexed, and pre-
 carious; as a storm, a strong current, or any such accident, immediately destroyed the fruits
 of their labour.

Of the modern
 improvements
 in astronomy
 and naviga-
 tion.

By the application of the loadstone, and the nice theory of the needle, all those incon-
 veniences are removed; the meridian line is known with equal ease and certainty; the mariner
 is enabled to quit the old and timid manner, to steer boldly into the wide ocean, and to force
 his passage to the most distant parts of the globe by the shortest, safest, and most expeditious
 ways imaginable. Such was the invention which enabled the *Portuguese*, in the beginning
 of the 15th century, to make prodigious voyages and discoveries in the east. The success
 attending their endeavours gave rise to that series of voyages and travels, which soon became
 no less advantageous to commerce than to society and science in general. The fables of the
 antients have been supplanted by true history; every part of the globe is found to be inhabited;
 the superstitions of antiquity, with respect to giants, *anthropophagi*, and *men whose heads did*
grow beneath their shoulders, have been refuted; the disproportion between the elements of
 water and earth has been found less than was imagined, and the products of the torrid and
 frigid zones more valuable and rich than those of temperate climates, contrary to the universal
 supposition. We therefore imagine it will not be disagreeable to the reader, that the history
 of the first circumnavigators be here presented in one collected view, as he will hence be able
 to determine with accuracy what improvements have been made in the theory of navigation,
 in astronomy, and even the art of building and navigating ships. It will at the same time
 reflect considerable light upon the discoveries in the *East Indies*, which our plan obliged us
 hitherto to relate diffusely, and only as it regarded the several *European* nations trading thither;

(B) Those philosophers, in the order in which we have enumerated their sentiments, were *Democritus*, *Anaximenes*, *Anaximander*, *Thales*, *Leucippus*, *Laërtius*, and *Augustine*. The sentiments of most of those sages are to be found in *Diogenes Laërtius* and *Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers*. It would be tedious, however, to refer to every page whence they may be collected.

a but more particularly on the means by which the vast discovery of the *Terra Australis* and *America* were made. The method we shall follow is, to recite the material circumstances from the best accounts of those circumnavigators we have; giving at the same time a short history of the lives of those eminent men. Only the principal shall be selected; and those placed according to their dates, with a regular chronology, we shall endeavour to make equally useful and entertaining. We shall distinguish the causes, the consequences, the several improvements in the order of time in which they happened; taking notice likewise of what remains to be done by others, inspired to emulation by the industry, success, and great reputation acquired by those generous discoverers.

b As it is universally believed that Don *Christopher Columbus* first formed an idea of the possibility of sailing round the globe; as he first, by his just and powerful arguments, engaged all the learned in his sentiments, and as he afterwards proved that his theory corresponded not only with speculation, and the then received system of the world, but with practice too; we shall begin with an account of this philosopher and hero, whose history is scarcely known to this day, through the gross misrepresentations of some material facts. The strong prejudices with which he had to combat, the reluctance of all the princes in *Europe* to enter into his measures, and the perseverance with which he pursued them, in contempt of difficulties, dangers, and in spite of the malice of all his enemies, are circumstances we shall dwell upon, as they cannot fail both of engaging the heart of the reader, as well as improving his understanding, as they afford him a striking example to what a pitch of greatness the human mind is capable of arriving by constancy, firmness, and an invariable propensity to what it judges to be virtue.

S E C T. VII.

Containing an account of the life and discoveries of Don Christopher Columbus, a Genoese; his various disappointments at the court of Spain; and, finally, his death, owing to the malice, rancour, and envy, of his enemies. Also the life and rise of the celebrated Sir Francis Drake; his several exploits against the Spaniards in the South Seas; the endeavours of his enemies to depreciate his merit; the high sense of his conduct which the queen had; concluding with his death and vindication.

d **T**HE life of Don *Christopher Columbus* was written by his son Don *Ferdinand*, who acquaints us, that he was descended of an antient family in the territory of the state of *Genoa*, but does not determine either the time or the particular place of his birth (A). *Christopher* had shewn an early passion for the sea, he studied geography and navigation with an uncommon avidity, and, when he was very young, distinguished the extraordinary progress he had made by some charts he laid down after a new method, and several projects he began to frame. The *Portuguese* were at this time the most famous maritime power in *Europe*; a circumstance which induced *Columbus* to visit *Portugal*, where he married, settled, and commenced a trader to the coast of *Guiney*. By his wife *Philippa Mumiz de Paristrello* he had children, which whetted his ardour to increase his fortune by a diligent application to trade, but by means peculiar to himself^a. His voyages to *Guiney* were subordinate only to his more extended views, of which he never lost sight from the time he had first framed his idea of the terraqueous globe. For this purpose he made himself a tolerable proficient in the *Latin* tongue, and in several branches of knowledge; but gave his chief attention to the mathematics, on which he knew the success of his projects depended. During his whole life, he maintained the reputation of a man sober, temperate, grave, and devout, of a clear understanding, studious, but enterprising, and indefatigable in his pursuits^b.

e His close application to mathematics and maritime affairs, joined possibly to the relations of mariners he had heard, induced him first to think of new discoveries, though the jealousy of the *Spaniards* has given an invidious turn to this part of his life, and derogated all in their power from his glory, for no other reason than that he was not their countryman. *Mariana*

^a PURCHAS, vol. i. P. ii. p. 9.

^b GOMARA, Hist. Gen. c. 14.

(A) The *Spanish* writers give *Columbus* the name of *Colon*, for the easier pronunciation. *Herrera* says, he was born at *Savona*. *Gomara*, a *Genoese* historian, alleges, that he was born in the little town of *Cicuro*, in the republic's territory; whereas *Peter Martyr*, or

rather *Eden* in his preface to that writer, seems to think that *Narvi* claims with justice the honour of this great man's birth. But these disagreements we rather mention out of a desire to gratify the curiosity of the reader, than as a matter of any importance.

tells us, that *Martin Vincent*, a pilot, informed *Columbus*, when very young, that he was once ^a carried four hundred and fifty leagues west of *Cape St. Vincent*, where he took up a piece of wood wrought by man's hand, and, as far he could judge, without iron, which he concluded must have come from some western island. *Pedro Correa* had likewise told him, that he had seen at *Puerto Santo* a similar piece of timber driven thither by the westerly winds. He also sent *Columbus* some large canes, containing in each knot about two gallons of water, which he reasonably supposed to be the growth of some country to the west, from the wind's having set in that quarter for a course of several weeks ^c. To this was added the relation of the inhabitants of the *Azores*, who affirmed that strong west and north-west winds had often brought upon the coasts of *Graciosa* and *Fayal* certain large pine-trees, canoes formed of the trunk of a tree, and one time two dead bodies of a different complexion, and larger faces ^b than any they had ever beheld ^d. Other circumstances of a similar nature are mentioned by the *Spanish* writers, which, instead of diminishing the character of *Columbus*, rather magnify it, by shewing how piercing a wit, how judicious an observer of occurrences, he must have been, who, upon so slender and trivial accidents, could build a project so noble, so useful, and so extensive, as that of the discovery of a fourth part of the globe (B). The fact, however, upon which the greatest stress is laid, is, that, *A. 1484*, one *Alonso Sanchez*, of *Heuelua*, in the country of *Niabla*, died in the house of *Columbus*, in the island of *Tercera*, leaving him all his papers, whence he acquired those lights that directed him in his future great undertakings. *Sanchez* had traded for many years from *Spain* to the *Canaries*, and thence to *Madeira*. In his last voyage from *Madeira* he was carried out to sea, and, after a continued ^c course for twenty-nine days, arrived at a certain island supposed to be *Hispaniola*, where he landed, and took an observation. He kept an exact journal of all the occurrences in his voyage, which, say the detractors of *Columbus*, afforded him the chief materials for all the discoveries he afterwards made. From hence, say they, he had not only intelligible hints, but a direct plan, a course chalked out for his future operations. But what destroys the credibility of this plausible tale is, that *Columbus* had actually perfected his scheme, and offered it to his countrymen the *Genoese* in the beginning of the year, when *Sanchez* is said to have begun his voyage. Besides, he offered no testimonies from experience; his arguments were founded upon science, deep thought, and pure reason. As the figure of the earth was spherical, it was probable, he said, that the continent on one side was balanced by an equal quantity of ^d land on the other. That as the *Portuguese* had first discovered islands, and then a vast tract of country, by sailing east, it was in a manner certain, that, by a western course, they should fall in with other islands and another continent. That this was confirmed by the observation in the *Cape de Verd* islands, that the winds blow for a stated time from the west, which must be owing to a great tract of land on that side; concluding, that this discovery, when ascertained, would be equal in glory, in producing wealth, increasing their commerce, navigation, and industry, to that of the *East Indies*, which at that time was the admiration and wonder of all *Europe*.

Reasons for inserting *Columbus* among the circumnavigators.

His proposal rejected by the *Genoese*.

HENCE it is evident, that though *Columbus* did not actually surround the globe, yet that he was the first who suggested the possibility of such a voyage, who attempted it, and pointed out ^c the means by which it was afterwards effected. Hence also it appears, how little he borrowed from the narratives of mariners, of what little use experience could have been to him, and, in short, that his great plan was erected intirely upon a rational idea, an happy turn of thinking, and a sound judgment; that it was a fine theory, consonant to reason, but at the same time confirmed by no trials or experiments whatever. The states of *Genoa* having rejected his proposal, as much beyond their power, and likely to incur the resentment of several maritime princes, *Co-*

^c Apud PURCHAS, p. 9.

^d HERRER. dec. 1.

(B) The words of *Peter Martyr*, contemporary with *Columbus*, addressing himself to the two patrons of this great man, evidently demonstrate that he did not derive his notions from narratives, and the hearsay evidence of the seamen he conversed with, but from the consideration of the globe, and the harmony observable through every part of it then known. Hence *Columbus* justly concluded, that the want of this harmony in any point of view was the strongest argument that the whole was not discovered; and that whatever was requisite to establish that harmony, was the part concealed. "*Attollite mentem*," says *Peter Martyr*, "*audite, sapientissime duo senescentes, novum inventum*." "*Meminiſtis Colonum Ligurum inſtitiffe in Caſtris apud*

"*Reges; de percurrento per-occiduos antipodes, novo terrarum hemispherio meminisse oportet. Qua de re vobiscum aliquando actum est; nec sine vestro, ut arbitror, consilio, rem hic aggressus est*" (1). But the accounts given of this affair are so various, that it is difficult to fix upon the most genuine. Every writer speaks of *Columbus* according to his own prejudices, either national or personal. Some of his friends go so far as to affirm, that the utmost pains were taken to render his design abortive, and to blast his reputation, because it was not the interest of the *Portuguese* that this method of discovery by the *West* should be pursued.

(1) Vid. Edit. Eden Petri Mart. Epist. 133.

- a *Columbus* presented it to *John* the second, of *Portugal*, in whose dominions he had resided for a number of years. His majesty appointed commissioners to treat with him, to examine his plan, and give in their sentiments to his privy council. So treacherously did this board execute their office, that, after their artifice had succeeded in drawing out of *Columbus* his whole sentiments of the project; they advised the king to send a ship to make trial whether it was practicable, endeavouring by every low and mean artifice to rob *Columbus* both of the glory and advantage that might result from the success of the enterprise. The design, however, miscarried through accident, or want of courage and conduct in the persons employed. *Columbus* discovered the arts made use of to sap his fortune and reputation; and so highly was he incensed at it, that he refused to treat a second time with the king, though his majesty earnestly desired
- b it, resolving to apply to the court of *London*, for means to prosecute his plan.
- With this view he dispatched his brother *Bartholomew Columbus* with proper instructions to *Henry* the VIIth, not doubting but that wise monarch would readily embrace a proposal so manifestly tending to his advantage; but *Bartholomew* was so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of pirates, by whom he was stripped of every thing, in which poor condition he arrived in *England*. After some time spent in the utmost distress, he at length found means, *an.* 1488, to have his proposals communicated to his majesty. They were received with a graciousness and warmth becoming a prudent prince; an agreement was struck up with *Bartholomew*, in the name of his brother, and all the reason in the world given him to believe that his journey to *England* would be crowned with success (C).
- c *CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS*, in the mean time, hearing of the misfortunes of his brother at sea, repaired to the court of *Spain*, where he conferred with *Martin Alonso Pinçon*, one of the ablest mariners of his time, and soon made him so thoroughly apprehend the force of his arguments, that *Pinçon* offered to attend him in the voyage, if he could bring his project to bear. The next application of *Columbus* was to *Juan Peres de Marcheno*, a *Franciscan* frier, in great repute for his skill in astronomy and geography. *Marcheno* was not only convinced of the propriety and rectitude of *Columbus's* scheme, but indefatigable likewise in promoting it; and to him it is in a great measure owing that any countenance was ever shewn to it. He first recommended it to two of the chief grandees in *Spain*, the dukes de *Medina Sidonia* and *Medina Celi*. These noblemen, although they did not patronize *Columbus* with that warmth which his merit so well deserved, yet shewed him great respect, and even countenanced his application to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, their catholic majesties; induced by no other motives than the steadiness, gravity, integrity, and upright conduct, which they observed in our great discoverer. Nor was the assistance of his old friend the frier wanting upon this occasion, for he furnished him with the strongest recommendations to the queen's confessor *Ferdinand Tolavera*, a man of probity and erudition, of considerable weight and influence with their majesties. By means of this priest it was, that *Columbus*, amidst the persecutions of malice, envy, and national prejudice, at length accomplished his design. To so high a pitch were these invidious artifices carried, that he had frequent intentions to leave the court of *Spain*, and try his fortune in *France*; but was diverted by the frier, the confessor, and *Don Alphonso di Quintaniglia*, auditor of the revenue, a sensible judicious man, who had taken a liking to *Columbus*, entertained him at his table, and supplied him with money and necessaries. Soon after the auditor introducing him to the archbishop of *Toledo*, and the prelate entering properly into the character of *Columbus*, his affairs began to wear a more favourable aspect. Queen *Isabel* so warmly interested herself in his behalf, that only two obstructions remained to be surmounted; these were, the expence that would attend the equipping a necessary force, and the high demands of *Columbus*. As to the first, it amounted to no great sum; but so exhausted was the *Spanish* treasury by the long wars with the *Moors*, that some writers affirm the queen offered to pawn her jewels to make up the sum. This difficulty was at length removed by *Don Lewis di St. Angelo*, an officer of the revenue, who advanced the greatest part of the money. As to the other difficulty, it was overcome by the inflexible constancy of *Columbus*, who would abate nothing of his first terms, *viz.* being made viceroy and admiral of the lands and seas he should discover, and intitled to a tenth part of the clear profits that should redound to their majesties from the success of his labours.

His brother makes proposals to Henry VII. of England.

Columbus goes into Spain, and meets numberless disappointments.

He is at length patronized by the queen.

* HERRERA, d. i. l. i. c. 2.

† J. DE BARROS, d. i. l. iii. c. 11. apud Purchas. tom. i. l. ii. f. 3.

(C) From this account, which we find in all our *English* historians, and particularly in the collections of *Hackluyt* and *Purchas*, as well as in *Oviedo's* *Hist. del Ind.* (2), it would appear, that the title of the *English* to the new world is prior to that of the *Spaniards*. If they plead against this claim the actual discovery of

the islands, we may with equal reason assert the same arguments against them with respect to the continent. However, as this is a point now out of the question, by the division of both that has been made, and confirmed by long possession, we shall not trouble our readers with a detail of the dispute.

(2) *Oviedo Hist. del Ind. lib. ii. c. 5.*

This he obtained ; and the articles of agreement were signed at *Santa Fe*, in the kingdom of *a*
Granada, an. 1492^e.

*A fleet assign-
 ed him, with
 which he sails
 in search of
 discoveries.*

PRELIMINARIES being thus adjusted, three ships were assigned him, the *Santa Maria*, which
Oviedo calls the *Gallega*, commanded by *Columbus* in person ; the *Pinta*, *Alonso Pinçon*, master ;
 and the *Ninna*, *Vincent Yannes Pinçon*, brother to the above-named captain, commander.
 This *Vincent* advanced *Columbus*'s proportion of the expence, which, according to the articles
 stipulated, was one fourth. The admiral's ship was a carrack, or decked ship ; the others cara-
 vels, or open vessels ; and the whole crews amounted to no more than ninety men, according to
Herrera, although *Peter Martyr*, and other historians contemporary with *Columbus*, make his
 complement to consist of 120 seamen ; a force, indeed, very inadequate to the dangers he was
 about to encounter. Towards the end of *July*, an. 1492, he embarked at *Palos*, and weighed b
 anchor on the 3d of *August*. On the 4th the *Pinta*'s rudder got loose, which obliged them
 to put again into port ; an accident that was interpreted into a bad omen by the seamen,
 but regarded by *Columbus* in no other light than as it retarded his project. He told the sailors,
 that no omen was unfortunate where the designs were just, brave, and public-spirited. He be-
 stowed great pains in inspiring them with courage, with just notions of the enterprise they were
 upon, and with the true principles of navigation and geography, himself performing the office
 of a tutor, as well as of a commander. By the 11th of this month he had sight of the *Canari-*
es, where he continued instructing and refreshing his men till the 7th of *September*, when he
 put again to sea. No sooner had the fleet lost sight of land, than the spirits of the seamen
 began to sink, notwithstanding all the endeavours of *Columbus* to animate and rouse their cou- c
 rage. They now began to esteem it the project of a rash desperado, and an ideal plan, which
 must soon hurry them into perdition. But *Columbus* still inflexibly proceeded with a calm reso-
 lution, and undaunted courage and presence of mind, which seemed to work a happy effect
 upon the minds of the greater part of the crew. He even deceived them in their reckonings,
 persuading the seamen that they had not passed such a tract of ocean, or got at so great a dis-
 tance from land as they imagined. The 14th he took notice of the variation of the needle,

*The variation
 of the compass
 first observed.*

which was the first time that phænomenon had fallen under observation. Two days after, grass
 and herbs, with a great number of grasshoppers and insects, were seen floating on the water,
 and this he interpreted into a prognostic that land was not far off. For some days following,
 the same presages, together with sea fowl, and other occurrences, confirmed their conjectures, d
 and raised the spirits and expectations of the drooping mariners^h. In this train stood affairs,
 with a favourable gale astern, till the twenty-second, when the wind came to S. S. W. This
 was no sooner observed by the seamen, than they concluded that God was displeased with the
 hardy attempt. They reproached *Columbus* with the most opprobrious and vilifying language ;
 nor did they even spare the sacred persons of their catholic majesties, who had sent them on this
 foolish enterprise, at the instigation of a specious and artful foreigner : they even threatened to
 throw *Columbus* overboard if he did not immediately alter his course, and make the best of his
 way home. All this he bore with the patience of a philosopher, and the undismayed resolu-
 tion of a soldier. He reasoned with his men in the calmest manner, answered their abuse in the
 mildest and gentlest terms, promised them large rewards if they would persevere in a scheme no e
 less honourable and advantageous to themselves than to him ; and at last concluded with a so-
 lemn promise to return, if, at the end of three days, land was not discovered. With this pru-
 dent conduct, and on these conditions, the mutiny was for that time appeased. Before one day
 out of the three agreed upon was expired, *Columbus* perceived by the sun setting, that land
 was nigh, whereupon he slackened sail, acquainted the crews with the reasons upon which his
 conjecture was founded ; and that same night discovered a fire, to the great joy of all on board.

*He discovers
 land.*

About midnight *Rodrigo di Niara* discovered land, which they found to be an island fifteen
 leagues in circumference, one of the *Lucayas*, called by the natives *Guanabani*, but by *Columbus*
San Salvador, situate about 950 leagues from the *Canaries*. Upon going on shore they sung f
Te Deum, and took solemn possession of the island in the name of their catholic majesties. The
 natives, who were themselves naked, greatly wondered at the dress and figure of the *Spaniards*,
 but much more at the ships, which they took to be large animals. They were of an ordinary
 stature, well proportioned, their complexion olive, but painted of various colours ; a custom
 observed to prevail among the original inhabitants of many of the islands of the *East Indies*, the
 Southern Continent, as well as of *America*. They were wholly ignorant of the use of iron,
 and the nature of the weapons, innocently rubbing their hands against the edges of the *Spanish*
 swords. In their noses and ears they wore gold rings, which they said came from the south,
 where there was a king very powerful, and his subjects rich in this kind of metal. On the 15th
 of *October*, the *Spaniards* put to sea, and arrived at another island distant about seven leagues

^e *HERRERA*, ubi supra. *HARRIS*, tom. i. l. i. c. i.
 tom. i. l. ii. c. x. l. iv.

^h *OVIEDO Hist. del Ind.* l. ii. c. 5. *PURCHAS*,

a from the former. This they called *Santa Maria de la Concepcion*. The 17th they went to *La Concepcion Ferdinandanda*, the women of which were covered from the waist to the knee with cotton petticoats. Soon after they touched at another island, to which they gave the name *Isabella*, in honour of her catholic majesty, who had been so great a promoter of the expedition. Of this, as of all the former, they took solemn possession, using the natives with the most obliging kindness, and presenting them with glass beads, and other baubles, so highly prized among the *Indians* ^a.

b FROM hence *Columbus* proceeded to *Cuba*, which island the natives of *Ferdinandanda* and *Isabella* told him abounded with gold and pearls. Upon his arrival here, two *Indians* were dispatched to examine the country. After travelling some time, they came to a village containing about fifty houses, where they were kindly welcomed by the natives. As the *Spaniards* went thither, they were honoured with incense, the simple natives believing them to be deities; a notion they soon found reason to retract. They made offerings to them of bread and roots, kissed their hands and feet, and performed every other possible act of devotion and adoration. In this country the *Spaniards* saw cotton spring up spontaneously, without any sort of care or culture, and variety of uncommon trees and birds, with which they were wholly unacquainted. What the *Spaniards* chiefly regarded was the precious metal which the *Indians* wore in their noses. After this they made all possible inquiry; to which the natives constantly replied, *Cubonacan*, meaning that it was found in the middle of *Cuba*; but a word the *Spaniards* interpreted into a different sense, imagining they talked of the *Chan* of *Cathay*. Before the departure of *Columbus* from *Cuba*, *Martin Alonso Pinçon*, his former friend, becoming jealous of his success, and fearing lest his reputation might be wholly absorbed in the glory the admiral would acquire from such unexpected discoveries, parted with him, in pursuit of honour which could not be shared with him. After this *Columbus* sailed for *Hispaniola*, which at that time the natives called *Hayti*. Here he took a woman, whom he used with great tenderness, and, by engaging her affections, rendered her an useful agent with the rest of the natives. During his residence in *Hispaniola*, he entered into the most familiar correspondence with the inhabitants. By the report of the female *Indian*, they had taken so great a liking to the *Spaniards*, that the king *Guacanagari* often invited *Columbus* on shore, and entertained a high respect and warm friendship for him, and the other seamen. Here *Columbus* built a fort, to maintain the *Spanish* pretensions, in which putting a garrison of 38 soldiers, he prepared for his return to *Spain*. Before this he effected a reconciliation with *Pinçon*, by means of a letter carried by an *Indian*, who was astonished to find the *Europeans* could convey their sentiments in a scrap of paper, not doubting but it must be through the mediation of some deity. *Columbus* left some regulations with the garrison, and a strict charge to live in friendship and harmony with the natives; upon which he set sail for *Spain*. On his arrival he immediately went to court, where he was graciously received by the queen, and made to sit down in her presence; an honour the highest that could be conferred on a subject ^b.

c COLUMBUS, on his return, was persuaded that the places he had discovered were islands on the opposite side of that continent to which the *Portuguese* traded. This was consonant to the system he had set out upon, and to the idea of the terraqueous globe he formed to himself. For this reason, therefore, he gave those islands the appellation of *West Indies*. He made several curious astronomical observations, great improvements in navigation, and inspired the *Spaniards* with courage to trust themselves in unknown seas, by this voyage. In his way home, *Columbus*, to preserve the memory of this discovery, in case he was shipwrecked, carefully wrote a journal of every minute particular. This he wound carefully in a cere-cloth, and put into a close barrel, to be thrown into the sea, if any accident had befallen the ship. From the same motive it was, that, before his second voyage, he drew an exact chart of his discoveries, which he put into the hands of his son.

f THE success of this first attempt determined their catholic majesties to send him back the following autumn, on the same pursuit, with a squadron of 18 sail. Of the particulars of this voyage we have no account, farther than that the first skirmishes between the *Spaniards* and *Indians* happened on this occasion; that the *Indian* monarch purchased a reconciliation at the price of a golden crown, which he sent to *Columbus*, with great store of provision for the fleet, and some important intelligence; and that the discoveries now made had confirmed him the more in his opinion of his having found out a new passage to the *East Indies*, and the means of circumnavigating the globe. With regard to his third voyage we are left no less in the dark as to particulars. This much we are told, that *Columbus* had now gained some knowledge of the continent; retracted his former mistake, upon hearing that there was a sea on the opposite side of this continent; and now first received the opinion of there being a passage from the north to the south seas, by which it might be possible to sail to the *East Indies*. This was

^a PURCHAS, vol. i. l. ii. f. 4. HERRERA, ubi sup.

^b PURCHAS & HERRERA, in loc. sup. citat.

such a proof of his sagacity and penetration, that it was with good reason the great Mr. Boyle ^a affirmed that we are no less obliged to *Columbus* for the discoveries made after his death than for those made by him while living, since they all flowed from his principles, being no more than improvements on the plan he had traced out, and in some measure executed with equal prudence, fortitude, and good fortune. It is likewise remarkable, that some of those discoveries, which are esteemed of much later date, were, in fact, not unknown to him ; particularly the constant motion of the sea from east to west, of which he took notice in his first voyage ; thence explaining the difference between the time consumed in going out and returning home ^c.

Columbus and his friends sent home in irons.

BUT this expedition, although in the main successful, did not terminate without misfortunes and fresh matter of grief to *Columbus*. The gravity of his behaviour, his undaunted perseverance, his good-fortune, and the strict discipline he maintained during his voyage, created him a number of enemies both in *Spain* and among his mutinous licentious crew. Appeals from both parties were remitted to court from *Hispaniola* ; in consequence of which their majesties sent over one *Francis Bobadilla*, to take cognizance of the dispute, and to do justice, according as things, upon inquiry, should appear to him. *Bobadilla*, upon a superficial examination of facts, to gratify a bishop, whose resentment *Columbus* had incurred, caused the admiral, with his brethren, to be seized, put in irons, and, in that condition, sent to *Spain*. In *November, an. 1500*, they arrived at *Cadiz*, from whence *Columbus* made his appeal to their catholic majesties, who gave immediate orders that he should be released, and expressed the utmost concern for his sufferings. The queen, in particular, who was warm and hearty in her esteem, gave ^b him signal marks of favour and distinction ; but it was some time before he could procure a new governor to be sent to *Hispaniola* ; which, however, he at length effected. ^c

No sooner had he carried this point, than he solicited leave to make a fourth voyage in quest of farther discoveries ; and, after a great many difficulties and obstructions, obtained it. In this voyage it was that he landed upon the continent, lying some days at the *Bastimentos, an. 1502*. While he was in the full career of farther discoveries, he was forced to alter his course, and steer for *Hispaniola*, though for what reason we are not told. Probable it is that new quarrels and mutinies had arisen, which rendered it impracticable for him to continue his pursuit. In the year 1504, he returned to *Spain*, where upon his arrival, the first news he heard was the death of *Isabella* the queen, and his firmest friend. So affected was he with this incident, that his health visibly declined, and nothing but his insuperable courage and constancy could enable him to survive a loss which exposed him to all the malice, intrigue, and artifice, of his numerous and powerful enemies. He still, however, persevered in his duty and applications to an ingrateful court, where he was received with a cold respect, very different from what he had been accustomed to from his royal mistress. This, superadded to his former afflictions, sunk so deep in his noble mind, that, after a few months lingering illness, he died equally admired and envied. When the court was informed of his death, then at length they began to perceive the value of a man they had before neglected. His virtues rose upon them in proportion as obloquy and detraction subsided, and they paid those honours to the dead which were refused to the living. Orders were issued that his body might be interred ^d with all imaginable funeral pomp and magnificence ; but *Columbus* had before given some directions concerning his funeral, which should perpetuate the memory of his hard treatment, by ordering the irons he had worn to be put in his coffin with him. Thus died the great *Columbus*, the ornament of his age, and the constant butt of fortune, equal in his private and public virtues, and exceeded by none either in prudence, perseverance, courage, or true greatness of mind. With him died that spirit of rancour and malice, which pursued him invariably through the whole course of his life, and which he resisted with a generous and noble resolution. Of this there cannot be a more striking instance than in the famous story of the egg, which is thus related by the best historians of those times, particularly by *Peter Martyr*. After the queen's death, when it was observed that the king received *Columbus* with a reserve and coldness, many of the nobility affected to lessen his merit, by insinuating that he was rather fortunate than prudent, his discoveries being rather the result of accident than of well-concerted measures. These suggestions received strength from the artifice of the *Pinçons*, whose jealousy made them sworn enemies to the superior merit of *Columbus*. They arrogated to themselves the discoveries that had been made ; affirming, that the pride, stubbornness, and severities, of *Columbus* were the cause of all the mutinies and discord on board the fleet. *Columbus*, one day at a public dinner at court, after bearing a great deal of raillery upon this head, ordered an egg to be brought to him ; and, shewing it to the company, asked if there was any one who would undertake to set it upright upon the lesser end. All agreeing that it was impossible, *Columbus* very gravely cracked the shell, and by striking it gently on the table, enlarged the base till it stood upright. Upon which the company fell a laughing, and cried out that any body might ^e

His death and character.

The story of Columbus's egg.

- a have done as much. “That I do not doubt,” answered *Columbus*; “and yet none of you thought of it. Thus it was that I discovered the *Indies*; I first conceived the design of steering that course, and now every miserable pilot can find his way thither as well as I. There are many things which appear easy when once performed, which before were thought impracticable. You ought to reflect on the scoffs I sustained before I put my design in execution; it was then a dream, a chimera, a delusion; and now it is what any-body might have thought of and put in practice.” When *Ferdinand* was told this story, he was extremely delighted, commended *Columbus* highly, and made no difficulty of declaring that he admired the grandeur of that spirit, which at the same time he endeavoured to bring down. Many are the reflections which naturally arise from this incident, which cannot fail of inspiring the reader with extraordinary ideas of the understanding, presence of mind, and constancy of *Columbus*; but they are too obvious to require a recital. Sufficient it is that we observe, that whereas he steadily pursued a settled and regular plan throughout his four voyages, so those who succeeded him were led by no other guide than their avarice, and kept to no other instructions than what they received from the *Indians*, who, to rid themselves of such troublesome guests, were eternally sounding in their ears the riches of distant countries, by which the *Spaniards* were often induced to try the truth of their reports. Thus the discoveries of *Columbus* arose, like those of the great *Sir Isaac Newton*, from deep reflection, a fine chain of thought, and happy deductions; those of his successors, from accidental experiments, hearsay, and other fortuitous causes, in which they can claim no other merit than that of having improved upon the invention and discoveries of another. Out of this number, however, we must exclude *Ferdinand Magliana*, or *Magellan*, a *Portuguese* gentleman of family, spirit, and great skill, both in the theory and practice of navigation. As we shall have occasion to mention the discoveries of this experienced seaman in our account of *America*, we shall here pass over his voyage round the world, and proceed to a recital of that performed by our renowned countryman the brave *Sir Francis Drake*.
- Reasons for not inserting Magellan's voyage among the circumnavigators.*

S E C T. VIII.

Containing the birth and first exploits of Sir Francis Drake; his voyage round the world, together with a short view of his life, a defence of his character, and an account of his death.

- d IN the preceding section we gave an account of the life and discoveries of *Columbus*, not as an actual circumnavigator, but as a philosopher, whose system gave existence to the voyages of *Magellan*, *Drake*, *Van Noort*, *Cavendish*, *Dampier*, *Anson*, and all the other persons who have since his time sailed round the globe. It has been observed, that *Sir Francis Drake* resembled the heroes of antiquity not more in his virtues than in his dubious and equivocal descent. We are told by the learned *Cambden*^a, that he was the son of a clergyman, who, in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, was vicar of *Upnore*, on the river *Medway*. On the contrary, the painful and industrious *John Stowe* relates, that he was the eldest of twelve brethren, all children of *Edmund Drake* of *Tavistock*, in the county of *Devon*, mariner; and that he was born in the year 1540^b. These seeming contradictory assertions we find ingeniously reconciled by the judicious late editor of *Harris's* voyages, by supposing that *Edmund Drake* the father, being a zealous protestant, as suffering much for his religion in the reigns of *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* and having likewise a competent share of learning, was ordained deacon in the days of *Elizabeth*, and settled at *Upnore*. Without examining scrupulously into the truth of this solution of the difficulty, which it must be acknowledged is the best it is capable of, we will proceed to the history of *Sir Francis*, who received his christian name from his godfather *Francis* earl *Bedford*. It does not appear that he ever received any advantage from this honour, or that the earl patronized him with the affection and warmth which might be expected from so near an alliance. In his youth he was sent to sea as an apprentice to the master of a small vessel, trading to the coast of *France*, who conceived so warm a friendship for him, that, on his death-bed, he bequeathed him all he was worth, his little bark. At the age of eighteen, Mr. *Drake* was made purser of a merchantman bound to the *Bay of Biscay*; and at twenty, he made a voyage to the coast of *Guinea*. During the whole course of his service he distinguished himself by a courage, a quickness and sagacity, very unusual, and greatly superior to his years. In the year

^a *Annal. Elizab.* 1595.^b *Hist. of Engl.* p. 587.

His first voyage as commander to the West Indies.

1565, his enterprising genius induced him to venture his whole fortune in a voyage to the *West Indies*, which proved unsuccessful. Two years after he served under Sir *John Hawkins* in an expedition to *Mexico*; from whence he returned disappointed, and almost ruined in his fortunes, but with accumulated reputation and glory. Far from desponding or sinking under those repeated misfortunes, they rather whetted his courage, and set him upon undertakings which otherwise he might never have entered upon. He made two more voyages thither in quality of commander, first in the year 1570, and next in the year following, partly for information, and to qualify him for enterprizes of more importance to his fortune and fame. His courage and constancy had now so raised his character, that he found no difficulty in procuring a number of adventurers to share in any voyage he proposed. His first scheme was to make reprisals upon the *Spaniards* for the losses he had suffered by them; in which enterprize several considerable merchants embarked a part of their fortunes, in fitting out two ships to cruise in *America*, under the conduct of Mr. *Drake*. With these, viz. the *Swan* of 250, and the *Pasta* of *Plymouth* of 70 tons, he sailed on the 24th of May 1572. His consort was under the command of his brother captain *John Drake*; the little squadron was well equipped and provided; but the whole crews amounted to no more than seventy-three men and boys. Such was the armament he carried into the *West Indies*, to revenge the damages sustained from the *Spaniards*. Mr. *Drake*, however, soon proved what great things may be effected by a well-directed spirit and intrepidity. He sacked the famous town of *Nombre de Dios*, and soon after saw from an high tree the *South Seas*; a spectacle that inflamed him with an eager desire of carrying an *English* ship thither, an attempt never made, perhaps never thought of, before. On his return, a prodigious dividend was made amongst the owners, and captain *Drake* all at once found himself possessed of a large and affluent fortune, although he scorned to take advantage of some circumstances which another man would have claimed as his right. Of this we have a remarkable and generous instance, in regard to a present made him by an *Indian* prince on the isthmus of *Darien*. This prince, in return for a cutlass which captain *Drake* had given him, expressed his gratitude by a present of four large wedges of gold, which the captain threw into the common stock; saying, that his owners gave him the cutlafs, and it was but reasonable that they should have their share of the produce. His voyage homewards was no less happy than his expedition; for, in 23 days, he passed from the *Capes of Florida* to *Scilly Islands*, arriving at *Plymouth* on the 9th of August 1573^c.

He obtains the queen's commission to make reprisals on the Spaniards in the South Seas.

THE fame of this expedition soon spread over the kingdom, and captain *Drake* found himself at the pinnacle of fortune both in his circumstances and reputation. People crowded from all parts to visit the hero who had performed exploits so glorious, and a voyage so dangerous, with a force so inadequate and slender. After a short respite from the fatigues of his voyage, he generously resolved to spend the fortune he had acquired by his bravery in the service of his country. For this purpose he equipped no less than three frigates at his own expence, with which he served under that worthy nobleman *Walter* earl of *Essex*, and greatly assisted in the reduction of the rebellious *Irish*. After the death of *Essex*, he attached himself to Sir *Christopher Hatton*, then vice-chamberlain to the queen, and afterwards high-chancellor of *England*. By the interest of this new patron, captain *Drake*, notwithstanding great opposition, obtained her majesty's commission for that voyage which he had so long meditated, and of which we are now to render an account.

Drake's magnificence.

CAPTAIN *Drake* was no sooner appointed, or rather permitted, to undertake this expedition, than he applied with unwearied diligence to get every thing in readiness for accomplishing his designs, in which his friends assisted greatly by large contributions towards the expence. Every thing was expected from the vigilance, prudence, and courage, of *Drake*; and nothing, it was supposed, besides accidents and unforeseen misfortunes, could prevent his returning with fresh laurels and immense wealth. Five vessels were equipped; viz. the *Hind*, 100 tons, *Francis Drake*, admiral; the *Elizabeth*, 80 tons, captain *Winter*; the *Marigold*, a bark of 30 tons, *John Thomas* commander; the *Swan*, a fly-boat of 50 tons, captain *Chester*; and the *Christopher*, a pinnace, captain *Moon*; the whole complement of men amounting to 164 able-bodied seamen. Every thing necessary for so long a voyage was amply provided; long-boats, staved in case of accident, were put on board; wines, cordials, and medicines also. Nor was pleasure forgot; for Mr. *Drake* carried with him a band of music, a prodigious quantity of wrought plate, and other rich furniture, by which the nations he proposed visiting might entertain magnificent ideas of the grandeur of his royal mistress and country. Some writers have not scrupled to tax him with vanity, from this circumstance, though we would rather ascribe this conduct to his generous principles and high sense of national honour. It is indeed an easy matter for little minds to give an invidious turn, and blast the reputation of the noblest purposes, by their own base suggestions^d.

^c PURCHAS, vol. i. p. ii. p. 46. HERRIS. l. i. c. i.

^d Sir W. MONSON'S Tracts, vol. iii. p. 350.

a ALL things being now in readiness, admiral *Drake* weighed anchor from *Plymouth* on the 5th day of *November*, an. 1577, under pretence of a voyage to *Alexandria*; but he was soon obliged to put back, by reason of a violent storm, which did him some damage. In a few days he remedied all defects, and set sail with a more favourable wind on the 13th of *December*. On the 25th he made *Cape Cantin*, on the coast of *Barbary*, which was the first land he fell in with from his departure. Two days after he arrived at the island *Magador*, distant about a mile from the continent, which, with the island, formed a commodious harbour. Here the admiral set his carpenters to work in building a pinnace; during which employment several of the natives came to the shore with flags of peace, and exchanged hostages with the admiral, promising to return next day with provisions for the fleet. At first some misunderstanding arose, and the natives failed in their agreement; but perceiving, upon examining a prisoner they had made, that the squadron did not belong to the king of *Portugal*, with whom the king of *Fez* was at war, but to the queen of *England*, they released the seamen, and carried presents from his majesty to the admiral^c.

b THE pinnace being now finished, *Drake* sailed, *December* the 30th, from *Magador*, and arrived on the 17th of *January* at *Cape Blanco*, where he found a ship at anchor, with only two seamen on board. Of her he made prize, carried her into the harbour, mustered his men on shore, and exercised them to land as well as sea-service. Departing thence on the 22d of *January*, and carrying with him a *Portuguese* caravel, of 40 tons, instead of the *Christopher*, he arrived at the *Cape de Verd* islands, and took in all necessary refreshments at the pleasant island of *Mayo*. Thence he stretched to *St. Jago*, the largest of the *Cape de Verd* islands, keeping at some distance, for fear of the inhabitants. In *Purchas* and *Harris* we are told, that, before he left the island of *Mayo*, *Drake* sent out a party to seize upon some magazines of dried cabritos, or goats, yearly prepared for the *Portuguese* fleet that usually touched there. Here they found grapes in the utmost perfection in the depth of winter, cocoa-nuts, salt, &c. of which last they took but little, the islanders having purposely laid the oldest and worst in their way. In coasting along *St. Jago*, three pieces of cannon were discharged at the *English* squadron; an insult which *Drake* did not chuse to lose time in revenging. Here two sail were descried, to which the admiral gave chase. One of them he took, which proved a *Portuguese* vessel laden with wine. He gave the command of her to one *Doughty*, putting the *Portuguese*, with a sufficient quantity of wine and provision, on board the pinnace, and then discharging them. The *Portuguese* captain, *Nuno de Silva*, he took on board his own ship, to serve as pilot on the coast of *Brazil*, with which he found him to be well acquainted (A).

c PURSUING his voyage from the *Cape de Verds*, he arrived at the island *del Fuego*, or the burning island, possessed by the *Portuguese*, and taking its name from the sulphurous flames issuing out of the bowels of the earth. Being now arrived near the equinoctial, this great and vigilant commander, careful of the health and lives of his seamen, let blood with his own hand of every man on board, to prepare them the better for a change of climate. In a course of 54 days, without seeing land, the squadron met with great plenty of fish, dolphins, bonnetos, and flying-fish, some of which dropt down in the ships, their finny wings being dried with the air. *April* the 4th, he arrived on the coast of *Brazil*, in lat. 33 degrees south. Coastng along the *Brazils*, they parted in a storm with the *Christopher*, which name had been given to the *Portuguese* prize; but found her again on the 11th. The place where all the ships, dispersed in search of her, rendezvoused, the admiral called *Cape Joy*. All the country round was fair and pleasant, the soil rich and fruitful, the climate temperate, the air mild and agreeable. Great store of deer of an uncommon size were seen, but no inhabitants, although the prints of their feet plainly shewed that the country was not without human beings^f.

f ON the 26th, *Drake* came to the mouth of the *Rio de la Plata*, or the great river of *Plate*, where he sounded in 53 fathom fresh water; but, finding no good anchorage, put again to sea. Sailing along, he came to a fine bay, in which stood a number of pretty islands, well-stocked with seals and fowls; by means of which the squadron was well supplied with fresh provisions. The inhabitants came boldly round the admiral upon his landing, seemed willing to trade, but would accept of nothing, unless it was first thrown down on the ground. They were a strong-bodied race, swift of foot, and of a lively and brisk disposition. Their faces were painted, and their cloathing only a furred skin round the waist, with certain wreaths and ornaments round their heads. The *Marigold* and *Christopher* being sent out in quest of a more commodious harbour, they soon returned with intelligence of one they had discovered; to

^c PURCHAS, tom. i. p. 47. part ii. p. 171.

^f HARRIS, tom. i. lib. i. c. 1. LEDIARD'S Naval History,

(A) The reason of *Drake's* making reprisals, and taking the *Portuguese* ships, was, that, at this time, the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal* were united upon one

head. Perhaps, indeed, no part of the expedition can be justified by the law of nations, as, on the present occasion, *Spain* was not in actual war with *England*.

which the admiral and whole squadron repaired. News of the fleet was soon spread among ^a the natives, who came flocking down to the shore with large bows and arrows in their hands. They appeared to be not altogether ignorant of martial discipline; for they ranged themselves into tolerable good order. The most convincing proof of their agility they gave, was, in stealing the admiral's hat off his head; a prize they shared among them, one keeping the hat, and others dividing the lace, which on no terms they would give up. This was the people whom *Magellan* calls the *Patagons*.

He arrives in
the Pacific
Ocean.

WEIGHING from this place, he sailed to *Port St. Julian*, so called by *Magellan*, where he arrived *June* the 20th. Here he found a gibbet erected by that famous commander for the execution of some of his mutinous crew. It was *Drake's* misfortune to be under the necessity too soon of applying to it; for here *John Doughty*, an able and experienced seaman, but turbulent, ^b haughty, and mutinous, was hanged; an action, says *Harris*, the most blameable and rash of the admiral's life (A). On the 17th of *August*, *Drake* left *Port Julian*, and on the 20th fell in with the *Streights of Magellan*, which they entered the following day. The navigation here was extremely difficult; the streight being so crooked, and winding into so many obliquities and curves, that the wind was perpetually shifting. However, after a tedious passage of sixteen days, they at length arrived in the great *South Sea*, or *Pacific Ocean*. No sooner was *Drake* entered into this sea, for which he had long expressed the strongest inclination, than a storm arose, by which he was driven, according to *Sir William Monson*, 100 leagues to the westward, 200 leagues, say *Harris* and *Purchas*, of longitude, and one degree south of the streight (B). He anchored in a fine bay, 57° south latitude, in which stood several islands, ^c affording wholesome water and herbage. Not far from thence he entered another bay, where he saw a number of naked people traversing the streights between one island and another, in search of plants, fruits, and other provisions. Their canoes, he observed, were made with some art, and they managed them with great dexterity. They very readily entered into a commerce with him for such commodities as their country afforded. Here it was that *Drake* observed, contrary to the then prevailing opinion, that the part of the heavens situated nearest the south pole had fewer visible stars, and these of a smaller magnitude. Three only he could discern of any remarkable brilliancy and size in that hemisphere, which he had not before seen in *England*. He likewise took notice of two small clouds of the exact colour, and greatly resembling, the *Via Lactea*, not far from the pole, which the sailors called *Magellan's Clouds*, ^d they seeming to be fixed and immoveable almost vertically to some of the discoveries of that great navigator ^e.

SAILING northward, *Drake* discovered three islands, in one of which was such a multitude of birds, especially sea-fowl, as is hardly credible. *October* the 8th he lost company of the ship commanded by Captain *Winter*. He now steered away for the coast of *Chili*, which former maps placed to the south-west, but which *Drake* found lying north-east and easterly; so that those coasts were rather not fully discovered, or at least not faithfully described, before this voyage. The difference he makes about twelve degrees. On the 29th he arrived at the island of *Mocha*, where he anchored, and went on shore with ten men. The inhabitants consisted of refugees, whom the *Spanish* barbarity had driven from their habitations on the conti- ^e

^a MONSON, loc. citat. HARRIS et PURCHAS, ibid.

(A) The editor of the new edition of *Harris's Voyages* states this affair in so short a manner, that the reader is left to believe this action was an arbitrary stretch of power, owing to the cruelty of *Drake's* temper; whereas, according to *Sir W. Monson*, and the most authentic writers, the admiral gave *Doughty* his choice of being tryed on the spot for mutiny, or sent home to take his trial according to the laws of his country. He chose the former, and accordingly had a jury not of twelve, but of forty of the chief persons in the fleet, by whom he was convicted. This proceeding, we are sensible, was irregular, and, if admitted, would be a precedent of dangerous tendency; yet there are some instances in which we cannot but excuse the commander, although we lament the necessity for such an action. Captain *Cheep*, in the last war, was acquitted in *England* for a proceeding infinitely more despotic; the law seeming to look upon those bold actions as the natural cures of so dangerous a malady as disobedience and mutiny. *Doughty* bore his fate with great resolution, resignation, and an undaunted preience of mind. On the morning before his execution he re-

ceived the sacrament with *Drake*, and other officers. He afterwards dined with them at the same table with cheerfulness, took leave of them all by drinking their healths, with the same calmness as if he had been going a common journey. Dinner being ended, he rose from table, and walked without fear or hesitation to the place of his execution, where he resigned his last breath with the composure of a philosopher, and intrepidity of a soldier (1). This conduct of *Doughty's* it was that spirited up clamours against *Drake*. The *English* nation, of all others, shew the greatest compassion for unfortunate courage. Some affirmed, that he was cut off as the rival of *Drake's* fame; others said, that it was in consequence of secret orders from the Earl of *Leicester*; but none are hardy enough to deny that he had actually plotted against his admiral's life, and stirred up dangerous seditions in the fleet.

(B) In this storm it was that *Drake* lost the *Mari-gold*, Capt. *Thomas*; so that now, of his whole fleet, only three remained, for the two small vessels were set adrift some time before, on their becoming leaky, and unfit to bear the sea (2).

(1) *Monson*, V. iii. p. 362.

(2) *Purchas*, T. i. P. ii. p. 49.

- a went hither, to preserve their liberties and lives. At first they behaved to the *English* with great civility, bringing them potatoes, two fine sheep, and promising to supply them with water; for which they received some presents. Two seamen went on shore the following day, with barrels for water, and were knocked on the head by the natives, who took this opportunity of revenging themselves on the *Spaniards*, not doubting but the fleet belonged to that nation. Their design was to kill the whole boat's crew; for they discharged such a flight of arrows against it, that, of the nine men on board, not one escaped being wounded. *Drake* did not care to revenge an injury which was not intended to him; he therefore continued his course, without entering upon hostilities with those savages, from whom he was sensible nothing could be gained. On the coast of *Chili* he met with a canoe, on board of which was an
- b *Indian*, who, mistaking him for a *Spaniard*, told him there was a rich *Spanish* ship in the road of *Villa Porcifo*, or *Valbaria*. The admiral rewarding the *Indian* for this intelligence, he offered to conduct him to the place; which he did accordingly (C). This ship was manned with eight *Spaniards*, and some negroes, who believing *Drake* to be a *Spanish* admiral, saluted him with their guns, loud huzzas, and bumpers of *Chili* wine. They were soon convinced of their error, the *English* boarding her, shutting the crew under hatches, all except a desperate *Spaniard*, who flung himself into the sea, and making prize of her and the cargo. After this they landed, and plundered a neighbouring village, in which they found a considerable stock of *Chili* wine. This village the above writers call *St. Jago*, but by mistake, that error being corrected in a *Latin* manuscript written by *J. Casaubon*, now in the *Cottonian*
- c library^b. Here likewise were found a silver chalice, two silver cruets, and a rich altar cloth, of which the sailors robbed the chapel, not esteeming it any kind of sacrilege to plunder and spoil the churches of *Papists* and *Roman Catholics*. The admiral, setting his prisoners on shore, shaped his course for *Lima*, the capital of *Peru*. In his voyage an estimate was made of the booty, which amounted to twenty-five pezoës of *Baldivian* or the purest gold, with a cross of the same metal set with emeralds (D). This was the cargo of the ship, for in the village was found nothing besides wine, and the trifles we have mentioned^c.
- ELEVATED with this rich booty and prodigious success, the Squadron cheerfully proceeded on its course, the sailors now imagining that no force would be able to withstand them, although as yet they had met with no resistance. But they soon experienced that all their victories were
- d not to be gained in so easy a manner. Putting on shore for water at *Coquimbo*, fourteen *English* were attacked by a body of 300 *Spanish* horse and 200 foot. They, however, made their retreat good, in spite of all the endeavours of the enemy, and got to the ship with the loss only of one man. The next day the *English* going again on shore to bury the men left dead upon the field, the *Spaniards* hoisted a flag of truce; but the *English*, suspecting their fidelity might be upon a level with their courage, did not chuse to trust them; and therefore, carrying off their man, they returned to the ships. Towards the beginning of *February*, *Drake* put into a port called *Tarapaxa*, where they found a *Spaniard* asleep upon the beach, with 30 bars of silver, in value about 4000 dollars, lying by him. These they carried off, leaving the *Spaniard* to finish his nap. This is *Camden's*, *Harris's*, and *Purchas's* account; but *Burchett*
- e reduces the number of bars to 13^d. At a small distance from thence, going on shore for water, they met a *Spaniard* and an *Indian* driving eight *Peruvian* sheep, each sheep being loaded with two bags of pure silver, both amounting to 100 weight. This booty of 800 *lb.* weight of silver they carried off, permitting the *Spaniard* and *Indian* to pursue their journey without farther molestation (E).

Takes a prize,
and plunders
the Spanish
settlements.

Drake gets a
prodigious
booty.

FROM hence the admiral sailed for *Arica*, where he found three small barks at anchor. These he plundered; and carried off, besides other valuable merchandize, 57 wedges of fine silver, each weighing twenty pounds. Satisfied with this prize, he did not attack the town, which he imagined might be attended with more hazard and difficulty than the enterprise deserved, but put again to sea, and arrived in the port of *Lima* on *February* the 13th. Here

^b LED. Nav. Hist. p. 175.

^c Auct. citat. ibid.

^d Apud Lediard, p. 176.

(C) *Harris*, *Hackluyt*, and *Purchas*, give this road the name of *St. Jago*, which is a mistake, that city being situated further up the country than ever *Drake* penetrated.

(D) Thus, according to *Hackluyt*, *Purchas*, and *Harris*, the whole booty was valued at 25,000 pezoës, equivalent to 39,000 *Spanish* ducats; but, according to the above *Latin* manuscript of *Casaubon's*, the gold above weighed 800 *lb.* besides the cross, chalice, cruets, &c. (3).

(E) According to the author of *Drake Revised*, these sheep were as large as asses. Their necks resembled

camels, but their heads were exactly those of sheep. Their wool is exceeding fine, and their flesh sweet and delicate. Some of them are as large as a cow, and greatly exceed that animal in strength. Three men and a boy, says that author, were set upon the back of one of them, which seemed to give the creature no manner of uneasiness (4). What degree of credit the reader is to give to this account, will appear when we treat of the animals and produce of this country.

(3) *Lediard's Nav. Hist.* p. 175. See also *Drake Revised*, p. 45, 46.

(4) *Drake Revised*, p. 47.

Takes a brigantine, and soon after the Cacafuego plate-ship.

lay 12 sail of ships without a creature on board; and, according to the author last cited in our a note, 30 sail of fine ships richly laden. On board this fleet he found a chest filled with rials of plate, or coined money, besides great quantities of silk, linen, &c. Having cleared those ships of what he thought proper, he received advice of a rich ship called the *Cacafuego*, bound for *Paita*. To her he instantly gave chase, and, in his way, took a brigantine laden with naval stores, about eighty pound-weight of gold, together with a rich crucifix of the same metal, studded with jewels. On his arrival at *Paita*, finding that the *Cacafuego* proceeded on her voyage to *Panama*, he resolved to pursue her, and, to animate his men, promised his gold chain in reward to the first person who should discover her. This fell to the share of his brother *John Drake*, who spied her soon after from the tops, upon which the admiral crouded sail, and bore after her. In the evening he came along-side of the *Spanish* ship, gave her b three furious broadsides, which brought her mizen-mast by the board, and obliged her to strike. This was the richest prize he had yet made; for in her he found 13 chests of rials of plate, 80 pound-weight of pure gold, 26 tons of silver bars, and a large quantity of pearls and jewels. The author of the *Columna Rostrata* says, that the wedges of gold and silver were unrefined^c; which seems to be more consistent with truth, and the supposed value of the booty, than the accounts of *Hackluyt*, *Purchas*, and *Harris*; for this was estimated at 360,000 pieces of eight, or near 90,000*l.* sterling. The *Cacafuego* was taken off *Cape San Francisco*, about 150 leagues from *Panama*; the cargo was removed, and the ship then dismissed, the admiral steering his course to *Guatocolo*, or *Guatulio*, a place south of *Panama*. In the *Cacafuego* were several other valuable particulars, besides those we have enumerated, such as wrought c plate, particularly two fine chased and gilt bowls of a prodigious size; to which the admiral soon after added a beautiful eagle of massy gold, with a large emerald stuck in the breast, which he found on board a small brigantine he met with after taking that great prize^f.

ADMIRAL *Drake*, on his arrival at *Guatulio*, found only 15 *Spaniards* in the town. These he made prisoners, and then ransacked all the houses, the plunder consisting of a bushel of rials of plate, and some other things of value. During their residence in this port, a *Spanish* ship, bound for the *Philippines*, imagining the town to be in possession of the *Spaniards*, put in for water, and was taken, but the cargo was of no considerable value. Having now acquired an immense fortune, raised his reputation to the highest, and revenged the injuries sustained by his country, as well as his own private wrongs, *Drake* began to deliberate upon d his return home. This was a determination that required the utmost caution, prudence, and resolution. To return by the *Streights of Magellan* would be exposing himself to the tempestuous weather, which, in that season of the year, always prevails there, and at the same time to the danger of being intercepted by the enemy, who he imagined would probably watch his return. This was actually the case; for *Don Francisco de Toledo*, viceroy of *Peru*, had sent two large men of war with this design to cruise about the mouth of the streights. His only resource then was, to steer by the *Moluccas*, and endeavour to find the track pursued by the *Portuguese* to the *Cape of Hope*; but utterly unknown to the *English*, and all the other *Europeans*. He therefore boldly resolved to make his passage by *North America*; and accordingly sailed to the latitude of 43 degrees north, to discover if there was a passage or streight e on that side. Here the air was intensely cold; and the farther he proceeded, the more intolerable was the severity of the climate. Meeting with nothing but thick clouds, open shores covered with snow, and a keenness in the atmosphere, sharp, piercing winds that had almost killed the seamen, he returned to the latitude of 38°^g.

NORTH of *California* he put into a convenient harbour, where he entered upon a commerce with the natives, whose cottages were ranged along the shore. Notwithstanding the rigour of the winter here, the inhabitants go naked, except a loose garment of bulrushes, which the women wear in form of a petticoat, and a deer-skin over their shoulders. But their good qualities, says *Hackluyt*, made ample amends for their ordinary dress; for they are to a proverb dutiful to their husbands. Their houses the natives surrounded with a trench, upon the edge f of which they raise great pieces of timber, which join at the top in form of a cone, and make these little huts warm and comfortable beyond belief. They have no other beds than the bare ground, strewed over with rushes; their fire-place being in the middle of the hut, about which they all lie promiscuously, men, women and children. The first present the admiral had made to him was of feathers, and cowls of a kind of net-work; in return for which he entertained them so heartily, as intirely to win their affections. Soon after they brought him another present of feathers and bags of tobacco, attended by a numerous ambassy, who all crouded together upon a little eminence, from which their chief orator harangued him, with an action and voice by no means disagreeable. After this they descended, leaving the women upon the hill, tearing their hair, beating their breasts, and howling in a dreadful manner, g

New Albion or the north side of California, discovered.

^a P. 27. HARRIS, T. i. l. i. c. i. HACKLUYT, &c. in loc. citat.

^f PURCHAS, vol. ii. P. ii. p. 49.

^g PURCHAS, HARRIS,

according

- a according to the usual ceremonies among them at their sacrifices. But not to insist upon particulars, which we shall have occasion to mention at large, when we come to treat of *North America*; sufficient it is, that, after a visit from the *Indian* king, and numberless mutual civilities passed, the admiral weighed from *California*, *October* the 13th, after he had taken possession of it in her majesty's name, and erected a monument, on which was engraved her picture, arms, title to the country, the admiral's own name, and the time of his arrival there. After his departure from thence, he fell in with certain islands in eight degrees north latitude, whence a great number of canoes came to them, laden with cocoa-nuts and other fruits. The *Indians* who navigated them, had some peculiarities. Their teeth were jet-black, their nails an inch beyond the ends of their fingers, their ears cropt round the lower part, and then
- b stretched down upon their necks, with heavy pendants. Their canoes were extremely beautiful, hollowed within, out of a solid piece of wood, with great art, and shining without, with the polish and lustre of burnished horn. Both the stem and stern were sharp, with the point turned upwards in a spiral, neatly cut. On each side lay a broad piece of wood, about a yard and a half long, to keep them close to the wind, by embracing a larger body of water. They were of a considerable height, and stuck round with shells of various colours, by way of ornament. Soon after this, *Drake* got sight of three other islands, viz. *Tagulada*, *Zelon*, and *Zewarra*; the inhabitants of which were strongly attached to the *Portuguese*. The first of these islands produced abundance of cinnamon^b.
- Without making any stay here, the admiral proceeded on the same cruise, arriving November the 14th at the *Moluccas*, and steering for *Tiridore*. Passing along the coast of *Matyr*, an island belonging to the king of *Ternate*, his majesty's viceroy boldly came on board, inviting the admiral to sail directly for *Ternate*, without touching at *Tiridore*. In compliance with his request, the admiral steered his course thither, and came to an anchor before the chief city on the following morning. He immediately sent his compliments to the king, a present of a velvet cloak, and assurances that he had no other intention than to trade upon the fairest terms with his subjects. By this time the viceroy had been with him, and disposed his majesty to entertain very favourable sentiments in behalf of *Drake* and the *English*. In consequence of which, a gracious message was sent to the admiral, expressing his majesty's thanks for the present made to him, and assuring the *English* of his protection, friendship,
- d and free leave to trade with the natives in any commodities the country afforded; adding, that he was desirous of laying himself and his crown at the feet of so glorious a princess as the queen of *England*, and making her sovereign over him, with the same authority he had over his subjects. In testimony of this, he sent the admiral a signet, and conferred the highest respect and honours on the *English* messenger, who staid some days at his court. Intending after this a visit to the admiral, he sent four canoes filled with persons of the first rank in his court, and equipped with the utmost pageantry and pomp, to signify his royal pleasure. This procession was conducted with great decorum, and a ceremony not ungenteel. The nobility were dressed in fine white lawn, or callico. The canoes were covered from one end to the other with large umbrellas of perfumed mats, borne up with an elegant frame of reeds. Their
- e servants clad in white stood round them; and these again were surrounded by a guard of soldiers. On each side, in well-contrived galleries, were ranged the rowers; each gallery containing eight men. The canoes, which were of an extraordinary size, were filled with all kinds of weapons and military stores, disposed in the most regular and beautiful manner. Upon their approach to the ship, they all saluted the admiral in great order, one after another; each repeating his majesty's message. Soon after this came the king in person, attended by six persons of a grave and venerable appearance, and the utmost ostentation of eastern magnificence. He was immediately saluted with a concert of music, with which he seemed greatly pleased; but still more so with the admiral's generosity and hospitality, expressed by the rich presents he made to his majesty and the *Ternate* nobility. After a repast on board, the king
- f went on shore, promising to return the next day; but first sent a great store of provisions, fowls, rice, sago, sugar, cloves, and a kind of fruit they call *frigo*. Next day his majesty sent his brother to the admiral, to apologize for his not attending him according to promise, to invite him on shore, and wait on board as a hostage for his safe return. This invitation the admiral declined; but, to oblige his majesty, sent some of the gentlemen of his fleet to court, where they were received with great distinction. Here they met with four *Turkish* envoys, who had been sent by the Grand Signior to establish a treaty of commerce with the king of *Ternate*. After the *English* gentlemen had waited for some time in a great hall, his majesty came to them, attended by twelve lances, a canopy of rich silk embroidered with gold being carried over his head. He was dressed in a loose robe of cloth of gold, his legs bare, but his feet covered
- g with slippers of cordovan. His hair was interwoven with wreaths and circlets of gold; about

The islands of
Tagulada,
Zelon and
Zewarra.
Arrives at the
Moluccas.

^b PURCHAS, HARRIS, HACKLUYT, &c. in loc. cit. Etiam LED. Nav. Hist. p. 178.

his neck hung a rich chain of the same metal, and all his fingers were adorned with rings, a richly studded with jewels. On the right side of his throne stood a page, fanning him with an elegant instrument for that purpose, and curiously adorned with sapphires and other jewels. After receiving the *English* with great kindness, he soon dismissed them, sending one of his council to conduct them safe back to their ships ⁱ.

THE admiral having closed this scene of grandeur, and finished his affairs, put off from *Ternate*, sailing to a little island south of the *Celebes*, where he staid some days. Nothing remarkable was observed here, but that the country was woody, abounding with tall strait trees, without branches, except what formed a fine roundish top, with small leaves, resembling those of *English* broom. A species of shining flies was found in such multitudes, skimming over and perching upon the branches in clusters, as made them appear as if they were on fire. Bats ^b they saw as large as hens, and a kind of land cray-fish, which burrow under the earth like rabbits, and are so large, that one of them will dine four persons. Sailing from hence, the admiral was prevented by contrary winds from running a western course; he therefore altered it to the southward, which he found attended with great danger, on account of the numberless shoals, shelves, and rocks, that lay round him. On the 9th of *January* 1579, his ship struck upon a rock, where she was fixed from eight o'clock at night till four the next morning. In this distress he was forced to ease her, by unloading three tons of cloves, eight pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of stores and provisions. At length the wind chopping about to the larboard, he hoisted sail, and a happy gale springing up at that moment, intirely disengaged the ship, without any considerable damage to her hull ^c.

Arrives at the
the island
Baratene.

ON *February* 8th, he arrived at the fruitful island *Baratene*, or *Borateve*, where he cleaned and repaired his ship. The natives of this island *Purchas* describes as handsome and well-shaped; but still more agreeable for the faculties of the mind than for those of the body. They are mild, civil, generous, and strictly honest, hospitable to strangers, and affable to all. The men clothe only their heads and the middle of their bodies; the women from the waist downwards to the heels. They load their wrists with eight or ten bracelets of bone or horn, each weighing about two ounces. Linen cloth is scarce, but much valued by the natives, who make ornaments for their heads and waists of it. *Baratene* affords gold, silver, copper, sulphur, nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemons, cucumbers, cocoa, frigo, sago, and many other fruits, roots, and vegetables of every species. One sort of fruit, resembling a bay-berry in size, shape, ^d and husk, they took notice of as peculiar to this island. It was hard, but of a pleasant taste and delicate flavour; when boiled, it was soft, nourishing, and of easy digestion. In short, in their whole voyage they met with no land pleasanter, richer, or more fruitful in all the necessaries of life, than this island of *Baratene* ^e.

Java Major.

LEAVING this place, *Drake* steered his course to *Java Major*, where he met with a courteous reception from some of the kings. As we have already minutely described this island, the inhabitants, customs, government, and laws, we shall here omit all these particulars. One circumstance we cannot avoid taking notice of; it is the frequency of the *lues venerea* among the natives, and their extraordinary method of cure. This they effect by exciting a copious sweat through all the pores of the body, by sitting naked for some hours under the scorching heat of the sun, whose subtle rays, says our author, open those fine passages, and give a free vent and emission to the noxious particles. While the admiral lay here, he received advice of some large ships that rode at anchor in a harbour not far distant. As he was acquainted with their force, he chose to avoid it at all hazards; and therefore quitted *Java* with all convenient expedition. From thence he sailed in one continued stretch to the *Cape of Good Hope*, which was the first land he fell in with since his departure from *Java*. Without stopping here, he proceeded to *Sierra Leona*, on the coast of *Africa*, where he took in wood and water. Here he saw a great number of elephants, mangroves, and lemons; the two last proving a seasonable refreshment. Staying only two days here, he set sail on *July* the twenty-second, and by the 25th got sight of the *Canaries*, where, as he was in no want of necessaries, he did not stop, but continued his course to *England*, arriving in *Plymouth Sound* on *September* the 26th, 1580, after a voyage of two years, ten months, and a few days. ^f

THE report of his return, and his fame, were soon spread over every part of the kingdom. As this was the age when virtue and courage were fashionable qualities, the great rivalled each other who should patronize him most, and shew him the greatest countenance. Every man who regarded the arts, or military virtue, expressed his sense of our admiral's merit by the most profuse praises, and other testimonies of esteem. Epigrams, songs, sonnets, and poems, upon this expedition, were handed about without number. Even the ladies paid him the tribute of their applause, and *Drake* was at the same time the admiration of the men, and the ^g

ⁱ CAMDEN's Annals, p. 353.
p. 748, &c.

^a STOWE's Ann. p. 107.

¹ HACKLUTY's Voyages, vol. i.

- a darling of the women. But as envy and malice are ever the attendants upon extraordinary and superior merit, so there were not wanting persons who endeavoured to give an invidious turn to this gallant exploit, and to set in a false light the conduct of the brave admiral. His voyage round the world was no more than what had been effected by several *Portuguese*, upon more generous principles than those of spoil and robbery. They insinuated, that, as there was no declared war with *Spain*, the nation might come to suffer for his avarice. The *English* merchants in *Spain* enjoyed, it was said, a perfect security under the protection of that crown; but whether the *Spaniards* would not now make reprisals, was a point very doubtful. Abstracted from views of policy, it was ungrateful, ungenerous, and base, to attack and ruin a nation in their distant dominions, while *English* subjects received all manner of countenance and kindness in the very bowels of *Spain*. These reports, as is common with every species of scandal, soon gained ground, and prejudiced the minds of numbers of men against *Drake*; even some of those who had been the loudest in their praises upon his arrival, began now to fall off from the warmth of their friendship, and soon after to join with his enemies against him. To add to his mortification, the *Spanish* ambassador wrote bitter memorials against his conduct; asserted the right of nations, and used every vilifying art and opprobrious term to sting the mind, lessen the reputation, and break the spirit of this noble commander. His friends (for some friends he still had in spite of malice) found themselves wounded through his sides, and accordingly took the utmost pains to vindicate his reputation, and justify his conduct. They alleged, that he bore her majesty's commission to make reprisals; that he had constantly attacked his enemies with the generosity of a soldier; that besides the national injuries sustained from the *Spaniards*, *Drake* in particular had suffered greatly in his fortune by them; that *England* was under infinite obligations to him, not only for lowering the pride, and checking the insolence of that haughty nation, but for the great addition of wealth and treasure he had brought into the kingdom; that he had extended the dominions of her majesty, and spread her fame and power over the most distant parts of the globe, and lastly, that if *Spain* had any intention of making reprisals, by seizing upon the effects of the *English* merchants, the nation was in a capacity to assert her own rights, and could never want a leader both able and willing to avenge any insults upon his royal mistress, while the brave circumnavigator, the terror of *Spain*, and glory of *England*, lived.
- d In this train things continued some time, whilst *Drake* lived in the most irksome suspense, lest, whether after his toil, after all the dangers he had undergone, and after the most enthusiastic spirit with which he had inspired the nation, he should now be declared a pirate or a hero. There is reason to believe that the queen declined, from motives of true policy, to disclose her sentiments. She probably waited to see the effects this conduct would have on the court of *Spain*. She knew that *Philip* was prevented from breaking with her, or at least from meddling in her affairs, in expectation of being able to draw so great a treasure out of her hands. To keep him in this expectation, she very artfully consented to part with some small sums to *Mendoza*, his resident in *London*. But at last, when things were come to a crisis, she threw off the veil, openly countenanced *Drake*, dined on board his ship at *Deptford*, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood; telling him at the same time, that his actions were more honourable to him than his new title. On this occasion, a prodigious concourse of all ranks and degrees attended her majesty; the bridge erected from the shore to the ship, unable to support the loads of people upon it, broke down before her majesty had well set foot on board; yet, of 200 persons who fell into the *Thames*, not one was hurt or drowned; a circumstance the queen was pleased to ascribe to the good-fortune of Sir *Francis Drake*. After this public testimony of the royal approbation, the shafts of envy glanced almost unheeded; all ranks of people joining in the general applause, redoubled their congratulations. Sir *Francis*, upon this occasion, aptly enough assumed the motto, *Tu primus circumdedisti me*; "Thou first encom-
"passedst me;" but without excluding his former, *Divino auxilio*. Henceforward his reputation was daily increasing, till he came to be considered as an oracle, both by the court and country, in maritime affairs^m.
- f HAVING dwelt so long upon these circumstances, which we thought necessary to set the character of this great man in a clear light, it is time that we point out the principal advantages flowing from the happy execution of this noble enterprize. It is worthy of remark, that this glorious voyage was not a mere sound, serving no other purpose than to gratify the vanity of our nation. A reputation in maritime affairs is of real and solid benefit to a commercial people. Numbers of grants and favours are obtained merely upon the sense that foreigners have of their power and abilities. The *Dutch* were so sensible of this, when they first established settlements in the *East Indies*, that they reported the most ridiculous and vain-glorious fictions of the great power, weight, and character, of their republic. In the cele-

*Endeavour
used to blast
the reputation
of Drake.*

*Vindication of
Drake.*

*The queen dines
on board his
ship, where
she confers the
honour of
knighthood
upon him.*

*The advan-
tages resulting
from Drake's
going round
the world.*

^m See the authors already cited; also STOWE, CAMDEN, and BURCHET, *ibid*.

brated collection of voyages on account of the *East India* company in *Holland*, *Oliver Van Noort* is always mentioned with particular honour, although his voyage round the world was attended with no extraordinary discoveries. But the *Dutch* esteemed it a matter of importance to their reputation, and of consequence to their interest, that a mariner of their country should have done what had been effected by a *Magellan*, a *Drake*, and a *Candish*.^a

SIR *Francis Drake* would seem, on his first setting out, to have had the honour of his country no less in view than his own reputation. He provided every thing which might dazzle the eyes of foreigners, strike their imaginations, and impress high notions and an admiration of the country from whence he came. The same spirit carried him farther to *North America* than even the *Spaniards* themselves had been. Here, under the 38th degree of north latitude, beyond which we know nothing at this day, he extended the fame of the *English* name, the power of their arms, and left the natives equally in admiration of their generosity, their courage, and their perseverance. Of this there are abundant testimonies, some of which appeared after his death, in letters sent to *England* by *Indian* princes, all of which agreed in bestowing upon *Drake* the highest encomiums, and acknowledging that they had received very respectable ideas of the *English* nation from the conduct of their admiral. Besides, his descriptions of the countries where he had been are very exact. His observations have corrected several errors of consequence in all the charts both of *South* and *North America*. In the latter, particularly, his touching upon the north side of *California*, to which he gave the name of *New Albion*, has for ever put it out of the power of the *Spaniards* to contest that country with us, should ever a north-west passage be discovered, which probably cannot be at a great distance from this part. They must allow us to be the first discoverers, and the first possessors, which at least make our right to *New Albion* equal to that which they claim to any part of the *Indies*.^b

It is to be lamented that Sir *Francis Drake* has himself left no accounts of his voyages and discoveries. From the few letters of his which remain, it appears that he was better qualified to record his own exploits than any of those who have employed their pens on that subject, without we except one late writer, we mean the sensible author of *The Lives of the Admirals*. We should then probably have at large the reasons that induced him to believe that he might find a passage back by the north. Certain it is, that he looked out for such a passage, and was prevented from continuing the pursuit only by the extreme rigor and sharpness of the weather, against which his crew, after so long a voyage, was but indifferently provided. How it happened, that, from that time to this, no farther experiments have been made in a way that early gave so great hopes, is what we cannot determine. The *Spaniards* have their political reasons for not publishing their discoveries on this coast; but certainly it was the interest of *Great Britain* to prosecute with diligence the hints suggested by Sir *Francis Drake*. We ought thoroughly to have satisfied ourselves whether or not there was such a passage; the most rational manner of doing which, was perhaps the very method he pointed out. There are many circumstances in this voyage which prove him an able navigator. Although, in his course from *California* to the *Ladrones*, he made no discoveries, yet his passage was so expeditious as to give us the highest opinion of his abilities and good-fortune. To conclude, it appears that this voyage was executed with a prudence equal to the greatness of the undertaking; that it was, in all its circumstances, perfectly well conducted; and that as Sir *Francis Drake* made the best use of the glimmering lights afforded him by others, so he left to posterity some clearer directions, and at least a noble example of prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance, which we cannot too much admire, or too closely follow.^c

His further exploits against the Spaniards.

HERE, in strictness, we ought to close this account of Sir *Francis Drake*, as a circumnavigator; but as his virtues, his fame, and this last exploit, may have raised the reader's curiosity, we will endeavour to gratify him with a concise detail of his succeeding actions. The war in *Spain* breaking out a few years after his return, Sir *Francis* was appointed general by land and sea in an expedition to the *West Indies*, which he executed with the same spirit and good-fortune as had before attended him. Now it was that he had an opportunity of exerting the talents of a warrior, and drawing forth his courage into act. He took the cities of *St. Jago*, *Carthagen*, *St. Domingo*, and the town and fort of *St. Augustine*, returning with equal glory and advantage both to his country and himself. Yet the profits, though considerable, were far short of his former voyage. They amounted, all charges defrayed, to 60,000 *l*. Two years after, that is, *A.* 1587, he had the command of another fleet, with which entering the bay of *Cadiz*, and afterwards the river of *Lisbon*, he took, burnt, and destroyed 10,000 tons of *Spanish* and *Portuguese* shipping, which had been collected together to invade *England*. This good-fortune he crowned by the capture of a rich prize called the *St. Philip*, which the writers of those times say, was the first carrack ever taken and condemned by the *English*. Again, the year following, he was appointed by her majesty's commission vice-admiral of the fleet sent out against the formidable *armada*. In this service he even^d

^a Vide *DRAKE Revived*, p. 52. HARRIS, p. 22 T. i. *LFD Nav. Hist* p. 130. HARRIS, p. 23. performed

- a performed wonders, having taken in the beginning of the battle two large men of war, the one commanded by the *Spanish* vice-admiral *Oquandos*, in person; the other by *Don Pedro de Valdez*, who, after a gallant resistance, struck rather to the reputation than the power of *Drake*. When he surrendered to him his sword, he made the *English* admiral this compliment, that *he had determined to die fighting, if he had not fallen into the hands of a man, whose felicity and valour were so great, that Mars and Neptune seemed to wait upon all his enterprises*. Sir Francis requited these *Spanish* flourishes by solid acts of kindness. He paid *Don Pedro* the utmost respect on account of his brave defence; set him at his own table, lodged him in his own cabin, and made him almost forget that he was his prisoner. The
- b *English* seamen were well recompensed for their bravery, sharing among them a booty of 55,000 ducats in gold, which they found in *Don Pedro's* ship. *Drake* performed other extraordinary feats of courage and conduct in this action, and particularly distinguished himself by advising the use of fire-ships. Some historians affirm, that he even invented them; but this is what we will not take upon us to assert.

- In the year 1589, he was sent with a strong fleet to *Portugal*, to restore *Don Antonio* to his kingdom. Here indeed he had a joint command, to which circumstance the admirers of this great man ascribe its ending unfortunately; as if *Drake's* good fortune could be shared with no other. However, although the chief intention failed, yet the *Spaniards* suffered great losses, the compliment of an invasion was returned, and they utterly deprived of the power
- c to attempt another descent upon *England*. Thus we may reckon, that Sir Francis *Drake* saved the nation from no less than three *Spanish* invasions. After this, we find but one more expedition he ever undertook, and this was a conjoint one. On this occasion he performed very gallant exploits in the *West Indies*; but, aiming at something higher, and his usual good fortune not attending his endeavours, the disappointment broke his heart, and he died the martyr of a well directed ambition, a public spirit, and sublime ideas of national and personal glory. In the harbour of *Porto Bello*, January 28th, 1595, his body was put into a leaden coffin, and committed to the sea, under a general discharge of the cannon from the whole fleet, and, of what was still more glorious, the tears of all the seamen. To conclude this section, “Sir Francis *Drake*,” to use the words of his best historian, “was a person of low
- d “ stature, but extremely well made, his complexion fresh and fair, his eyes large and lively, “ his hair of a light-brown, and his countenance open and chearful. He was naturally elo- “ quent, expressing gracefully what he conceived clearly; very knowing, not only in his “ own profession, but in all the sciences belonging to it; so that he was able to discharge “ every office in a ship, even that of a surgeon. He was just to his owners, kind to his “ seamen, loyal to his sovereign, and remarkably merciful to his enemies. His many glorious “ exploits justify his title to extensive fame, which, when we remember that he died at 55, “ will convince us, that he shewed the utmost ardour in the pursuit of glory.” A character not drawn by the warm pencil of imagination, but founded upon facts, and, if at all varying from the truth, rather unequal than superior to the merit of the person described.

His death and character.

- e . To this may be added, what we think the greatest praise of Sir Francis *Drake*, that he first raised the spirit of naval enterprises, and drew forth the latent genius of the *English* nation for maritime affairs. The hopes of rivalling his fame excited the youth of all ranks to try their fortunes at sea, in such a manner as their abilities and quality would permit. Men of fortune and fashion fitted out vessels at their own expence, which they manned with their dependents. Those in a lower station entered themselves as inferior officers, either in those private ships, or in her majesty's fleet. To such a pitch was this spirit carried, that before the end of the reign of *Elizabeth*, there were numbers of young fellows of eighteen years of age in the kingdom, capable of navigating a ship to almost any part of the known world. Such is the account of honest *Stowe*, whose industry was never surpassed, or integrity called in question.
- f So alarmed were the *Spaniards* at the skill and conduct of *Drake*, as well as the spirit he had diffused through the nation, that strict orders were issued that no draughts should be made, no journals published, or even written, of their discoveries in *America*^p. But all their precautions were in vain; the *English* now became acquainted with their own strength, their natural talent and genius; nor could all the arts, first of *Spain*, then of *Holland*, and lastly of *France*, prevent their rising to their present high and glorious pitch of maritime power.

^o HARRIS'S Voy. T. i. l. i. c. 1.

^p STOWE, ubi supra.

S E C T. IX.

Philip II. sends a Squadron to the Streights of Magellan, under Pedro Sarmiento, who fortifies them; Sir Thomas Candish's voyage round the globe; his birth; procures a commission; engages the Spanish fleet; arrives at the Streights of Magellan; miserable end of the Spanish settlement there; Candish enters the South Sea; visits Moro Moreno island; burns Paita; plunders and destroys Puna; takes the St. Ann Acapulco ship; loses the Content; has an interview with the casiques of Cabul; his letter to Lord Hunsdon; reflections on his voyage and character; his death.

Sarmiento
fortifies the
Streights of
Magellan.

PHILIP the Second, of Spain, was so alarmed with the easy and successful passage of a Drake into the South Sea, through the Streights of Magellan, that he immediately sent a squadron to make a thorough discovery of that passage, and, if possible, to block it up, to the utter exclusion of all other nations. Pedro Sarmiento, the best seaman in the Spanish service, was chosen to execute this important commission; who, sailing from Lima, actually passed from the North to the South Sea; and, on his arrival in Spain, gave his majesty the strongest assurances, that the Magellanic Streights might be so fortified, as absolutely to prevent the entrance of any foreign ships^a. The king, greatly delighted with this intelligence, sent a squadron of 23 sail, with 3500 troops on board, to execute this plan. Sarmiento, with 500, were appointed to garrison the intended works; and the whole court was filled with the notion of Spain's becoming absolute master in the South Sea. After an unfortunate voyage of b two years, the fleet arrived in the streights, built a town and fort, which they called *Nombre de Jesus*, where they left a garrison of 150 men. The great settlement was founded fifteen leagues distant from this, in the latitude of 53° 18', in the narrowest part of the streights. It was called *Ciudad del Rey Felipe*, fortified with strong walls, bastions, a great number of cannon, and 400 men, with provisions for eight months. This was one of the best contrived colonies the Spaniards had ever planted; but it failed^b. Sarmiento some time after was made prisoner, and sent to London, after many fruitless attempts to relieve his young colony: the garrison, having consumed all their provisions, perished with hunger; Sarmiento fell into disgrace; the whole project dropped, and the South Seas again became open to every nation that chose to push the advantage. The Dutch, the French, and English, followed the c footsteps of the great Sir Francis Drake, the first instance of which we have in the remarkable voyage performed by Sir Thomas Candish round the globe, of which a short abstract has already been given in our account of the English East India Company. As this voyage was attended with many remarkable circumstances, we shall here give his journal at large, and in such a manner as may conduce most to the reader's satisfaction and improvement. There we selected only such parts of the voyage as related to the English East India Company; here we shall attend him through the whole course, remarking particularly on such circumstances as we imagine to be of the greatest importance.

Voyage of Sir
Tho. Candish
round the
globe.

His birth and
inclination to
the sea.

THOMAS CANDISH, or CAVENDISH, of Trimby, near Ipswich, was a gentleman of an antient family, and considerable fortune. His vicinity to a town at that time a mart of great d trade, had given him an early inclination for the sea. He was of an open, liberal, and even expensive, if not a profuse disposition, setting no value upon money, but as it was necessary to his pleasures. Some writers affirm, that the decline of his fortune had first inspired him with the notion of repairing it by an application to maritime affairs^c. Others, again, are no less positive that he had a natural propensity to this employment; which, as soon as he was of age, he gratified by converting part of his lands into money, and equipping a ship of 120 tons, called the *Tyger*, at his own expence^d. Certain it is, that with this ship he accompanied Sir Richard Grenville to Virginia, A. 1585, and that he surmounted many dangers and difficulties in this voyage, but without any profit.

NOT discouraged with this rub of fortune, he deliberated, and soon prepared for, a greater e and more hazardous enterprise. In his voyage he had seen a great part of the Spanish West Indies, made a number of curious observations, and conversed with some intelligent persons who had surrounded the globe with Sir Francis Drake. Upon these hints he formed a project for retrieving his fortune, gratifying his curiosity, and raising his reputation, if not equal to Drake's, at least second to none but his. As soon, therefore, as he returned, he applied him-

^a Hist. des Navig. aux Terres Aust. T. i. art. 14. p. 200.
HARRIS, ubi supra.

^b PURCHAS, T. i. P. ii. page 56.

^c Tracts by Sir W. MONSON, T. ii. p. 274. CAMDEN'S Annals, p. 555.

^d HACKLUYT, P. iii. p. 803. PURCHAS, V. i. B. ii. p. 57.

- a self diligently to every measure necessary to his great design. He either sold or mortgaged the remainder of his estate, to make up a sum sufficient for building two stout ships; and so expeditious was he, that in six months his little squadron was ready to put to sea. The largest ship, which he called the *Desire*, was burthen 140 tons; the smaller, to which he gave the name *Content*, about 60 tons. To these he added a bark of 40 tons burthen, all manned, completely provided and equipped for the voyage, solely at his own expence. On board he had 126 seamen and officers; some of whom had served under *Drake*, but all of them able-bodied, and men of experience. The fleet had stores for two years; and, to prevent all disputes, quarrels, and discontents, either on or after the voyage, *Candish* entered upon a fair agreement with respect to the proportion in which all prizes should be shared. He laid up
 b magazines of journals, charts, draughts, and maps, of all those places and seas he proposed visiting. He also procured a commission from the queen, by the favour of Lord *Hunsdon*, then lord of the bed-chamber, and his patron^c.

He procures a commission from the queen.

- ALL things being thus in readiness, he embarked at *Harwich* on the 10th of July 1586, and sailed with the *Desire* for *Plymouth*, there to join the rest of his squadron. From thence he proceeded on his expedition on the 21st, and fell in with a fleet of eight sail in the Bay of *Biscay*, one of which attacked the admiral. The engagement was sharp for about an hour, when the enemy was obliged to sheer off, though greatly superior in force to the *Desire*.
Candish was prevented from giving chase by the darkness of the night, and the fear of losing company with his consorts. The 5th of August he got sight of the island of *Fortventura*,
 c and soon after arrived on the coast of *Guiney*. By this time the scurvy appeared among his men, which obliged him to set them on shore for their recovery as soon as an opportunity offered. On the 23d he fell in with *Sierra Leona*, where he destroyed a negro town, and lost one of his men by a poisoned arrow. His boat ran four miles up the harbour, returning with a cargo of fish and lemons. September the 7th he departed from one of the *Cape de Verd* islands, distant 10 leagues from *Sierra Leona*, and by the 1st of November got to the *Brasil* coast, sailing between the island *St. Sebastian* and the continent. Here he cast anchor, landed his men, erected a forge, and built a pinnacle. He sailed the 23d, and on the 26th fell in with the coast of *America*, in 47 degrees 20 minutes north latitude, running along a large steep shore, till he came under the 48th degree. Next day he fell in with a harbour which he
 d entered, calling it, after the name of his ship, *Port Desire*. This harbour he found convenient on account of the ebbing and flowing of the tide, and extremely commodious for cleaning, graving, and repairing ships. Here two of his men were wounded with an arrow made of cane, and pointed with flint, which the natives discharged at them. They are described as a rude, savage, and gigantic race, the footstep of one of them measuring eighteen inches. His whole description of this country coincides exactly with what *Magellan* relates, as shall be more particularly pointed out when we come to give an account of *America*. The editor of *Harris's Voyages* says, that the name *Patagonia* was given to this coast by *Candish*; which is a mistake, *Magellan* having before given it, from the extraordinary stature of the inhabitants, who are said to be five cubits, or seven feet and an half, in height (A).

Engages a Spanish fleet in the Bay of Biscay.

- DECEMBER the 28th he left *Port Desire*, and anchored near an island three leagues to the southward, keeping along the coast south-west-by-south. On the 30th, in 48° 30', about five leagues from land, he discovered a rock, which, for the benefit of future navigators, he describes distinctly. Still he kept coasting along the shore, amidst multitudes of seals and sea-calves, till the 3d of January, when he fell in with a white cape, from which runs a long beach about a league to the southward, stretching to the mouth of the *Streights of Magellan*. On the 6th he put into the streights, which he found five or six leagues wide in some places, but narrower in others. Next day he took a Spaniard belonging to the garrison of the Spanish fort prisoner. From him he learnt, that, of the whole garrison of *Ciudad del Rey Felipe*, only twenty-three remained^f.

Arrives at the Streights of Magellan.

- f CANDISH describes the mouth of the streights in 52° south latitude; a stretch of 14 leagues to the narrowest pass; from hence to *Penguin Island* 10 leagues, the course west-south-west, and a little to the south. At this island they anchored, and, having killed a great number of penguins, salted them for ship-provision. The 9th of January, *Candish* passed south-south-west of the largest Spanish settlement, which he found in a ruinous condition, the cannon dismounted, many of them buried, the houses deserted, and the church, with some handsome ornaments, left to be possessed by the birds and beasts. The garrison, after having struggled

The miserable end of the Spanish settlement there.

^c Ibid. Etiam HARRIS, T. i. B. i. c. 1.

^f PURCHAS, T. i. B. ii. p. 59.

(A) *Candish* and *Magellan*, as well as late travellers, agree in this circumstance. If we take the usual proportion between the foot and the rest of the body, which is supposed to be as 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 6 to 1, then the height may

be tolerably ascertained from the footstep. *Candish* was a man of sense and a scholar; consequently could not be ignorant of this method of computation, which however is not very exact.

with cold, hunger, and every other misery, for the space of two years, living wholly upon a shell-fish, and being at length reduced to the miserable remnant we have mentioned, retired to the small fort. *Candish* relates, that they were at perpetual war with the neighbouring *Indians*, the implacable enemies of the *Spanish* name. That, when their necessities obliged them to go in search of deer, the settlement, in the absence of the party, was presently attacked, and the party hunted like wild beasts through the mountains; often cut off from the garrison, and suffering the most extreme hardships and fatigues before they could return. Thus would they die, like rotten sheep, with pinching cold and insupportable hunger, the stench from their bodies so infecting the survivors, that with one consent the settlement was abandoned, and the soldiers rambled along the shore, the cruel sport of fortune, till, happily for them, they at length became prisoners to the *English*^e.

On the 14th, *Candish* made *Cape Froward*, in latitude 54 degrees, and the southermost land of the streights. After this, he saw *Elizabeth Bay*, and two leagues further, a fine river, in which he towed up the boat for three miles. The country, and banks of the river, were pleasant, plain, and open; the inhabitants a strong, well-made, barbarous, and brutish race, who had eat up many a *Spaniard*. They had laid a plot for feasting upon the *English*, but were disappointed by the vigilance of the admiral, who saluted them with a brisk discharge of harquebusses, that did great execution. Leaving this river, he steered to *St. Jerom's Chanel*, two leagues further. Hence he sailed westward about four leagues, to a cape lying north of the chanel, from which, to the mouth of the streights, the course runs north-west and north-west-by-west. The distance from this cape to the entrance into the *South Seas* is 34 leagues, so that the whole streights measure in length about 90 leagues. 'Tis farther observable, that both openings into the *South* and *North Seas* are much in the same latitude, 52° 4' south. For several days the fleet was forced to lie to on account of storms of wind and rain, which burst with such violence from the mountains, that they were brought into extreme danger; nor were they less distressed with famine than by the inclemency of the weather, being prevented by this from ranging the country for supplies. One happiness attended them, that the coasts supplied convenient harbours on both sides the streights, at almost every two miles distance^h.

Candish enters the South Sea. At last, on the 24th of *February*, *Candish* entered the *South Sea*, observing on the south side of the opening, a high cape, with a low point annexed to it, north of which were four or five islands lying about six leagues from the continent, and surrounded with sunk and broken ground. The first of *March* he lost company with the bark, in a storm that blew at night, lat. 49 degrees, and 45 leagues from land. The bark had sprung a leak, and was driven far to sea in the most distressed condition; however, by the vigilance and good conduct of the captain and crew, she joined the admiral on the 15th, between the island of *St. Mary*, and the continent. The *Desire* and *Content* had sheltered themselves, during the storm, on the lee side of the island of *Mocha*, where some of their men, going on shore well armed, met with a warm reception from a body of *Indians*. They belonged to the district of *Arcano*, a country rich with gold, that had often tempted the avarice of the *Spaniards*, but to no effect, as they were constantly defeated by the obstinate bravery of the *Indians*. After this skirmish, the admiral ran under the west side of *St. Mary Island*, where he rode secure at six fathom water. It lies in 37° 30' south latitude, and is well stocked with hogs, poultry, and a variety of delicious fruits. The inhabitants are in such abject slavery to the *Spaniards*, that they dare not touch the most trifling production of their own country without leave from the usurpers, thus starving in the midst of the most luxurious plenty. The admiral, going on shore with a party of seventy men well-armed, was met and welcomed by two *Indians* of quality, who conducted them to magazines filled with hogs, poultry, dried fish, potatoes, and maize, or *Guiney* wheat. This courtesy the admiral returned by inviting them on board, where, after the wine had begun to work its effects, and they discovered he was not a *Spaniard*, they talked with great freedom; complained of the insolence, cruelty, and avarice, of that nation; telling him, that if he crossed the country to *Aranco*, the natives would grant that to his obliging manner which they had ever denied to the arrogant *Spaniards*, and put him in possession of the rich mines of their country. However, their intelligence was neither explicit, or well enough understood, for the admiral to venture with so weak a force upon an enterprize so dangerous. He knew he should have to encounter a numerous, warlike, and resolute nation, whose prejudices it would be difficult to remove, especially as their language was spoke by no one on board. He therefore prosecuted his voyage, leaving this place on the 18th, and sailing about 10 leagues that day north and north-east, he anchored under *Conception Island*. The 30th he came into the bay of *Quinero*, in 33° 6' south; and the day following a party of sixty men, well armed, marched eight miles up the country. They met with large herds of

^e PURCHAS, ubi sup. Etiam HARRIS, T. i. p. 25.

^h LED. Nav. Hist. p. 230. PURCHAS, p. 60. cattle

- a cattle, with horses, dogs, hares, rabbits, partridges, and other fowl and game. After marching till they were tired, without meeting with any extraordinary adventure, they retired in good order to their ships, without being molested by the *Spaniards*, who, on receiving intelligence of their arrival, assembled in a body of 200 horse, but without venturing to attack them. Next day, however, while some of the *English* were busied in filling their casks with water, the *Spaniards*, seizing the opportunity, attacked them with a large body of cavalry that came pouring down from the hills. Their superiority in number enabled them to kill two or three, and to make an equal number of prisoners; but the arrival of fifteen more seamen soon altered the fortune of the day, snatched the victory from the *Spaniards*, killed 24 upon the spot, and obliged the rest to seek their safety in a precipitate and shameful flight.
- b After this exertion of spirit, the *English* watered with security, scoured the country, and, after supplying themselves with every thing necessary, weighed anchor, steering north and north-west¹.

APRIL the 5th, they fell in with *Moro Moreno*, lying in $23^{\circ} 30'$ south latitude, under the tropic of *Capricorn*. An island with a passage into the bay at each end forms a fine harbour here. The admiral, landing with thirty men, was met by great numbers of *Indians*, bringing wood and water to the ship on their backs. They are a simple, ignorant people, living under the greatest awe and subjection to the *Spaniards*, who treat them with a savage barbarity. They conducted the admiral and his party to their huts, about two miles from the harbour. These habitations were composed only of a few rafters laid across, supported by forked poles stuck in the ground, and covered with leaves and boughs spread over them. The skins of wild beasts laid on the ground were their beds, and their food stinking raw flesh. It is usual, when any of them dies, to bury his effects with him, that is, his bow, arrows, and even his canoe, if he be worth one. Their canoes are neatly constructed, being formed of two skins resembling bladders, which are blown full at one end with quills. A couple of those being joined after their manner with thongs made of the hides, but more frequently the tendons and sinews, of wild beasts, and then put into water, puff and swell to such a degree, that nothing can be more tight, compact, and firm. In these boats they put to sea in all weather, loading them with great quantities of fish, part of which is paid by way of tribute to the *Spaniards*, and the remainder suffered to stink for their own use^m.

- c
- d HOISTING sail from hence, he arrived May the 3d in a bay, at the extremity of which are three small towns, *Poracco*, *Chinca*, and *Pischa*, the latter standing in $13^{\circ} 20'$ south latitude. Here a party landed, and took some provisions out of the houses, as wine, fowls, figs, and other things. A high sea prevented their putting to shore at the last towns, where they could be plentifully supplied. About this time, though we are not told whether it was in this bay, the admiral made prize of two rich ships laden with sugar, melasses, maize, *Cordovan* skins, *Montego de Porco*, *Indian* carts, marmalade hens, and packs of *Pintadoes*, &c. The richest would have yielded 20,000 *l.* at a proper market; but here neither were of any farther use than merely to supply the Squadron with what they most wanted. This done, they set fire to the ships, and steering their course for *Paita*, arrived in that road the 26th. The town lies
- e in five degrees four minutes south latitude, containing at that time about 200 houses. Here the admiral landed with sixty men, had a skirmish with the inhabitants, drove them out of the town into the mountains, seized all the effects they had carried with them; and afterwards, upon their attempting to rescue the town, intirely defeated them. Here the seamen found abundance of household furniture, some of it rich; store-houses filled with all kinds of merchandize; and twenty-five pounds weight of silver in pieces of eight. After having plundered it of what they most commodiously could carry off, they set fire to the town, which they burnt to ashes, and with it to the value of 6000 *l.* in merchant goods, and then departed for *Puna*ⁿ.

- f ON their arrival at *Puna*, they found in the harbour a ship of 250 tons burthen, riding at anchor, which they sunk, and went on shore. The chief of this island was by birth an *Indian*, but married to a *Spaniard*, whose religion he embraced, obliging his subjects to follow his example. He had by the sea-side an elegant and well-contrived palace, with fine gardens extending along the coast, which made a grand appearance towards the water. All the inhabitants were kept in perpetual drudgery, making cables, which is one of the best commodities of the island; yet does it abound with every necessary of life, which we shall enumerate under the article of *South America*. In the gardens of the casique, or chief, was found plenty of the most delicate and luxurious fruits, in the utmost perfection. May the 25th, the admiral sailed to a small neighbouring island, into which the casique had conveyed all his valuable moveables. This island the seamen plundered of what they thought proper, burnt
- g the church, after having robbed it of its bells and ornaments. They were soon attacked by a

The island of Puna plundered and destroyed.

¹ PURCHAS, B. ii. T. i. p. 60.

LED. NAV. HIST. p. 231. HACKLUYT, p. 806.

^m HARRIS, T. i. l. c. 1.

ⁿ PURCHAS, B. ii. T. i. p. 60.

party of 100 *Spaniards*, whom, after a sharp engagement, they defeated, with the loss of 12 *English* killed and taken, but of 46 *Spaniards* left dead on the field. Next day the admiral, landing with 70 men, was a second time attacked by 100 *Spaniards*, armed with muskets and swords, and 200 *Indians* with bows and arrows, the usual weapons of the country. A fierce conflict ensued, which terminated in the entire defeat of the enemy, the spoiling of their fields and orchards, the burning of four ships on the stocks, the plundering, sacking and total destruction, of the town, which contained between 2 and 300 houses; an unnecessary and wanton act of severity, which has ever been the ruin of all our expeditions. The best settled island on all this coast, and perhaps the most pleasant in the *Spanish* plantations, was totally effaced, and reduced to rubbish, only to gratify the humour of the seamen, without drawing a single advantage from the miserable condition in which they left the industrious natives ^a.

WEIGHING from hence, the squadron watered at *Rio Dolce*, and, on the 12th, passed the line, keeping a northerly course for the remainder of the month. On *July* the 1st they had sight of *Nueva Espana*, being under lat. 10° north, and four leagues distant from the continent. On the 9th he took a ship of 120 tons, the most valuable prize he had yet made, in which was one *Michael Sancius*, a *Marseillian*, and good seaman, whom the admiral appointed his pilot. This man gave the first hint of the *Anna Maria*, which the admiral afterwards took. The 26th the admiral came to an anchor in the river *Copalita*, after having taken a bark going to alarm the country. The same night he rowed in the pinnace with 30 men to *Agatulio*, which he burnt, together with the custom-house. The latter they plundered of 600 bags of anise, each bag worth 40 crowns; 400 bags of cocoas, which the natives use both for meat and money, every bag valued at 10 crowns (B). *Harris* says, that the town he destroyed was in 15° 40' N. lat. and that he rowed back the same night to *Agatulio*; but he does not oblige us with its name. *August* the 24th, with a party of men, he went into the haven of *Natividad*, in the latitude of 19 degrees, where the *Marseillian* pilot acquainted him he should meet with a prize; but she was sailed before his arrival twelve leagues further, to fish for pearls. Here he burnt the town, took a mulatto, sent to give notice all over the coast of *Nueva Galicia* of the arrival of the *English*; destroyed two ships, of 200 tons each, upon the stocks; after which exploit he returned to his ships. The 26th he came into the bay of *St. Yago*, where he met with fresh water, fish, and a quantity of pearls. Soon after putting into the bay of *Malacca*, he set out from thence with a party of 30 men, demolished an *Indian* town, consisting of 30 houses, and then retreated to the fleet. ^b

ON the 8th of *September* he came into the road of *Chacalla*, and next day defeated a party of 40 men with *Sancius* as guide, who returned with plantains, oranges, and lemons, after having travelled two leagues through a woody, mountainous country, without meeting with any other habitations than those of a few poor *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, and *Indians*. Two of the former they carried off, the *Spaniard* being a carpenter. On the 12th he came to the island of *St. Andrew*, where he met with great store of fowls, seals, and a kind of lizard called *Iquano*, which proved excellent food. Hence he went to the road of *Massatlan*, under the tropic of *Cancer*. There is a large river running into the bay, which abounds with a variety of fresh-water fish. On the coast they found some good fruit. In a little island two leagues distant they found some excellent spring water, upon digging about two feet in the sand, although it afforded not the least prospect of a relief so seasonable. The 14th of *October* he fell in with *Cape Lucar*, on the west side of *California*. Within this is a large and commodious bay, called by the *Spaniards* *Aquada Segura*. Here he watered, and remained till the 4th of *November*, being detained by a westerly wind, and desirous of watching the *Acapulco* ship. This day, as he was beating up and down off the headland of *California*, one of his men from the tops descried a sail; which being signified to the crews of both ships, all things were joyfully prepared for action. They bore up with the ship, which they found to be the *St. Ann*, of which *Sancius* had given intelligence, of 700 tons burthen. He immediately ran along-side, and some of the men boarded her; but were so warmly received, and hotly pressed, that they retreated with the loss of four men. *Candish*, unwilling to lose such a prize for one rebuff, renewed the attack with redoubled vigour, first pouring in his great and small shot till he cleared the deck, and then intending to board her; but a lucky shot between wind and water rendered this unnecessary. The enemy was forced either to sink or surrender; the latter of ^c

Takes the *St. Ann*, a rich *Acapulco* ship.

• Hist. des Navig. aux Terres Austr. tom. i. art. 16. p. 227.

(B) These descriptions are proofs of the inquisitive and curious disposition of *Cavendish*, as well as of his sincerity. The cocoas are like almonds, but less pleasant to the taste; they afford both meat and drink, at

the same time that they pass for money in trade, 150 being equal in value to a rial of plate (2). Every-body knows that from them chocolate is made.

(2) Purchas, p. 61. Hackluyt, tom. iii. p. 806.

a which being their choice, a white flag was hoisted, and the *Spanish* colours struck. This prize rewarded all the toil of *Candish*, having found in her 122,000 pezoës of gold, an immense quantity of rich silks, sattins, damasks, musk, with various kinds of other valuable merchandize, and all manner of provisions, as acceptable to the *English* at that time as any part of the cargo. He put the *Spaniards* to the number of 150 on shore, chusing a fruitful spot for them to live in, and supplying them plentifully with wine and provisions, the sails of the ship to build huts with, and every thing else in his power to compensate the necessity he was under of taking away their ship.

After this glorious acquisition of honour and wealth, the ungrateful business of distribution involved the admiral in difficulties from which nothing but his generosity and contempt of money could extricate him. Forgetful of the compact entered upon at their first setting out, quarrels and contentions, even to mutiny, arose in both ships, especially on board the *Content*. All, however, was compromised and settled by the candour and liberality of *Candish*, who made up all deficiencies out of his own proportion. Of the *Spanish* crew he retained two *Japanese* boys, a *Portuguese* who had been in *China* and *Japan*, and a *Spanish* pilot, perfectly skilled in all the parts between *Acapulco* and *Nueva Espanna*, thinking they might prove useful in his voyage. After giving a sum of money to the *Spanish* captain, arms and ammunition to defend himself against the *Indians*, he set fire to the galleon, destroying above 500 tons of rich merchandize with her, which he was unable to carry off. This great business ended, he determined to steer for *England*. Soon after he weighed from *Puerto Seguro* he had the mis-

c fortune to lose the *Content*, and, in her, the vice-admiral, who had staid behind in port after the *Desire* was under sail. He every hour expected she would again join him; he lay by, slackened sail, and took every precaution to meet with her, but all to no purpose^p. In 45 days he ran from *Puerto Seguro* to the *Ladrones*, a stretch of 1800 leagues. On *January* the 3d he had sight of the island of *Guam*. Here he was met by 60 canoes filled with savages, and loaded with cocoas, plantains, potatoes, and fresh fish, which they bartered for bits of old iron, and other things of equal value. After the traffick was ended, and the goods delivered on both sides, they crouded so close to the ship, that two or three canoes were broke in pieces, though none of the crews were drowned. They still continued round the ship; nor would they part company till the admiral ordered the harquebusses to be discharged, being apprehensive of their

He loses the *Content*, his consort.

d having some design upon the ship. Notwithstanding they were large fat men, so expert and active were they in diving, that the journalist questions whether any of them were hurt by the shot. It was amazing to see with what agility they leaped into the water, and returned to their canoes as soon as they apprehended the danger was over. Their canoes were neatly made, considering they were not wrought with iron tools. They were seven or eight yards in length, and half a yard broad, their heads and sterns shaped in the same fashion. The star-board side was made of rafts and reeds; their masts of bamboo or cane, and their sails of sedge, under which they fly either before or against the wind with incredible velocity^q.

The 14th he got sight of the *Cape de Spiritu Santo*, or headland of the *Philippines*, distant from *Guam* 110 leagues. The same day he entered the streights between the islands *Luan* and *Cambaia*. The next day he anchored in a bay in the island of *Capul*, where a canoe, with one of the casiques, or chiefs, rowed along-side of the ship. The *English* passing themselves for *Spaniards*, traded with the natives for roots and fruits. They were all naked, and the casique's skin painted over with some monstrous figures. He came on board the ship, and dispatched one of his attendants to invite his six colleagues to visit the admiral. They soon arrived, and with them a large train of hogs, fowls, and a whole market of cocoas and potatoes. Here the *Spanish* pilot, taken out of the *St. Ann*, was hanged, for a plot he had contrived to betray the ship. As *Candish* lay off this island for nine days, he was furnished with many opportunities of making his remarks upon the manners and customs of the natives. Their religion is the grossest idolatry and paganism. They go naked, except a girdle with a small apron round the waist; and are of a tawny olive complexion. The rite of circumcision is almost universal among them; besides which the males undergo another operation, hardly practised any-where else but in *Pegu*. They perforate the glands of the penis with a slip of tin split in the lower end, and rivetted, which they take out occasionally. This custom had its rise, 'tis said, from an order of the magistrates, in order to prevent the frequency of a certain unnatural crime, to which the men of the island were greatly addicted. Just before his departure the admiral summoned all the casiques, with 100 of the chief inhabitants, to appear before him. He discovered himself, told them that both he and his men were *English*, and implacable enemies to the *Spaniards*, gave them in money the full value of the tribute they had paid to him as a *Spanish* admiral; and no less surprised them by the discovery than with his generous treatment. They admired his conduct and liberality so much, that they offered to assist him

His intercourse with the casiques of *Capul*.

^p PURCHAS, tom. i. l. ii. p. 67.

^q Histoire des Navigat. ibid. PURCHAS, ibid.

with

with all their forces, not only against *Spain*, but against all the powers on earth ; after which a they took their leave, and the admiral weighed anchor ^b.

On *June* the 24th, he ran along the coast of *Manila*, steering between that island and the island of *Masbat*. They observed that the *Spaniards* kept a strict watch, by great fires on the hills, and the discharge of minute-guns for the whole night. The 29th, they passed the streights between *Panama* and *Negro* island. On the former of these the admiral landed a *Spanish* prisoner, with a message to the captain of a ship lying in the road. It imported a piece of advice to the said captain, to provide a sufficient quantity of gold against the admiral returned that way ; and that he would now have weighed his *Spanish* gold in *English* scales, but for want of a pin-nace large enough to land his men. After this bravado, he steered for the island *Batochino*, in one degree north latitude, continuing his course to *Java Major*, where he staid some days. b Here he wooded and watered, the natives shewing him great civilities. They came with ten canoes deep-loaded with hogs, fowls, eggs, sugar, cocoas, and other kinds of fruit. Some *Portuguese* who came on board to inquire after their king *Don Antonio*, gave the admiral a very explicit and distinct account of the manners, customs, laws, and government of the natives. Their king, at this time, was a man much respected, and who had acquired a dominion more absolute than any of his predecessors. His power extended so far over the liberty and property of his subjects, that the most common bargain could not be concluded without leave from him, or some of his officers. He had an hundred wives, and his son fifty. The fate of these, after the king dies, is very particular and extraordinary. Five days after the royal body is burnt, and the ashes laid in an urn, the dowagers assemble in an appointed place. The lady most c favoured by the king in his life-time throws a ball, the spot where it rests being the place of the future tragedy. The women one by one go to the spot with drawn daggers in their hands, with which they stab themselves mortally, besmearing their bodies with the blood till they drop down dead ; a barbarous sacrifice peculiar to this country, and as savage as extraordinary. The men in general are a bold, hardy, resolute people, that sliak at no orders of their king, of whatever nature. Should he order them to plunge a dagger in their breasts, leap off a precipice, or perform any other the most desperate and unnatural act, they obey without reluctance, glorying in the sacrifice they make to duty and loyalty ^c.

An extraordinary custom which he observed among the natives of Java.

HAVING gratified his curiosity with respect to *Java*, the admiral steered directly for the *Cape of Good Hope*, spending the remainder of the month of *March* in traversing the vast d ocean between *Java* and the continent of *Africa*, and making observations on the appearances of the stars, the weather, the winds, and tides, the bearing and position of lands, and other matters equally entertaining and useful. On the 16th of *May* he arrived at the *Cape of Good Hope* ; the 9th of *June* he made *St. Helena* ; the 20th of *August* he had sight of the island of *Flores*, and arrived safe at *Plymouth*, after a terrible storm, on the 9th of *September*. We are told, that he made his entry into *Plymouth* harbour under silken sails, displaying his good fortune in the most magnificent and ostentatious manner. 'Tis probable that the loss of sails he sustained in the late storm obliged him to make use of a silk grass, a beautiful and shining manufacture, which the common people might mistake for genuine silk. Be that as it will, his vanity, if it was so, he supported fairly at his own expence. None of those who embarked e with him had the least cause of complaint ; on the contrary, the just, nay generous, distribution of the prizes he had made, gained him little less reputation than the fame of his voyage and the circumnavigation of the globe.

NOR was his gratitude inferior to his other qualities ; for, on the day of his arrival, he wrote to his patron the lord *Hunsdon*, the queen's near relation, in terms so warm and obliging, in a style so uncommon and concise, and in a manner so expressive of his character, that we doubt not but the letter will be thought deserving of the reader's perusal.

“ Right honourable,

“ **A**S your favours heretofore have been most greatly extended towards me, so I humbly f
 “ desire the continuance thereof ; and though there be no means in me to deserve the
 “ same, yet the uttermost of my services shall not be wanting, whensoever it shall please your
 “ honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to request your honour to make known to her
 “ majesty the desire I have had to do her majesty service in the performance of this voyage ;
 “ and as it hath pleased God to give her victory over a part of her enemies, so I trust ere long
 “ to see her overthrow them all : for the places of their wealth, whereby they have maintained
 “ and made their wars, are now perfectly discovered ; and if it please her majesty, with a very
 “ small power, she may take the spoil of them. It hath pleased the Almighty to permit me
 “ to circumnavigate the whole globe of the world, entering in at the *Streights of Magellan*,

^b HARRIS, l. i. c. i. tom. i.

^c Hist. des Navigat ubi sup.

“ and

- a " and returning by the *Cape of Buena Esperanza*; in which voyage I have either discovered or
 " brought certain intelligence of all the rich places of the world that ever were known or dis-
 " covered by any Christian. I navigated along the coasts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Nueva España*,
 " where I made great spoils, sunk, burnt, and destroyed 19 sail of ships, small and great. All the
 " villages and towns that I ever landed at, I burnt and spoiled; and had I not been disco-
 " vered upon the coast, I had taken great quantity of treasure. The matter of most profit to
 " me was a great ship of the king's, which I took at *California*; which ship came from the
 " *Philippines*, being one of the richest for merchandize that ever passed through those seas,
 " as the king's register, accounts, and merchants, did shew; for it did amount in value to—
 " in *Mexico* to be sold; which goods, for that my ships were not able to contain the least part
 b " of them, I was enforced to set on fire. From the *Cape of California*, being the uppermost
 " part of all *Nueva España*, I navigated to the islands of the *Philippines*, hard upon the coast
 " of *China*, of which country I have brought such intelligence as hath not been heard of in
 " these parts; the stateliness and riches of which country I fear to make report of, lest I should
 " not be credited. For if I had not known sufficiently the incomparable wealth of that
 " country, I should have been as incredulous thereof as others will be that have not had the
 " like experience. I sailed along the islands of the *Moluccas*, where, among some of the
 " heathen people, I was well-entreated, where our countrymen may trade as freely as the
 " *Portuguese*, if they will themselves. From thence I passed by the *Cape of Buena Esperanza*,
 " and found out by the way homeward the island of *St. Helena*, where the *Portugals* used to
 c " relieve themselves; and from that island God hath suffered me to return to *England*. All
 " which services, with myself, I humbly prostrate at her majesty's feet, desiring the Almighty
 " long to continue her reign among us; for, at this day, she is the most famous and victo-
 " rious prince that liveth in the world. Thus humbly desiring pardon for my tediousness,
 " I leave your lordship to the tuition of the Almighty".

Plymouth, this 9th of
September, 1578.

" Your honour's most humble

" to command,

" *Thomas Cavendish*."

- d SUCH was the harmony in these golden days between the sovereign and the subject. The
 one offered his all, and the other accepted no more than the absolute exigences of the state re-
 quired.

- THIS voyage must by the curious be esteemed of great value, on account of the accurate
 search and nice description *Cavendish* has given of the *Streights of Magellan*. His exact account
 of the *Philippines* was, in those times, of great importance; but, above all, his map and
 descriptions of *China*, which were much the best then known, and till the *Dutch* had made some
 considerable progress in this trade. The best judges, therefore, of this and other nations have
 bestowed the highest praises upon this gentleman, who shewed through the whole voyage, the
 prudence and courage of a great officer, with the abilities and diligence of an able seaman.
 e The success of this expedition must considerably have enlarged his fortune; but we are no-
 where told the amount. *Hackluyt* says it was sufficient to have purchased a *fair earldom*; a
 general expression from which no particular inference can be drawn. Whatever the sum
 was, certain it is, that his liberality and generous disposition rendered it necessary for him in a
 few years to meditate another expedition. He maintained, at a princely expence, all those
 persons whose experience could by any means improve his knowledge of maritime affairs; a
 public spirit greatly to be admired, and worthy of imitation, if not carried beyond the limits
 of prudence and œconomy, necessary to keep a man easy in himself, and lastingly useful to his
 country. Hence it would seem, that he looked upon his voyage round the world only as an
 introduction to future attempts. In this light, what to many appeared to be profusion and
 f extravagance, owing to a vain and ostentatious disposition, was really done by him with a
 view of laying the foundation of a more extensive fortune, in a way glorious to himself and
 useful to his country. By his will it appears that he died without debt, and possessed of very
 considerable effects, after all the expences he had been at, and the losses he sustained in his
 second attempt to pass into the *South Seas*.

*Reflections up-
 on his voyage
 and character.*

THE ships fitted out for this voyage were the *Leicester*, *Roebuck*, *Desire*, *Dainty*, and *Black
 Pinnace*, all, as in the former expedition, equipped at his own expence. With this squadron
 he sailed from *Plymouth* on the 6th day of *August*, an. 1591, falling in with the coast of *Brazil*
 in *November*. Here he took the town of *Santos*, and burnt that of *St. Vincent*. From hence he
 continued his voyage to the *Streights of Magellan*, encountered by nothing but storms, disap-

^d PURCHAS, tom. i. part ii. p. 70, 71.

^e Idem ibid.

His death.

pointments, and misfortunes ; various accounts of which are given. The most copious detail ^a is by himself, addressed to Sir *Thomas Gorges*, sole executor of his last will. Here he attributes his miscarriage to the desertion and villainy of *Davis* ; he complains of dissensions, quarrels, and mutinies ; of the south-west winds and winter-storms, by which he was driven from shore to shore, with such snow and frost as he never before saw or felt. For these reasons he was obliged to return to the *Brasil*, where he sickened and died of grief. Thus ended the expedition and life of Sir *Thomas Cavendish* (for he was knighted after his return from his voyage round the world), which greatly affected maritime knowledge and the interest of seamen in general ; many of whom were turned abroad in the world, and obliged, for bread, to offer their services to foreigners. After what has been said, it would be unnecessary to sum up the character of this great man, which was chequered with noble virtues and splendid vices ; ^b whose faults, at the same time that they impaired his fortune, and impeached his prudence, raised his reputation, were useful to merit, to science, and to his country.

S E C T. XI.

The voyage round the world of Oliver Van Noort ; the rise and intention of it ; his arrival at the Brasil after many previous misfortunes ; his distresses in the Straights of Magellan ; his entrance into the Pacific Ocean ; the success of his cruises on the coasts of Chili and Peru ; his arrival at the Ladrões, Philippines, and his sharp engagement with the Spaniards off Manila ; his arrival at Borneo, at the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, and lastly in Holland.

Oliver Van Noort's voyage round the world.

THE low condition to which the *Hollanders* were reduced by their long and vigorous ^c struggles for liberty with *Philip II.* of *Spain*, gave them the first notion of establishing a commerce with the *East* and *West Indies*. The late successes of the *English* against the *Spanish* plantations and shipping, their own repeated disappointments in search of a north-west passage, and probably the ambition of rivalling their neighbours in the fame of circumnavigating the globe, were the motives which occasioned this expedition of *Van Noort*. The design was originally set on foot by some eminent merchants in the *Low Countries* ; and the success, they were sensible, depended in a great measure on the choice of an able, vigilant, and brave general ; for by that appellation the *Dutch* distinguished in those days the commanders in chief, either by land or sea. No man more likely to answer their purposes could be thought of ^d than *Oliver Van Noort*, then in the flower of his age, of an established character, great maritime abilities, and a strong passion for glory. The scheme was accordingly communicated to him, and he embraced it with a readiness that gave happy omens of success. The necessary measures being concerted, and the terms settled, the adventurers proceeded to build two stout ships, and to appoint officers every way qualified for so important and hazardous a voyage. These vessels were called the *Maurice* and the *Henry Frederick*, which were to be attended by two yachts, the *Concordia* and the *Hope* ; the whole manned with 248 able-bodied seamen, well provided with arms, ammunition, naval stores, provisions, and every thing necessary to make the expedition secure, successful, and easy. All imaginable care was taken to put the officers in a condition to maintain their authority ; a precaution ever since attended to by the *Dutch*, ^e and the want of which has been fatal to the enterprizes of almost all other nations.

The wise precautions of the proprietors to establish the authority of the admiral, and prevent mutiny on board.

^f THE squadron being completely manned, and all things in readiness to enter upon their voyage, the proprietors presented a petition to the board of admiralty at *Rotterdam* ; upon which the parties concerned were summoned before the board, the regulations for their government read to them, and every man sworn to their strict observance. These rules had been drawn up by the company, revised and approved by the stadtholder, and afterwards perused by the admiralty. This circumstance deserves notice, as it shews the early attention paid by that wise republic to the commerce of her subjects, by putting a check upon those who might attempt to abuse their authority. The laws even of private traders became the laws of the state ; by receiving the public sanction they became of equal force with those of the country ; and they suffered the same penalties who were hardy enough to break through them. *Mellish*, the favourite and companion of *Candish* in all his voyages, who had offered his service to the *Dutch East India* company, then in its infancy, was appointed pilot to this voyage, and heartily engaged in the cause by a reward equal to his merit, and the nature of the service. On the 13th of *September*, an. 1598, the little squadron sailed out of *Goree* harbour, and pursued their voyage to *Plymouth*, where *Mellish* came on board. The 21st, *Van Noort* set out from *Plymouth*,

- a** *Plymouth*, the wind blowing a fresh gale at north-east. Next day he observed that the shallop, with the men belonging to his vice-admiral, had been left behind. He was deliberating whether he should not set out for them, when he was hailed by an *English* privateer, who told him that they had wilfully run away, and his returning would be to little purpose, as they were probably concealed. This raised some doubts and jealousies on board concerning the capacity and vigilance of the vice-admiral, which were soon increased by his losing this shallop which he had in tow, with a man in her. Now his carelessness was loudly taxed by the seamen, who promised themselves but little success under an officer, who, at the first sitting out, had given such manifest proofs of supineness and indolence. *Van Noort*, however, by his authority restored the seamen to their former humour, and secretly enjoined the vice-admiral to be more, upon his guard; assuring him that vigilance was a chief quality in a commander. On the 4th of *October*, he met at sea with a small fleet of *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, from whom he had advice of the terrible plague on the coast of *Barbary*, which had swept away above 250,000 people in a short space of time; a circumstance which determined him not to touch upon that shore. *December* the 4th, he made *Cape Palma*, in $3^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, and, on the 10th, had sight of *Prince's Island*, lying in 1° north latitude. Having sent his boats before to make discoveries and soundings, he entered the bay with a flag of truce, and met a negro canoe, with the same pacific emblem. His demand for provisions was granted upon fair and amicable terms; but, while this point was adjusting, a party of the inhabitants sallied out of their ambuscade, and cut several of the *Dutch* in pieces. The brave *English* pilot captain *Mellish* was among the slain, whose loss *Van Noort* lamented as being irrecoverable. Not contented with this, the treacherous *Portuguese* pushed their villainous conquest to the utmost, drove the *Dutch* to their boats, killed and took a considerable number, among the former the admiral's brother, and were near making prisoners of all the rest. In revenge for this outrage, it was determined, in a council of war, to attack the fort; which experiment being tried, it was soon dropped, as too dangerous. However they destroyed all the sugar-works, took on board fresh water, and then set sail ^a.
- b** On the 25th they arrived off *Cape Gonsalvo*, where they observed the sea and land breezes, but in a manner unusual in other countries. They were informed here of the misfortune of captain *Verhagen*, on the same island where they had lately suffered. On the 9th of *January* they arrived at *Rio Janeiro*, and after some further losses, owing to the treachery of the *Portuguese*, arrived at *St. Sebastian*, where they met with the comforts of a good harbour, fresh water, and plenty of provisions, but no fruits. On *March* the 14th, the vice-admiral and the *Hope* were parted from the fleet in a violent storm; but afterwards joined on the 17th. The scurvy appeared in the fleet, which, together with the approach of winter, made *Van Noort* desirous of putting in at *St. Helena*; but, missing that, he resolved to steer for *Ascension*, or some other island capable of supplying them with fresh provisions. It was his hard fate to be carried to a barren island, where nothing was found besides a few sea-fowl, which the men knocked down with clubs. Sailing from thence in hopes of meeting with *Ascension* island, he found himself by the first of *June* on the coast of *Brasil*. The *Portuguese* denying them the liberty of coming on shore, the admiral sailed for the island of *Clara*, lying in $21^{\circ} 15'$ S. lat. This small island, but a mile in compass, afforded nothing but herbs, and a species of four plumbs, which, in the space of fifteen days, cured all the scorbutic patients. After much bad weather, the admiral reached *Port Desire*, *September* the 20th. He furnished himself with abundance of fish and penguins, at an island three miles south of the harbour. Of the latter sort the seamen took 50,000 as large as geese, well stored with eggs, which proved excellent food. They went up the river on *October* the 5th, on the banks of which they saw a kind of stags, several buffaloes and ostriches. Some of the nests of those birds they met with contained 19 eggs. On the 20th, the admiral went on shore, to examine the country, leaving orders with those who guarded the boats not to stir a foot from them; which charge they disobeyed, and suffered for it. They had gone but a little way from the shore, when they fell into an ambuscade, in which three were killed, and one wounded. The savages were tall well-proportioned men, naked, and armed with bows and arrows. On the 24th, *Van Noort* made *Cape Virgins*, and had several struggles to enter the streights; in all of which he was frustrated, and beat back by tempests of snow, hail, wind, and rain. They lost their anchors, and broke their cables. Sicknes, and then contention, were superadded to their other calamities.
- c** *He is prevented by storms from entering the Streights of Magellan.*
- d** *He is prevented by storms from entering the Streights of Magellan.*
- e** *He is prevented by storms from entering the Streights of Magellan.*
- f** *He is prevented by storms from entering the Streights of Magellan.*

THINGS remaining for some time in this situation, it was fifteen months after their departure from *Holland*, before they could enter the *Streights of Magellan*. They observed the land to lie south-west from *Cape Virgins*, and the mouth of the streights to be about fourteen miles distance from it. They saw men upon two different islands lying near *Cape Nassau*. These were hardy enough to bid defiance to the *Hollanders*, brandishing and

^a See the Latin Journal translated in PURCHAS's Pilgrims, p. 71. tom. i. part ii. to which we refer the reader for the rest of the voyage, as to particulars.

flourishing their weapons at them. The *Dutch*, notwithstanding this menace, landed and pursued the savages to a cave, where they put every man of them to death, after they had defended themselves to the last drop of their blood. The *Dutch*, entering the cave, found the wives and children of those brave unfortunate men in the darkest part of the recess, bewailing and lamenting their loss. Taking compassion on their sufferings, the *Dutch* left them unmolested, carrying off only four boys and two girls of their number. One of these boys having learned to speak *Dutch*, gave a description of the islanders, which we shall insert in its proper place.

On the 28th they steered towards the continent, entering the mouth of a pleasant river, the banks of which were well stored with wood, and beautified with numerous flocks of parrots green and grey. This they called *Summer's Bay*, on account of the pleasant prospect it afforded. Next day they bent their course to *Port Famine*, the land leading here so far to the south, that the island of *Pantagons* and *Terra del Fuego* seemed at a distance to meet. Not the least vestige could they discover of *Sarmiento's* city, except a heap of stones and rubbish, which shewed there had once been buildings. *Sarmiento*, when he laid the proposal of building a city before *Philip*, acquainted him, that the streights in this place were no more than a mile in breadth; whereas, according to *Van Noort*, they measure at least four miles, the hills on each side being lofty, deep, and covered the whole year with snow. In *Port Famine* they cut down large trees to make a boat, the bark of which they found of a hot pungent taste, biting the tongue like pepper. After this, doubling *Cape Froward* with some danger, they anchored at four miles distance, in a fine large bay. Here they met with sneeze-wort, and a plant which they affirmed occasioned a delirium for some time, and afterwards a coma, heaviness, and stupefaction, which could not be overcome but by long sleep. In this bay they met with *Sebastian de Weert's* ship, separated with another vessel from *Verbagen's* squadron, and driven hither out of the *South Sea*. *De Weert* had spent five months in the streights, having but 38 men left out of a crew of 110 able seamen.

He meets de Weert in the streights, and arrives in the South Sea.

VAN NOORT, on the first of *January*, directed his course to *Maurice Bay*, which, he took notice, extended eastward, receiving several rivers that pour into it from the surrounding mountains. This was the summer season in that climate, yet could they not touch the bottom at 10 fathoms sounding, so thick was the ice, which blocked up the mouths of the rivers with mountains of congealed snow, that seemed to have continued for years. After sustaining a variety of hardships from famine, extreme cold, and storms of hail and rain, to crown their misfortunes, they lost company of the vice-admiral, for whom they waited several days in vain. *Van Noort*, upon this, held on his course to the island of *Mocha*, in the latitude of 38 degrees south. Here the seamen bartered knives, hatchets, and toys, for sheep, fowls, maize, bachelas, &c. They visited the town, which consisted of 50 houses thatched with straw, in which they were entertained by the natives with a liquor made from maize steeped in water, which they called *Cici*. *Van Noort* informs us, that polygamy is practised here in such a manner, that the man who has the happiness to have a large family of daughters, is sure to make a fortune by the sale of them to husbands. If a man commits murder, the kindred of the slain are his judges and executioners. They have no magistrates of justice, that being entirely left to the sufferers; yet is it no uncommon thing for a criminal to buy off his punishment by a bribe of *Cici*. Their clothes are made of the wool of a large species of sheep, which they likewise use as beasts of burden.

At *St. Mary's Island*, distant about 18 miles from the former, the admiral met with a *Spanish* ship laden with meal and lead for *Aranco* and *Conception*. To her he gave chase, and had the good fortune to take her, which proved a seasonable relief to the crew. By the pilot of this ship he was acquainted, that the south winds would prevent his getting back to *St. Mary's Island*, and that at *Arica* lay two *Spanish* men of war. This determined him to steer for *Val Paraiso*, by which he lost all hopes of again joining the vice-admiral. *Val Paraiso* stands upon the sea, in 33° south latitude, and distant from *St. Jago* about 18 miles, the latter lying up the country. They took two ships, and killed some *Indians* in a skirmish in the bay. Here they received letters from the captain of the *Flying Hart*, a ship belonging to *Verbagen's* squadron, separated from him by a storm, and led into the hands of the *Spaniards*, by a mistake in the common maps, which placed *St. Mary's Island* as high as 38°, though in fact it lies in 37° 15' south latitude. Hence we see of what importance it is to lay down exactly the parallels of places. A party marched up to *St. Jago*, where they intercepted some letters which informed them of the wars between the *Spaniards* and the natives in *Chili*. The latter, revolting, sacked the town of *Baldivia*, putting great numbers of *Spaniards* to the sword, and carrying off troops of captives. They set fire to the houses and churches, and struck off the heads of the images, crying, Down go the gods of the *Spaniards*. They crammed their mouths with gold, bidding them satisfy themselves with that dust, for the sake of which their voraries had committed such barbarities, cruelties, and massacres, amongst them. After this,

His observations and incursions upon the Spanish colonies.

a this, laying siege to the city *Imperiole*, they almost starved the garrison to death; the whole party of *Indians*, that performed such exploits, amounting to no more than 5000 foot and 3000 horse. But such is their valour, and hatred to the *Spaniards*, that no danger could dismay them, no difficulties overcome them. To such a pitch of fury do they carry their resentment, that they tear open the bowels of all the *Spaniards* they lay hands on, gnaw their hearts with their teeth, and imagine they give a higher relish to their liquor by drinking it out of a *Spanish* skull. But we shall have occasion to speak of this warlike nation elsewhere.

APRIL the 1st the admiral entered the bay *La Guasco*, which he left on the 7th, arriving on the 11th at *Moro Goreb*, ten miles from *Moro Moreno*. All this tract to *Arica*, and up to *St. Francis Hill*, is subject to constant south winds, although in the adjoining sea they are exceedingly variable. The 20th the air was obscured and quite darkened with an *Arcual*, or cloud of dust, raised so thick, that a man cannot see before him at the smallest distance. They are frequent in these parts, being carried off from the adjacent shores by the violent gusts of wind. As the admiral approached the famous city of *Lima*, he first got intelligence of the value of the prize of which he was robbed by the malice of the *Spaniards*. *Joseph a prodigious prize.* *Nicholas Peterson*, who had been made captain of the prize, told *Van Noort* that he was certainly informed by a negro, that the ship had on board three tons of gold dust; a circumstance the more to be credited, as the negro was employed in shipping it. Whereupon the *Spanish* pilot was closely examined; but he refused to make any confession, till another negro asserted it. Upon this he owned, that they had on board 52 chests, each containing four *arbes* of gold; besides 500 bars of the same metal, weighing from 8 to 10 lb. each; all which, with the private adventures of the ship's crew, the captain ordered to be thrown overboard, to prevent its falling into the hands of the *Dutch*. The whole cargo of gold weighed 10,200 pounds weight, valued from its fineness at 2,000,000 of pieces of eight. This they owned was brought from *St. Mary's Island*, where gold mines had been discovered about three years before, defended at this time by no more than three or four *Spaniards* and about 200 *Indians*. The admiral ordered the strictest search to be made through every part of the ship, and all the crew to be closely examined; but all he found was a pound of gold-dust in the pilot's breeches. He bore his disappointment with fortitude, determining, if an occasion offered, to repair it, as far as caution and courage could be of use.

d SEPTEMBER the 5th he had sight of the *Ladrones*, putting in on the 16th at *Guana*, where he supplied himself with fresh fish and fruits of all kinds. Frequently 200 canoes would surround the ship, crying out, *Hiero, Hiero*, Iron, Iron, the men overturning their canoes, and all with eagerness to snatch this much valued commodity. The 17th *Van Noort* sailed for the *Philippines*. On the 20th he met with ice in the latitude of 3° north; a phenomenon that greatly surprised him. In October he came to *Bogla Bay*, where, pretending to be a *Spaniard*, he was plentifully supplied with every necessary; but did not follow the example of the generous *Candish*, in throwing off the disguise, and paying liberally for whatever he had taken. However, he was soon detected, upon which he steered for the *Streights of Manila*, where he was overtaken by a storm, which carried away his masts, and greatly damaged the ship. When they approached land, some of the men went on shore, and, eating heartily of palmetoes, were seized with the bloody flux. On the evening of the 24th he passed the island of *Capul*, near which he found whirlpools, bottomless as far as he was able to discover. November the 7th the master of a *China* junk laden with provisions for *Manila* acquainted him, that there were two large ships which came yearly from *New Spain*, and also a *Dutch* ship bought at *Malacca*; that the town was walled, and the harbour defended by two forts: that this port drove a prodigious trade with *China*, no less than 400 ships coming yearly with silks, and other rich merchandizes, from *Chincao*; adding, that two ships were every day expected from *Japan*, laden with iron and provisions.

On the 15th the *Dutch* took two barks loaded with fowls and hogs, the tribute paid by *Van Noort* the *Indians* to the *Spaniards*. Passing the streights between the islands *Bankingle* and *Mindore*, takes several the admiral anchored in a bay on the opposite island of *Luffen*, in 15 degrees north latitude, small prizes. waiting here for the *Japanese* ships. December the first he took one of them, of 50 tons burthen, and a very peculiar construction, besides that the sails were made of reeds, the anchors of wood, and the cables and ropes of straw. The 9th he took two barks, one laden with cocoa-wine and aqua vitæ, the other with rice and fowls. On the 14th he met with the *Spanish* ships returning from *Manila* home, when immediately a fierce engagement commenced. The battle having continued for some hours, the *Dutch*, overpowered with force His brave action with the Manila ships. and numbers, were reduced to great distress, the admiral being once boarded, and very nearly taken. *Van Noort*, seeing that, without a desperate push, all would infallibly be lost, roused the courage of his men by despair, threatening, that, if they did not speedily clear the decks of the *Spaniards*, he would blow the ship up. Upon this the *Dutchmen*, hurried on by fear and rage, fought with incredible fury, cut down all before them, cleared their own ship, boarded the *Spanish* admiral, and sunk the ship in their heat of blood. This brave action cost them

them no more than five lives, but they had 25 wounded. As to the enemy, above 300 were a either killed or drowned, and near 100 wounded ^a.

AFTER this exploit, which gained *Van Noort* immortal honour, he sailed for *Borneo*. On his arrival he sent a messenger to the king, requesting leave to trade with the natives ; but his majesty, suspecting him to be a *Spaniard*, refused that permission upon any terms, till his officers had thoroughly examined the ship, and fully satisfied themselves that she was *Dutch*. After this, *Van Noort* traded with the *Palanees* for pepper to a considerable amount.

In the mean while the *Borneans* formed a plot to seize the ship ; to effect which, they surrounded her with 100 praws, pretending they brought presents from the king ; but the *Dutch*, suspecting some treachery, gave them notice to keep at a distance, or they should be constrained to fire their cannon upon them ; the very mention of which sufficiently terrified the *Borneans*, and made them drop their design. On the 4th of *January*, in the night, four *Borneans* were discovered in attempting to cut the ship's cables, and to bring her aground. They were immediately so closely plied with grape-shot, that, quitting their design, they left their praw a prize to the *Dutch*, who took her in the room of the shallop they had lost. Next day the admiral set sail, and, in his way, met with a *Japanese* junk bound to *Manila*. By her he received advice of a large *Dutch* ship forced by tempest to *Japan*, so distressed by famine and disease, that, of all her crew, only 14 remained. She first put in at *Bongo*, from whence, by the king's order, she was removed to *Atonzi*, where the men enjoyed a safe harbour, liberty to trade, and leave to build a new ship ; after which they were permitted to go where they pleased. From this account *Van Noort* doubted not but it was *Verbagen's* ship, or at least one belonging to his squadron. Dismissing the junk, he crossed the line a third time, sailing with the utmost hazard and dread for want of a pilot, or accurate charts to guide him through shoals, islands, and rocks innumerable. Providence, however, soon delivered him out of his distress, by sending in his way a junk of *Jor*, out of which he took a pilot perfectly acquainted with these seas. Nothing could be more welcome or seasonable than this unexpected accident ; for such was his condition, that he now had but one anchor left, and the cable almost worn out. He was an intire stranger to the navigation of these seas, and so was every man on board ; nor, from past experience, could they have any confidence in the too general and erroneous charts hitherto published. Now he sailed with courage, and a joy equal to the greatest success and most prosperous voyage. On the 28th he came to *Jortan*, upon the island of *Java*, where he received advice of some *Dutch* ships lying at *Bantam*. Thither he proposed sailing ; and, on his way, saw a *Portuguese* ship of 600 tons stuck upon the shoals, and in the utmost danger of foundering. He was told by the crew, that she was bound to *Amboyna* ; but *Van Noort*, suspecting she had been sent out in quest of him, left her, with a true *Dutch* brutality, to perish with 700 men on board, without offering the smallest relief. After this, he steered for the *Cape of Good Hope*, arriving at *St. Helena* without any remarkable occurrence. In his way from thence to *New Holland* he met six *Dutch* ships bound to the *East Indies*, *James Heemskirk* admiral. By him he was told, that he had engaged thirteen *Spanish* ships off the *Salt Pits*, in which he lost his vice-admiral and pinnace. Steering away for *Holland*, he met with some *Emdden* merchantmen, with whom he exchanged rice and pepper for beef and bread ; after which he arrived at *Rotterdam* on the 26th of *August*, after a perilous voyage of near three years. d

He arrives in Holland.

Reflections on the voyage.

His conduct was greatly approved by the proprietors, although they reaped no great advantage from the voyage. It was rather looked upon as an affair of national benefit, and of future more than present advantage. The *Dutch* now reaped not only the benefit of some new lights thrown upon the navigation of the *South Seas* ; but likewise shared with the *Portuguese* and *English* the glory of having surrounded the globe, a circumstance that highly delighted them. e

ONE thing very remarkable occurs in this voyage performed by *Van Noort* ; it is, the rigorous discipline maintained and felt not only by the inferior officers and seamen, but by the very highest in authority. Even the vice-admiral experienced the weight of that power necessarily lodged in the hands of the general ; he was tried with much solemnity and caution ; proceeded against for breach of the articles established and sworn to before the board of admiralty ; had full time allowed him for his defence ; and, after a fair and impartial hearing, was condemned to be deserted in the *Streights of Magellan*, with a slender pittance of provisions, where he probably fell a prey to hunger, or the furious rage of the savages against all foreigners. A circumstance omitted in the journal of the voyage, but mentioned by other historians, particularly *De Weert's* journal, inserted in that curious collection of *Harleian* voyages ^b. The dread of such punishments keeps within bounds, and to their duty, those whose errors are most fatal in such expeditions. From a deficiency of authority in the commander in chief, many great under- f

^a Histoire des Voyages aux Terres Austr. art. 21. p. 291. HARRIS, tom. i. l. i. c. 1. 452 ; also in Histoire des Voyages aux Terres Austr. tom. i. art. 21. p. 293.

^b Tom. vii. p.

- a takings have fallen, a competition between the officers being naturally attended with faction, discord, and mutiny, among the seamen. The gratification of private ends, of resentment and pride, is constantly preferred to the public good ; to the consequences of which we may well apply that observation of the Latin poet,

Quicquid delirant reges, plebuntur Achivi.

- THIS voyage of *Van Noort's*, although attended with no striking advantages, served to increase the ardour of the *United Provinces*, and particularly of the *East India* company, after farther discoveries in the *South Seas*, and a more complete intelligence of the passage of the famous *Magellan*. For this purpose a commission was granted to *George Spilberg*, or *Spilbergen*, a seaman of great experience, merit, and reputation. Six ships were appointed him, completely equipped, and the nomination of officers left in a great measure to his own discretion, which they imagined would prevent all jealousies and disputes on board. On the 8th of August 1614, this fleet sailed out of the *Texel* with a strong gale at south-east. Nothing remarkable, besides storms and tempests, occurred till his arrival in the height of the *Cape de Verd* islands, which he observed stood in $14^{\circ} 30'$, whereas in all preceding charts and maps they were laid down in 17° south latitude. By the 12th of October he fell in with the *Brazil* coast, having happily escaped the shoals of *Abrolhos*, lately fatal to the *Portuguese*. On the 20th, anchoring in the road of *Ilas Grande*, he erected tents on shore for the sick, keeping three distinct *corps de garde* for their security, as he was in perpetual apprehension of the *Portuguese*. Soon after he hoisted a white flag, as a signal for holding a council of war. Here it was resolved to send the shallops to water at a river two leagues distant from the fleet, with the *Huntsman* yacht to convoy them, the captain having strict orders to anchor so close to the shore, that the cannon could cover the men at work in filling the barrels. This order he neglected, the consequence of which was fatal, the *Portuguese* having cut off every soul that had been put into the shallops. They had two stout frigates concealed in a little harbour, inaccessible to strangers, formed by two high islands, which forced *Spilbergen* to set sail without attempting to revenge the insult.

- ON the 1st of January 1615, a conspiracy, formed on board the admiral's ship, to carry her off, was happily discovered. The ringleaders were hanged up at the yard-arm, and the rest put in irons, and distributed among the different ships. In case of separation, certain places were appointed for a rendezvous, and the necessary precautions taken for effecting a junction ; after which he steered directly for the streights, having taken a *Portuguese* bark in their way. Several jesuits were on board, who offered a ransom of plate, pictures, and some fair manuscripts of value ; but these being already the prize of the *Hollanders*, they refused parting with them but for an equal number of *Dutch*. On March the 7th *Spilbergen's* Squadron was in extreme danger from a violent storm, which came on under latitude $52^{\circ} 6'$ south. This produced a mutiny, which the admiral crushed in the bud, by throwing the most turbulent overboard, without inquiry or form of trial. The 28th he entered the streights, and was driven back by strong winds and tides ; upon which some of the crew cried out to winter in *Port Desire*, others being no less eager to hold their course for the *Cape of Good Hope*, a thing impossible in their circumstances. *Spilbergen*, without giving ear to either, re-entered the streights ; and, after passing through numberless dangers, and surmounting almost insuperable difficulties, arrived on the 6th of April in the *Pacific Ocean*, where he was welcomed by the most dreadful storm he had yet encountered. Soon after he had sight of *Chili* and *La Mocha*, at which island he did all he could to draw the inhabitants into a traffick with the seamen. The governor and his son dined on board the admiral, and seemed rejoiced to see so complete and strong an armament fitted out against the *Spaniards*. The natives of *Chili* were also glad to see so strong a body of soldiers, and, in token of their regard, exchanged sheep and fresh provisions for hatchets and coral. The remarks made by *Spilbergen* on the animals, and other produce of this country, tally so exactly with what we have related, that the reader will excuse our not repeating them. Putting into harbour, he narrowly escaped being cut off by an ambuscade laid for him by the *Spaniards*, who had invited him to dinner. They suffered, however, for their treachery, the party appointed to way-lay the *Dutch* being discovered and cut in pieces. After this, the *Dutch*, without mercy, set fire to their houses, plundered every thing, carried off 500 fowls, a great number of sheep, and other provisions equally useful to them. Here they received intelligence of three large ships, having 1000 men on board, sent in quest of the *Dutch* squadron, which was now spoiling and plundering their country. This determined *Spilbergen* to seek them in his turn, for which purpose he steered his course for *Conception*. Not finding the *Spanish* squadron here, he sailed for *Val Paraiso*, meeting in his way with a *Spanish* ship, which the crew burnt, and abandoned on his approach. From hence he went to *Quintero*, where he watered, then turning his course to *Arica*. Every-where, on his

Spilbergen
meets, engages,
and destroys,
the royal
squadron.

his approaching the coast, he found the people alarmed, and prepared to receive him. Leaving *Arica*, he took a small vessel with some treasure on board; after which, on the 16th, a man from the tops descried a squadron of eight sail. This the captain of the prize told him was the royal squadron of *Peru*, come out in search of the *Dutch* fleet, against the advice and remonstrances of the council. Don *Rodrigo de Mendoza*, the viceroy's kinsman, was admiral, a vain-glorious, arrogant, and haughty man, who boasted, "that with two of his ships he would make *England* tremble; much more those *Friesland*, half-starved, weather-beaten, hens." So conceitedly full of his own power was this *Thraso*, that he imagined the *Dutch* would strike at the sight of so superior a fleet, and to the terror of his name, which, by the way, they never before heard of. His relation the viceroy, upon his remonstrances, had given him the liberty to put to sea, and to bring the *Hollanders* bound hand and foot into his presence, the admiral swearing he would never return till he had accomplished it, if perchance they were not all killed in battle. With a fleet completely equipped, armed with brass ordnance, and filled with seamen and mariners, he joyfully hoisted sail in quest of *Spilbergen*, and now met with him. As it was late in the evening, he deferred engaging, by the advice of his vice-admiral, till the next morning, when the light might prevent their making their escape, and render the victory more complete, conspicuous, and glorious. Notwithstanding *Mendoza* assented to this advice, yet so impatient was he to acquire honour, that about 10 o'clock the same night he made a signal to attack, and bore down with his own ship on the *Dutch* admiral, who gave him a reception very unlooked for. *Spilbergen* pressed upon him with so much courage, and poured in his shot so expertly and vigorously, that the *Spaniard* was soon discomfited, and would have struck, but for the intervention of his vice-admiral, who disengaged him from the *Dutch* vice-admiral, with whom he had been in close fight. After a short contest, in which *Mendoza* behaved with an intrepidity uncommon in a boaster, his whole fleet was intirely defeated and destroyed. Of the 460 men on board his own ship, not 50 remained alive, and these covered over with wounds. The other ships suffered proportionably; two of their smaller vessels were sunk with their crews, and as complete a victory obtained by *Spilbergen* as *Mendoza* had promised to the viceroy. On the side of the *Dutch* 30 men were slain, and above 50 wounded; but the glory resulting from this brave action made the survivors not repine at the loss.

IMMEDIATELY after the engagement *Spilbergen* sailed for the road of *Cabo de Lima*, imagining *Mendoza* had escaped out of the battle; but here he learnt, that the ship, and the few remaining hands on board, had sunk before day-light appeared. Passing by *Peyto*, the squadron was hotly plied by the heavy batteries on shore, a 36 pounder having nearly sunk the *Huntsman* yacht. An army of 4000 foot, and several squadrons of horse, were seen drawn up on the shore, commanded by the viceroy in person. *Spilbergen* was now cruising for the *Manila* fleet, being desirous of raising his fortune in some degree proportioned to the glory he had obtained by the late empty victory. Orders were issued to the captains of all the ships to take the utmost care to prevent a separation; a circumstance which had thrown them into great danger and perplexity in the late action. It was also concerted, that if a *Spanish* ship should strike, the captain and chief officers, without leaving their own ship, should order the enemy to come on board in their boats, to prevent the confusion which avarice had so lately occasioned, and which had almost been fatal in the late engagement. The 28th he arrived in the road of *Guarme*, 10 degrees beyond the line, a pleasant place and safe port, but deserted on their approach by the inhabitants. The 8th of *April* *Spilbergen* came before *Paita*, and landed 300 men, who, after skirmishing with the enemy, returned to the fleet, having found the town too strongly fortified for an attempt by so small a body of men. The ships were brought to bear upon the walls, which they battered for the whole day, the city being esteemed impregnable towards the sea. They remained in the road till the 21st, without effecting any thing. Then the fleet put to sea, and anchored two days after at *Rio Tumba*. After their departure from hence they were afflicted and tossed about with tempestuous weather till the 13th of the next month. The 20th of *September* *Spilbergen* got sight of the coast of *Nueva Espanna*. At length, having beat off the coast till the 12th of *October*, surrounded by a thousand dangers, and eternity every moment before their eyes, the storm continuing without intermission for several weeks, he entered the haven of *Acapulco*, within shot of the castle, hanging out a white flag. Two *Spaniards* came on board, and settled a cartel for prisoners, who were to be exchanged for fresh provisions. Soon after *Melchior Hernando*, the viceroy's nephew, made the *Dutch* admiral a visit, to gratify his curiosity with respect to the strength of that armament which had defeated the royal squadron of *Peru*. He was received with marks of great distinction, which he returned with florid and high-strained compliments to *Spilbergen*, upon his courage and conduct.

Spilbergen
meets with a
storm.

- a He now determined to steer for *Manila*, which he did on the 18th, arriving there on the 9th of *February*. The *Indians* refused to trade with him, because they said the *Dutch* were enemies to the *Spaniards*. This, however, was a very cogent argument with others for transferring the whole trade into his hands. At *Capul*, where he arrived the 11th, the natives to a man freely traded with him, and even gave the *Dutch* the preference to the *Spaniards*. The *Indians* of this place wear long coats like shirts, are remarkable for the profound veneration in which they hold all the clergy, before whom they will prostrate themselves, and take it as the highest mark of honour to be permitted to kiss their hands. On the 19th, he dropt anchor on the coast of *Luconia*, the chief island of the *Manilas*, in which stands the city of *Manila*.
- b The 24th he passed the high and flaming mountain *Allaca*; two days after he saw the further end of the streight; and, on the 28th, anchored before the island *Mirabelles*. On *March* the 5th, he took several barks, which had been sent to collect the tribute paid to the *Spaniards*. Now it was that he received advice of a fleet of twelve sail, manned with 2000 *Spaniards*, besides *Indians*, *Chinese*, and *Japanese*, sent to the *Moluccas* to drive the *Dutch* out of those islands, and wrest the trade from them. This determined *Spilbergen* to set all his prisoners at liberty, and proceed with all expedition after the *Spanish* fleet; not doubting but he should soon meet with a reinforcement of *Dutch*, which would render him in a condition to cope with the enemy. It accordingly fell out as he expected; for, on his arrival at *Malaya*, he found twelve large ships, which, joined to his squadron, composed a very formidable armament. It was debated whether an attack should be made on *Tidore*; but it was only debated; for the high disputes among the officers prevented their coming to any resolution. Those discords pointed out the necessity there was for electing a commander in chief of the united fleets. Accordingly *Laurence de Real* was invested with this authority.
- c Soon after *Spilbergen* received the governor's commission and orders to sail with two ships to the island of *Java* and city of *Bantam*, with instructions to settle the trade on such terms and in the manner he should think proper. He arrived at *Batavia* on the 7th of *September*, where he found it necessary to carry his ships, and provide sheathing, which he did with the utmost caution, lest he should be surprised by *Don Juan de Silva*, who was expected to sail from *Molucca* upon a cruise against the *Dutch*. His apprehensions on this head were soon eased by certain advice he received, that *Don Juan* had died suddenly, not without suspicion of having been poisoned, just as he was on the point of departing; and that, in consequence of this accident, the *Spanish* fleet, which sickness had before greatly weakened, was now returned to the *Manilas*. Thus a *Spanish* armament, supported at a great expence for four years, dwindled away into nothing, without striking a single blow; a circumstance that greatly impaired the reputation of that people in the *Indies*.
- d While they were thus employed at *Tacatra*, the rapid increase of the *Dutch* trade through all the colonies was observed with great joy. In the short stay made here, no less than four ships loaded with spices, and four with valuable cargoes, arrived from the *Moluccas*, and from *Holland*. The ships from *Europe* brought a reinforcement of soldiers to the garrisons, and supplies of ammunition, and all kinds of warlike stores, which were much wanted. About this time arrived *Schouten* and *Le Maire*, of whose voyage we have given an account, and of *Roggewin's* arrival at *Batavia*, and the seizure of his ship. To add more weight to our assertions concerning the jealousy of the *Dutch East India* company, lest a traffick should be opened with the Southern Continent, we shall repeat the words of the author of *Spilbergen's* voyage. The reader will hence see with what diligence the company endeavoured to depreciate the merit of any new discoveries by that route, and even discredit the authenticity and reality of the pretensions some persons had made to such discoveries. Speaking of the arrival of *Le Maire*, "In the course of their long voyage," says the author of *Spilbergen's* expedition, "those people discovered no new countries, no new nations, with whom we might trade. They only pretended to have discovered a passage, different from that through which ships hitherto passed. But there was little appearance of this, since, by their own account, they had spent fifteen months and three days in their course from the streights to the island of *Ternate*, though they had fair winds all the way, and notwithstanding the advantage a single ship has over a fleet, where the best sailor must stay for the worst. These pretended makers of discoveries, who boasted of having found out a new streight, were very much surprised to hear that admiral *Spilbergen* had waited so long at *Ternate*, and arrived so much sooner than they, notwithstanding his fleet was composed of such large ships, and had been so much and so often retarded, had fought so many times, had been put back, stopped and trafficked in so many parts, and yet come out but scarce eight months before them, and spent only a year and seven months in all their expeditions to the time of their arrival at the *Moluccas*."

He arrives at the island of Capul.

The great Spanish armaments dwindle away without having effected any thing.

The endeavours the Dutch East India company used to discredit the discoveries of Le Maire.

^a PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, tom. i. l. ii. c. 6.

^b PURCHAS, ibid.

In this remark the reader will perceive a strange mixture of truth and falshood, of vanity, ^a prejudice, and injustice, founded partly on conceit, partly on selfish and narrow views. Great praise undoubtedly is due to admiral *Spilbergen*; and his voyage must be regarded as one of the most successful that ever had been performed through the *South Seas* by the *Dutch*, or any other nation; yet to what but jealousy can we ascribe his depreciating the labours of another, and calling in question a fact at that time so well attested, and since so thoroughly proved.

To proceed; *Spilbergen*, on the 14th of *December*, an. 1616, weighed anchor at *Bantam*, to proceed on his voyage to *Holland*, with two ships, the *Amsterdam* and *Zealand*. On *January* the first, 1617, the *Amsterdam* lost sight of her consort. *March* the 6th, he arrived at *St. Helena*, where he found the *Zealand*; both arriving in *Holland*, after a prosperous course, in the month of *July*. Their return was extremely grateful to the company, who loaded them ^b with praises, particularly *Spilbergen*, whose prudence equally redounded to the advantage of the company, his own honour, and the glory of his country. Multitudes of people flocked to see him and his ships; an extract of his voyage was immediately published; and, from the day of his return, the *Dutch East India* company may be said to date their first power, grandeur, and wealth. Reputation they acquired by the very act of surrounding the globe; and power and wealth were the necessary result of the conquest of the *Moluccas*; in which *Spilbergen* not only assisted but brought home the first intelligence.

Remarks on
Spilbergen's
voyage.

ONE remark on this voyage we cannot avoid making. The defeat of the royal squadron of *Peru* by *Spilbergen* is the clearest proof of the great superiority the free spirit of a republic will ever maintain over the most refined politics of an arbitrary court. The king of *Spain* ^c was by no means ignorant of the importance of his colonies in *America*. He had their support, and the interest of commerce, really at heart; and yet we see in how short a time not only the *English*, but the States General, who, a little before, had been slaves to the *Spanish* monarchs, were able, on their own private accounts, and through the courage of their officers, to cope with all the naval power of this kingdom. Hence it appears, that, to raise a maritime strength in any country, nothing is so requisite as freedom, a wise and honest administration, and a confidence in the people, that they may enjoy in security what they have acquired with danger and labour. This encourages them to support disappointments, to exert their utmost strength and diligence in equipping armaments, and to persevere, with unshaken constancy, in the prosecution of what appears to be their interest, at the same time they are protected ^d as pursuing the interest of the public. Hence it appears, not only how soon a naval force is raised by these means, but how soon it declines, when freedom, liberty, and spirit begin to droop. Not many years before, the *Dutch* were so ignorant in navigation, that they were obliged to have recourse for skilful pilots to the *English*; but, twenty years after, they sent out powerful fleets, aiming not at plunder, but conquest, and defeating that maritime power which had acquired such reputation by the discovery of one of the *Indies*, and prodigious strength by the possession of both. "Reputation will vanish," says a judicious historian, "and power ^e must necessarily decline, when men grow wanton with wealth, and employ the blessings " and gifts of Providence for other purposes than they were designed." As the industry and virtue of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* began to slacken, by the abuse of rewards, which were now applied to the maintenance of an empty magnificence, an effeminate luxury, and a proud indolence; so the *Dutch* rose by their just estimation of merit, by their diligence, their frugality, and public spirit. The *Spaniards* prided themselves in being absolute masters of other nations; the *Dutch* struggled to be their own masters. The prodigious flux of wealth, and extent of dominion, ruined the one; the poverty, the narrow limits, and the oppression of the haughty *Philip*, roused up the others unto an exertion of their strength, and enabled them to perform actions superior to their natural abilities. Such reflections as these naturally arise from perusing the first accounts of a rising commerce; and happy are the people who pay a due attention to their importance. Corruption and luxury are equally fatal to all; and whenever we see them prevail in a maritime state, the foundation of whose power and grandeur is in ^f commerce, we may, without any extraordinary share of penetration, venture to foretel that her decline is approaching, and her total ruin and destruction not very remote.

S E C T. XIII.

The voyage of Jaques Le Hermite round the world, with the squadron commonly called the Nassau Fleet. His passage through the Straights of Le Maire; his attempts on Calao de Lima; and the other occurrences of the voyage.

a **M**OST of the maritime powers began now to be sensible, that the true method of distressing his Catholic Majesty was by plundering his ships and destroying his settlements in the *South Seas*. Sir Francis Drake, and other *English* officers, led the way; the *Dutch* followed with perhaps more success, as the advantages they gained were of a more lasting nature. To destroy the fortified towns, and lay the *South Seas* open to the incursions of privateers and small squadrons, it was necessary first to send stout ships and strong armaments, with authentic and proper commissions. In the year 1622, prince Maurice of Nassau was at the head of the admiralty in *Holland*, and the first spring of the administration. With his approbation, if not at his motion, a resolution was taken of sending a strong squadron into the *South Seas*, for the above purposes. This squadron it was intended should not pass by the *Straights of Magellan*, but by those of *Le Maire*, that it might the sooner be in a condition to commence hostilities against the *Spaniards*. The prince not only countenanced this project, but likewise assisted it, by a considerable sum of money out of his own private purse. A fleet of no less than eleven men of war, besides smaller vessels, was fitted out, and the necessary instructions for accomplishing it given to the admiralties of *Holland*, and to the *East India* company, who appointed certain commissioners to inspect and preside over this equipment^a.

The voyage of the Nassau fleet round the world, Jaques Le Hermite commander.

b THE necessary preparations were forwarded with such diligence and vigour, that, in the spring of the following year, the fleet was in readiness to put to sea. The chief officers were appointed, and the command of the whole given to Jaques Le Hermite, an experienced seaman, enured to the fatigues of long voyages, and accustomed to an extensive command, which for many years he executed with great reputation in the service of the *India* company. Hugo Scapenham was made vice-admiral, the sweetness of whose manners, and the integrity of whose life, were no less recommendations than his great naval abilities, to the trust reposed in him. The whole force of the fleet amounted to 1637 men, of which 600 were regulars, divided into five companies, and 294 pieces of cannon, brass and iron. It is necessary to observe, that the government of the *United Provinces* differed, at this period, from what it was before, or has been since. It was in fact rather a monarchy than a republic; the prince of *Orange*, then Stadtholder, having a true regular influence, weight, and authority. Under colour of necessity he assumed the supreme executive power; every thing passed through his hands, and the Stadtholder in reality held the reins of government, but in the name of the States. Most of the officers in this expedition were appointed by prince Maurice, who in this, as in every thing else, had in view the establishment of his own power, as well as the good of the public. Hence the reader will easily perceive the original source of the many misfortunes and miscarriages of this voyage. Sea-officers were made by court-favour; and a land-general, who pretended to no skill in maritime affairs, consequently could be no proper judge of the merits of the persons he appointed. These are the reflections of John De Witte, the most celebrated statesman, and the best political writer of his nation and age, without we except the learned Grotius.

The preparations for this voyage.

c To proceed; the *Nassau* fleet sailed from the *Goeree*, April the 9th, 1623. In the evening of the 30th, the *Eagle* sprung a leak, which obliged Le Hermite to put into the *Isle of Wight* for repairing her. May the first, the whole fleet, except the *Hope*, anchored at *Portsmouth*. The captain of this ship, out of mere caprice, must take a different course, which was almost attended with fatal consequences. He run her a-ground, and was with the utmost difficulty saved by the vigilance of the vice-admiral, who assisted him with the shallows of the whole fleet, eased the ship of her guns, and took every other effectual measure to save both ship and crew. On the 14th, the admiral gave the signal for sailing, by ordering a gun to be fired, which, by some unhappy accident in the charging, burst, blew up a part of both decks, demolished the cabin near it, and had almost communicated with the powder-room.

Some unlucky accidents at their first sailing.

f THE admiral gave orders that, in the day, the fleet should extend itself as far as possible, without losing sight, in hopes of intercepting the plate-fleet, each ship returning at night to the flag. It was also resolved in council to keep as close to the *Spanish* shore as possible, in

^a The remainder of this voyage is extracted from HARRIS's Collection, T. i. l. ii. p. 11. to which we refer the reader, without specifying every page.

*He falls in
with some cor-
sairs, who
give him intel-
ligence of the
Spanish fleet.*

order to make prizes, from which the proper intelligence might be procured. On the 31st a they spoke with three *Turkish* corsairs, who acquainted them, that they had been chased off *Cape St. Vincent* by six *Spanish* men of war. Next day they fell in with two more corsairs, out of which they took several *Dutchmen* who had been made slaves, contrary to the treaty subsisting between the States General and the piratical states of *Algiers* and *Tunis*. On the 14th of *June* they gave chase to a fleet of ten sail, which proved to be *Spanish*, homeward-bound from *Fernambuco*, and laden with sugar. The admiral was acquainted by the captains of some of the prizes, that there were not less than thirty sail of *Spanish* men of war cruising in those seas; a circumstance that required the most cautious and prudent conduct in him. He therefore resolved to call a council of war, and to be determined by the sentiments of this assembly in what manner he should proceed. Here it was strongly debated, whether, their ships being deeply loaded, it would not be next to impossible for them to use their lower tiers of guns, without easing their ships of many things necessary to the success of the voyage? Hence it was concluded not to enter upon action with a fleet so superior, which would probably terminate in the destruction of the design they were upon, if not the squadron. This being the opinion of a majority, a resolution was taken to bear away to the road of *Sassa*, where there were several *Dutch* ships, on board of which they might put the goods taken in the prizes, to be transported to *Holland*. Here they met the *Overyffel* man of war, with some other *Dutch* ships. The captain of the *Overyffel* acquainted *Le Hermite*, that his crew had mutinied, and deprived him of the command; upon which *Le Hermite* ordered the ringleaders to be put in irons, tried, condemned, and hanged at the yard-arm; a necessary severity, to reduce the rest to obedience. Three others, who had been turbulent, though not authors of the conspiracy for running away with the ship, were ordered to be keel-hawled, and afterwards to serve on board without wages.

*A mutiny pu-
nished on board
one of the
squadrons.*

*He arrives at
Sierra Leona.*

THE fleet anchored in the road of *St. Vincent* on the 5th of *July*, where the admiral determined to disarm the ships, and wait the proper season for doubling *Cape Horn*. The 25th he weighed from these islands, in order to prosecute his voyage. On the first of *August* they came within sight of the high coast of *Sierra Leona*, where the admiral put in to repair the leak in one of the squadron. Here the negroes insisted upon having made a present to them, before they would permit any of the seamen to go on shore. Accordingly two bars of iron, two pieces of cloth, and a few ribbons, were given them, with which they appeared to be highly satisfied. Next day they came on board to visit the admiral, to whom they presented an elephant's tooth and some fowls, for which they were amply rewarded. Among the visitors was the king's brother, dressed in a suit of striped cloth, made after the *Dutch* fashion, and scarlet slippers. He was attended by a captain of the guard, a man who seemed to set a high value upon his reputation. Some of the ship's crew found a species of nuts on shore, greatly resembling nutmegs. They were so delicious in the taste, that the men eat heartily of them; but were all taken ill soon after; and one dropt down dead, with his body covered over with livid spots. The rest escaped by proper medicines and care.

*The admiral's
ship is in great
danger.*

THE 25th of *August* the *Maurice*, a capital ship, had been almost lost through carelessness; for, after careening her, they forgot to shut the scupper-holes, by which she had eight feet water in the hold before it was perceived. *September* the 4th, the admiral, who was confined to his bed with sickness, ordered anchor to be weighed, and the fleet got under sail, steering to the island *Annaboa*; but a contrary wind and a storm arising, they were driven back, and almost with the loss of the admiral and vice-admiral, both of which struck upon a sand-bank. After the whole fleet had been alarmed, and put in confusion, they were both got off without any considerable hurt. The admiral, in a shallop, assisted in person the men employed at this work, in order to inspirit and encourage them by his presence and example. This, and a cold he contracted, brought on a relapse, which he never afterwards recovered. While the fleet was at anchor in the road of *Cape Lobos*, a circumstance fell out, which, on account of its singularity, deserves to be mentioned. A great number of seamen died on board the *Maurice*, and it was observed that they were taken ill immediately after the surgeon's medicines

*The villainous
design of a
surgeon dis-
covered.*

were administered, with symptoms very suspicious. The matter being debated in council, and the facts clearly proved, the vice and the rear-admirals were directed to send for the surgeon, *James Verger*, and closely to sift and examine him. This they accordingly did, but with the utmost address, though to little purpose. All their exhortations and entreaties could extract nothing from him; upon which the torture was applied, by hoisting him up to a great height, with weights to his feet and hands, and then letting him fall suddenly down. All this he suffered not only with constancy, but with insolence and contempt, laughing at his judges for their vain endeavours to put him to pain. His insensibility induced a suspicion, that some charm or incantation he was master of prevented the effects of the torture. He was searched accordingly; and in a little bag, which hung round his neck, were found the skin and tongue of a serpent. Some days after this another examination was appointed; of which when the

criminal

- a criminal had notice, by their coming to take him out of irons, he sprung out of the hands of the persons ordered to conduct him, and, though he was pinioned, plunged himself over the ship's side into the sea. A sailor, who was near him, leaped in after him, and endeavoured to save him; but the surgeon made such strong efforts that he had certainly drowned both, if another sailor had not had resolution and presence of mind enough to throw himself after them, and keep the surgeon's head above water, till all three were laid hold of by the men in the shallop. Perceiving, after this attempt, that he would be too strictly watched to find such another opportunity, he made the following horrible confession; viz. that he was a native of *Louvaine*, descended from *Spanish* parents, and a licentiate in physic and surgery; that he had wilfully destroyed seven men, because they had given him a great deal of trouble, without any emolument resulting to him from it; that he was resolved to attempt some extraordinary cures, and, if he succeeded, to demand, as a reward, an order from the admiral to dine at the captain's table; that, if this favour was denied him, he resolved to poison the admiral, the vice-admiral, and every officer he suspected would oppose his request; that he had determined to enter into a contract with the devil, and had, for that purpose, often invoked him, but without effect; that, since he had been in irons, he had often attempted to destroy himself, and, among other methods, had endeavoured to stifle himself with his pillow. There appeared strong reasons for suspecting him of other crimes, no less shocking and unnatural; he was therefore, by the unanimous consent of the council, condemned to death; and accordingly *He is put to death.* had his head struck off on the poop of his own ship; a death too mild, if there could have been a more complete punishment inflicted on a wretch that had revolted from every dictate of virtue, of reason, of conscience, and of the human heart.

- By the time the squadron arrived at the island of *St. Thomas*, the scurvy had so prevailed, that, despairing of having hands sufficient to work the ships to *Annobon*, the admiral appointed a day of fasting and solemn prayer, and the chaplain had instructions to compose a discourse suitable to the occasion, humbly imploring the divine favour towards those who were sick, the preservation of those who were yet in health, and the giving an happy issue to the endeavours of the officers in seeking a proper place for the refreshment and recovery of the crews. They then altered their course, steering westward, in order to meet with a south-east wind, when, on the 29th, to their great astonishment, they saw the island *Annobon*, at the distance of ten leagues, and at a time when they did not think it possible to fall in with it from the course they held. The 30th they anchored in the road of *Annobon*, and next day the vice-admiral and fiscal went on shore, where they were received with a flag of truce. The governor, *Le Hermite arrives at the island Annobon.* Don *Antonio Nunez de Matos* gave his consent that they should traffick and barter with the natives for whatever they wanted; take in water, gather what number of oranges they thought fit; and that they should place a guard at the watering place, for the security of their seamen; upon this single condition, that they behaved discreetly, without giving molestation or offence to the inhabitants. The *Dutch* had received fowls, hogs, oranges, &c. in exchange for salt; upon which it was resolved to make the governor a present worth 300 livres, with which he was by no means satisfied. Besides this, the seamen had given other causes of discontent, by *The noble conduct of a Portuguese governor.* insulting the negroes, and taking from them their fowls without paying for them, which, with some other grievances, so provoked the governor, that he was very near arresting the vice-admiral, and some other officers who were on shore. However, reflecting that they came in confidence of the promise he had given, he suffered them to retire, telling them withal to be cautious how they relied for the future on the word of an officer, for that it was then in his power to have carried them up to the mountains, from whence double the force of their whole fleet would not be able to rescue them. After this they parted, with mutual civilities. It must indeed be acknowledged, that the conduct of the *Dutch* officers was rash and imprudent, in putting themselves in the power of a *Portuguese* officer, from whom they had little to expect, and merely upon his bare promise. But, however they were to blame, we cannot enough *f* admire the generous behaviour of the governor, who, by no indignity or affront, could be prevailed on to break through the laws of honour and hospitality.

- AFTER leaving the island of *Annobon*, they saw a great number of sea-gulls, and a quantity of herbage floating on the water, whence it was conjectured they were not far distant from the Southern Continent. On the 16th the sea appeared as red as blood, which they afterwards found proceeded from an infinity of small shrimps floating on the surface. On the 28th they lost sight of their bark with eighteen men on board, which they never more beheld, although they were afterwards told that she had reached *Holland*, the men having endured all the extremities of thirst and hunger. On the first of *February* they made *Cape de Pennace*; but the admiral's instructions restraining him from touching on the coast of *Brasil*, north of *Rio de la Plata*, they did all in their power to discover that river, but soon found that the south-west winds had driven them too far eastward. At length, on *February* the 2d, they found themselves at the mouth of the streights, which they discovered accidentally, by means of a *Spanish* pilot on board; so little skilled in navigation were the best officers on board, in the *g* Mod. Hist. Vol. V. Z admiral's

The Dutch
fleet began
their voyage
at a wrong
season of the
year.

admiral's absence. Having gained the entrance of the streights, they saw two ships at anchor ^a in the bay, which they afterwards called *Valentine's Bay*. From *Le Hermite's* having spent nine months in his passage hither from *Holland*, the reader may be led to imagine that the voyage must be extremely tedious and dangerous, which it by no means is, if undertaken at a proper season of the year. It is obvious, that the *Dutch* fleet sailed too soon in the year, and thence crossed the line in the worst season: had they deferred this till the end of *October*, or beginning of *November*, they would then have had a physical certainty of meeting with the north wind between the tropics; a circumstance which would greatly facilitate the passage through the *Streights of Le Maire*.

The natives of
the streights
murder some
Dutchmen
who went on
shore.

FEBRUARY the 6th, the fleet had sight of *Cape Horn*, which then bore from them three leagues north-north-east. They were on the 11th, in $58^{\circ} 30'$ south lat. the weather so exces- ^b sively rigorous, that the seamen, who were at short allowance, found it almost insupportable. On the 14th, a great variation was observed in the compass, which they were unable to adjust, as all the compasses in the fleet varied from each other; a phænomenon that greatly perplexed and surprised the most experienced seamen on board. This day the admiral called a council, to deliberate about the currents, and procure the opinion of all the pilots in the different ships. At the instant when the white flag was hoisting as a signal, *Cape Horn* was discovered about seven leagues to the west, whence it was obvious, that the currents had carried them strongly to the east; whereas they imagined they had set to the west, according to *Le Maire's* account. On the 16th, they were in the latitude of $56^{\circ} 10'$, *Cape Horn* lying then east. They likewise sailed in sight of two islands situated about 15 leagues west of the cape, which ^c were not set down in the charts. While the shallows were watering in a bay, a storm arose, which drove them to sea, leaving 19 men on shore, two only of which were found alive the next day, when the shallows returned, the rest had been knocked on the head by the savages. As only five bodies cruelly mangled could be found of the seventeen that had been murdered, it was supposed the savages had carried off the rest for food.

The difficulty
in returning
through the
streights, from
the South to
the North
Seas.

THE vice-admiral, being sent in the *Greyhound* to examine the coast, reported, that he had found the *Terra del Fuego*, as marked in the charts, divided into a number of islands; and that it was not at all necessary to double the cape, in order to enter the *South Sea*; but that they ought to leave it on the south, and enter in on the east, the bay of *Nassau* passing into the open sea by the west of the cape. He likewise gave it as his opinion, that there were ^d several passages out of the bay of *Nassau* into the *Streights of Magellan*. Till the time of *Le Hermite* almost all navigators had been of opinion, that it was easy to go from the *Streights of Le Maire* to *Chili* and *Peru*; but that it was scarcely possible to pass from them, by the streights, into the *North Sea*, because, according to their opinion, the south winds blow constantly in those seas. But *Le Hermite* found it quite different, the frequent tempests from the north-west-and-by-west rendering it incomparably more easy to pass from *Chili* and *Peru* into the *North Sea*, than it was to reach these through the streights from the *North Sea*. The winds that rage here with more violence than is known in any other country, and indeed with a fury altogether inexpressible, blow constantly from the west, and may be reasonably supposed to arise from watry exhalations. Such ships, therefore, as are bound westerly, ought to avoid ^e this coast with a scrupulous caution, keeping as much as possible to the south.

Le Hermite
arrives on the
coast of *Chili*.

Preparations
for a descent
on *Arica*.

THE strong westerly winds, still continuing, gave the admiral great uneasiness, as they prevented his complying with his instructions from the States to proceed directly to *Juan Fernandez*, as soon as he had passed the streights. A council was called, that a resolution might be taken as to a fit place for the rendezvous of the fleet in case of being dispersed, or of wintering if these tempests continued. A majority were of opinion, that the most prudent resolution would be to wait two months for better weather, and to employ their utmost endeavours to double the cape, and get into the *South Seas*. On the 8th they were in 61° ; on the 14th in 58° ; and on the 18th, 19th, and 20th, they had a fair and fresh wind from the south-east. The weather likewise became warm, so that, after all the tempestuous blowy season they had suf- ^f fered, they now began to imagine themselves in another climate. On *March* the 28th they saw the coast of *Chili* lying east-south-east. The admiral, who was at this time confined to his bed, being informed that they were within a few leagues of the coast of *Chili*, expressed an eager desire to put into the port of *Chiloe*; but at the same time declared, that it was contrary to his instructions to touch, before he entered upon action against the *Spaniards* in *Peru*. This determined him to make the best of his way to the island of *Juan Fernandez*, there to prepare every thing necessary for annoying the *Spaniards*, attacking the galleons in the port of *Arica* in case they were there, and making themselves masters of that place, in order to extend their conquests by the assistance of the *Indians*. On *April* the 1st, the vice-admiral was forced to keep his bed, and appeared to be so much exhausted and worn out with fatigue, that the crews were under great apprehension of losing both the admiral and him before the voyage was at an end. When they anchored at *Juan Fernandez*, every ship's company had orders to ^g provide

- a provide themselves with as many chevaux de frise and pallisadoes as possible ; and the vice-admiral, being somewhat recovered, visited all the artillery in the fleet.
- ABOUT this time five of the seamen being convicted of breaking into the hold, and stealing from thence several barrels of wine, were for that offence condemned to be hanged, but pardoned by the admiral. On the 13th of *April*, all things being in readiness for the intended attack, the fleet weighed from *Juan Fernandez*. As it was not possible to determine how soon they might be obliged to enter upon action, the necessary instructions were distributed to all the captains, and the fleet was directed to sail for the future in three divisions. On *May* the 8th, they took a bark off the coast of *Peru*, in which, besides the captain, there were four other *Spaniards*, and six or seven negroes. From these the admiral was informed, that the plate-fleet had sailed the preceding *Friday*, being the third of that month, from *Calao* for *Panama*, consisting only of five sail, with two men of war and five merchantmen, richly laden. They were further informed, that the *Spanish* admiral was still at *Calao*, a fine ship of 800 tons, and 40 brass cannon ; with two pataches of 14 guns each, with 40 or 50 merchantmen of no force. That all the shipping was towed on shore, and secured there by three strong batteries, with other stone works, mounted with upwards of 50 pieces of cannon, all ready prepared for the reception of the *Dutch*, of whose motions they had early and certain intelligence. That the viceroy had formed a body of men, amounting to 400, well armed and disciplined ; but that lately hearing of the near approach of the *Hollanders*, he immediately summoned the whole force of *Peru*, so that it was not doubted but he would be soon at the head of an army of several thousand men. Experience proved the truth of this information procured from the *Spanish* prisoners, than which nothing could be more reasonable. A council was assembled on board, and a resolution taken to delay the attack no longer than the next morning. As the admiral was absolutely incapable of fatigue, the vice-admiral, assisted by his brother-in-law *Cornelius Jacobson*, took the command. Besides the companies of soldiers on board, it was thought necessary to have an equal number of seamen formed into companies, and headed by their own officers. As the boats were not sufficient to land the whole together, it was resolved that the soldiers should debark first, and fortify themselves by throwing up a breast-work, till they were joined by the seamen.
- MAY the 10th, the vice-admiral, putting himself at the head of the land forces, got into the boats, and rowed for a considerable time along the shore, but without finding it possible to land, though, if he could, there was a great appearance of his being joined by the natives and negroes. The admiral ordered that the *Greyhound* yacht should draw close to the shore, and protect the boats, and cover the landing by a perpetual fire ; but the *Spaniards*, aware of this, had thrown up a strong battery on the only part of the coast where it was possible for a ship to ride. The yacht was soon disabled, and this design frustrated ; notwithstanding this, the *Dutch* two companies, with twelve shallops, armed with small cannon, began at midnight to row directly to the fort of *Lima*, having on board a great quantity of combustible matter. A false attack was at the same time made to the north of *Calao*, to draw the *Spaniards* thither ; which had the effect, the shallops entering the port during the confusion the feint had occasioned, and distributing their combustibles among fifty sail of shipping, thirty of which perished. No sooner had the *Spaniards* discovered the design of the *Dutch*, than they made a furious fire ; but to little purpose, the shallops sheltering themselves behind the burning ships, and firing from thence on the enemy with great success. After this action had continued with great obstinacy for several hours, the *Dutch*, having finished their business, retired with the loss of seven men killed, and 15 wounded. The attempt was extremely bold, hardy, and well conducted ; but the consequences by no means corresponded with its merit. Nothing could be gained from burning the *Spanish* ships ; glory was all the reward ; and that, to a penurious *Dutchman*, is of less value than perhaps to any other *European*. What increased the disappointment was, that, after the ships were in a flame, they perceived, if they had carried hatchets with them, the cables might have been cut, and the whole fleet made prize of with equal loss to *Spain*, and with infinitely more advantage to *Holland* than empty praise. The greatest loss was sustained in the admiral's shallop, with which he desperately attempted to board one of the pataches in the middle and hottest of the enemy's fire. Early the next morning nine of the burning ships broke from their moorings, and fell down with a gentle breeze on the *Dutch* squadron, which obliged them to weigh with all possible dispatch, and screen themselves behind the island of *Lima*, of which a captain's command took possession. Here the *Dutch* threw up strong works, that they might screen their shallops, then in a leaky and shattered condition.
- AFTER this miscarriage, a council, to deliberate on their future operations, was held. As their instructions directed them, in case of any disappointment in a descent, to apply their whole force to the distressing the *Spaniards*, by taking their shipping, this they resolved upon. In their instructions, this reason was given for blocking up the port of *Lima*, and stopping all commerce, viz. that by this means a trial should be made of the inclinations of the natives, and

The miscarriages of the fleet owing to false intelligence received in Holland.

and possibly a total revolution brought about. Prince *Maurice* had received, before the sailing a of their fleet, some general intelligence with respect to the disaffection of all the negroes in the *Spanish* colonies, particularly in *Peru*; this was the foundation of that article of the instructions, which, admitting it to be true, the fleet had no opportunity of proving, either by the negroes or natives. The prudent precaution of the viceroy rendered both the negroes and natives incapable of any attempt. They were immediately disarmed; a body of *Spaniards* raised; all the works put into their hands; a company of free negroes assembled, who were so proud of their liberty, that they became the greatest oppressors of their own countrymen, and the most zealous partisans of their old masters; pride, interest and gratitude, all co-operating to make them discharge the trust reposed in them with fidelity. As the whole fleet was not wanted to block up *Calao*, *Cornelius Jacobson*, with four ships, was ordered to cruise b to the south, and make as many prizes as possibly he could. Here they appear to have varied from the spirit of their instructions, which was, to attack and plunder *Arica*; and this might easily have been done, supposing it in the defenceless state they believed in *Holland*; after which they might have stretched their conquests to the inestimable mines of *Potosi*, where their acquisitions would at once more than indemnify the States and prince *Maurice* for the expence of the fleet; the greatest injury would have been done to *Spain*, the most decisive blow struck, and the sailors fully recompensed for all the dangers and fatigues they had undergone. Whether it was that they found *Arica* in a different condition from what was believed in *Holland*, well fortified, garisoned, and supplied with every necessary to render c the design of the *Dutch* impracticable, we are not told in the journal of this voyage. Yet it is probable, that some such reasons deterred the admiral from the attempt, since we find, by other accounts, that this was the state of *Arica* a few years after, and that neither of the *Dutch* admirals had hitherto afforded any handle to impeach their courage. As for *Potosi*, there were certainly 2000 *Spaniards* assembled there, capable of bearing arms, soon after the attempt on *Calao*. Thus all the fine projects formed in *Holland*, of rich and extensive conquests in *India*, appeared to the admirals, upon trial, to be wild chimæras, romantic dreams, founded upon an imperfect intelligence, and false estimate of their own and their enemies strength. Among ourselves we have of late fatally experienced many similar instances.

An attempt to burn the galleon frustrated.

MAY the 14th, *Jacobson* sailed with his division to cruise off *La Nufca*, *Pisco*, and the coasts south of *Lima*. During his absence, the vice-admiral converted two of the prizes into d fire-ships, determining, if possible, to destroy the galleon lying in the harbour, and at the same time to seize on the town of *Guiaquil*, either by force or stratagem, which he heard was a place of no considerable strength. Both attempts miscarried. The town was found to be well fortified and garrisoned. As to the fire-ship, she was carried into the harbour, filled with 2000 weight of powder, fire-works, and shells, and brought with great danger within a short distance of the galleon, when it was perceived that the whole project was frustrated, by a bank of earth that separated the galleon and fire-ship. The *Dutch* then retired with great precipitation to their own fleet, amidst showers of shot that came pouring down among them, but happily with no effect.

Jaques Le Hermite dies.

ON June the 2d, *Jaques Le Hermite*, admiral of the fleet, expired in the port of *Calao de e Lima*, after a long illness, which he bore with the courage of a soldier and the resignation of a Christian. His sickness and death have undoubtedly been the cause of numberless miscarriages in the expedition. In him the States reposed the chief confidence, and the bad state of his health prevented his exerting himself in the manner his own honour, spirit, and courage, dictated, and that was expected in *Holland* from his known reputation. The vice-admiral suffered his flag to remain flying in the *Amsterdam*, that the enemy might have no notice of *Le Hermite's* death. Next day he was buried on the island of *Lima* with great decency, and all the pomp their circumstances would permit. All the prizes were adorned with streamers and flags; in order to deceive, the guns were fired over the admiral, as on rejoicings for their f success in the *South Sea*. After this, a second attempt was made to fire the galleon, but to as little purpose as the foregoing. The fire-ship, navigated by the supercargo of a *Dutch* ship, entered the harbour boldly, and, finding that the galleon rode in a basin every way defended, the *Dutchman* endeavoured to escape; but the enemy fired upon him so briskly, that, forced to set fire to the train, the fire-ship blew up with a dreadful explosion, but no damage to the enemy, and he retreated in the shallop to the fleet. Such was the end of this enterprize, which cost them much labour, danger, and money.

JUNE the 13th, the *Spanish* prisoners representing that the viceroy was disposed to treat for their ransom, it was determined to make him the overture. In consequence whereof, an officer with a flag of truce was sent in a small vessel on shore. Notice of the arrival of the *Dutch* being carried to the viceroy, he gave orders that the seamen in the vessel should have their g hands tied, and their eyes covered, while the shallop remained on shore, and that the officer should be conducted to him in the same manner. In the evening the seamen were set at liberty,

a liberty, and all imaginable pains taken to engage them in the *Spanish* service, which they all to a man rejected with scorn. After this, the viceroy gave this answer to the *Dutch* admiral's proposal: That he had nothing besides powder and ball at his service; that he would enter into no negociation or treaty of any kind with him; that he would not ransom the prisoners at any price whatsoever; and that if any of the *Dutch* should hereafter, upon any pretence, or under any pretext, enter the port of *Calao* with a flag of truce, he would have them instantly hanged up with the flag about their necks, since he could not but esteem them as traitors to their king, enemies to their country, to the laws of nations, of nature, and of honour. When this answer was reported to the council of war, they resolved to hang up all their prisoners, giving the following reasons for so inhuman a proceeding: they were greatly straitened for provisions, b and had hardly any water left; it was therefore impossible to keep the prisoners, and, if they did, no ransom could be expected. On the other hand, to set them at liberty was equally against the laws of prudence and of war, since it would only serve to expose their weakness, and render them the scorn and derision of their enemies; weak arguments indeed to combat the feelings of the heart, and that compassion which every generous breast owes to the unfortunate. On the 15th, in the morning, this cruel resolution was put in execution, with a *The Dutch barbarity that justly renders them infamous to posterity, and which can hardly be paralleled in hang up all the Spanish history, excepting by the shocking affair of Amboyna.* Certain we are, that no people, pretending to civilized manners, and the Christian religion, ever disgraced both by a more flagrant instance of a rude, savage, and callous heart, dead to all the warmer and nobler feelings of c the mind! Twenty-one *Spaniards* were actually hanged up at the yard-arm of the mizen-mast of the admiral, in the sight of an infinite number of people on the shore, and amidst the brutal insults of the sailors on board. Three old men were sent in a bark to *Calao*, with a message to the viceroy, importing, that as they had no quarter to expect from him, they were determined to give none to such as fell into their hands; that therefore he ought to esteem this action as the necessary consequence of his own brutal conduct.

In the mean time, *Jacobson* returned from his cruise. His report was agreeable to the d appointments the whole fleet had hitherto met with, but not with the expectations of the admiral. He had landed at *Pises* on the 4th, with much difficulty and danger. Marching within musquet-shot of the town, he found it regularly fortified, with a wall round it of fifteen feet, a garrison of 2000 foot, 200 horse, and every other requisite for a long and obstinate defence. In these circumstances *Jacobson* was under the necessity of throwing up an intrenchment for his own security, and, instead of laying siege to the garrison, was under the greatest apprehension of being surrounded and cut off by it. Under cover of the night he retreated to his ships, with the loss of five men killed, sixteen wounded, and thirteen deserters, happy that he got off so cheaply. Hitherto there never had been a more disastrous expedition undertaken with so potent an armament. It begun with misfortunes, which continued in one uninterrupted chain till the death of the admiral, which would seem to crown the mishaps of this unfortunate voyage. *The consequences of Cornelius Jacobson's attempt.*

BEFORE the resolution was formed of sailing for *Chili*, a gunner was hanged at the yard-arm e in sight of the whole fleet, for endeavouring to desert. From the intelligence they received of the condition of *Chili*, they had reason to promise themselves a happier issue to their enterprise than so unlucky a beginning seemed to forebode. The natives had now been in arms against the *Spaniards* for more than thirty years. They had taken the city and port of *Baldivia*, which they kept. The *Chilians* were at that time the most warlike nation of *America*, f different in manners, customs, and government, from the rest. Their horse especially were excellent, and greatly superior to the *Spanish*. The usual method with them was to raise an army of 3 or 4000 men, to lay waste the country, block up the fortresses, starve the garrisons, and harass the encampments of their enemies. Their perseverance was equal to their courage; and their activity could be exceeded by nothing but their caution. Willingly, if we may pay any credit to the historians of those countries, would the *Spaniards* have abandoned *Chili*; but they dreaded the loss of *Peru*. The brave *Chilians*, they were sensible, could not enjoy their own liberty, without giving freedom to their neighbours; and their resentment was directed against tyranny, not against the *Spaniards*, if their conduct had not rendered them the same object. *The state of Chili, and the disposition of natives.*

As to the *Spaniards*, they had for many years contented themselves with recruiting their exhausted forces by fresh supplies of transported malefactors. A little before the arrival of the *Dutch*, they had augmented the garrisons by a supply of regulars from *Buenos Ayres*. Hence a new mischief arose; these people finding themselves ill-treated, and the service hard, mutinied, and dispossessed their officers of the command. Thus all things were thrown into confusion; g no one acknowledged a superior, and the army was divided into little bodies, acknowledging no other authority than that of the viceroy, which no one was hardy enough to dispute. In this situation were things when the *Dutch* admiral received the last intelligence. Circumstances

Expectations
of the Dutch.

The scurvy
makes ter-
rible havoc
in the fleet.

Intelligence re-
ceived from
deserters.

Skirmishes
with the
Spaniards.

The vice-ad-
miral takes
the town of
Guiaquil.

He throws the
prisoners into
the sea.

such as these naturally inspired him with hopes of being able to draw an advantage from them. The appearance of the *Dutch* fleet off the coast, it was not doubted, would give many discontented persons an opportunity of declaring themselves, revenging their injuries, and establishing their power, it would at least, they all agreed, bring over a considerable body of the natives. But after the resolution of quitting *Lima* had been formed, the admiral found it necessary to wait for the *Hope* and *Maurice*, then on a cruise, to prevent their falling into the enemies hands. During this stay, the scurvy raged so extremely in the whole fleet, especially the four ships returned from the cruise under *Jacobson*, that scarce hands sufficient to navigate them were left. Thus, notwithstanding their late great hopes, affairs now grew worse, and tended almost to despair. One day, however, a *Swiss*, who was likewise infected, took it into his head, to climb to the very summit of the highest hill in *Lima*. Here he met with great plenty of a species of herbage he had been acquainted with in his own country ; of which eating heartily for some days, he soon recovered. This, as soon as known, induced the other seamen to make the experiment; and parties were every day sent out to furnish the fleet with the salutary vegetable. The effects answered their warmest wishes, and every seaman in the fleet was, in the space of a few days, restored to perfect health.

JULY the 18th, two *Spanish* deserters from *Calao*, who having murdered the captain of the *Spanish* horse in a fray about a woman, took sanctuary with the *Dutch*, gave the admiral all the intelligence he could desire concerning the state of that town. Their report was such as served to convince the *Dutch* how imperfect were all the advices received in *Europe*, and how impracticable their attempts would be. The town, they reported, was completely fortified ; the walls mounted with eighty pieces of cannon ; a strong ship in the harbour ; forty companies of foot within the town, sixteen troops of horse, besides several bodies of militia, employed to defend the watering-places, in case the *Dutch* should attempt to land. They also reported, that the *Maurice* and *Hope* had taken four ships near the island of *Puna*, had burnt the town of *Guiaquil*, with the royal galleon upon the stocks there.

FROM this time to the 29th, they were engaged in continual skirmishes with the *Spaniards*, who attacked them vigorously. They were encouraged to continue their insults, by observing that the *Dutch*, who were preparing to sail for *Chili*, were extremely saving of their ammunition ; but three or four warm receptions their visits met with made them soon alter their opinion.

AUGUST the 5th, the vice-admiral, agreeable to the patent from prince *Maurice*, was invested with the authority and dignity of admiral, on board the *Delft*, where he received the oath of fidelity from the fleet, the ship's company that lay nearest going on board first. He was succeeded as vice-admiral by the rear-admiral, and his place filled up again by *Cornelius Jacobson*, who left *Holland* in quality of counsellor to the admiral. In the evening the admiral, attended by the shallops of the whole fleet, sailed towards the ship *Orange*, to receive the oath from the crew, and the other ships that lay near her. This the *Spaniards* observing, attacked the shallops in their passage, but were repulsed by the vigorous resistance of the *Dutch*.

A FEW days afterwards the vice-admiral returned with the *Maurice* and *Hope* to *Lima*. The account he gave of his proceedings was, that he had found three ships in the road of *Puna*, two of which he burnt, and the third he brought along with him ; that he run up the river as far as the town of *Guiaquil*, which, contrary to expectation, he found well-fortified and garrisoned. Notwithstanding this, he determined to make a descent, which he effected with the loss of thirty men, and then attacked the town. At first his soldiers, oppressed with numbers, began to fall back in disorder ; but captain *Schutte*, their officer, desiring them to reflect, that nothing but victory could preserve them, their countrymen, and the ships, they made so furious an assault, that the *Spaniards*, in their turn, were put in confusion, the town entered and plundered, and above one hundred of the enemy killed on the spot. In the warehouses he found a great deal of rich merchandize ; but being unable to carry it off, or to garrison the place, he burnt both, and retired to his ships, with seventeen prisoners. These he soon after threw into the sea, having discovered a conspiracy they had formed against him. Putting to sea, he met with contrary winds, which drove him as far as *Arica* ; which place he would have attempted, but the wind shifting again, rendered it impossible. After which, with great difficulty, he rejoined the fleet. This junction being effected, the whole fleet was under sail on *August* the 14th, arriving the same evening with their prizes at the *Piscadores*, under one of which islands they anchored. After watering here, they steered for *Puna*. When the fleet came within sight of the island of *Santa Clara*, the admiral sent three shallops to acquaint the *Indians* with his approach, to assure them of protection and liberty, and to gain what intelligence they could of the situation of things at *Guiaquil*, which it was determined to revisit.

IN the morning of the 25th, the whole fleet came to an anchor in the road of the island of *Puna*, where the shallops had arrived a few hours before ; in which time they made them-

- a selves masters of a little bark laden with merchandize. The large ships being here eased of their guns, in order to be careened, the lesser vessels were sent to make a second attempt on *Guiaquil*, where they were repulsed with the loss of twenty-eight men. The miscarriage was owing to the inadvertency of some of the officers, and the rashness of the common soldiers, who, after their late success, imagined the *Spaniards* durst not venture to face them. It was indeed a very unnecessary and imprudent expedition; the town had been lately set on fire, the warehouses destroyed, and little could be expected if they succeeded; nothing truly sufficient to compensate the hazard of the attempt. Captain *Schutte*, that brave officer, whose spirited conduct had been the cause of the former success, had received a shot in the shoulder, which, however, did not make him discontinue encouraging his men. It was indeed extraordinary, that an equal force with that which had taken it, when the fortifications were complete, the garrison neither lessened by slaughter, nor dispirited by a defeat, should not now succeed against a place burnt, ruinous, and half the garrison killed. But this was attributed to the unequal abilities of the officers. *Schutte* was now in an inferior station; and captain *Emerson*, a man in capacity by no means his equal, had the chief command. The soldiers, who ever fight with courage under a brave officer, soon perceived the difference between the commanders; and, as if they would confirm their opinion by experience, suffered themselves to be shamefully defeated, by the remnant of that garrison they had so lately discomfited.

- c SEPTEMBER the 9th, in a full council, it was determined to lay aside their intended descent on *Chili*, and to bear away for *Acapulca*, as their instructions directed, there to cruise for the *Manila* ship. If afterwards the condition of the fleet would permit, they were to return to *Chili*. In pursuance of this resolution, they set fire to the town of *Puna*; after which they departed, bending their course for the *Galapagos*.

- d ON the 28th of *September* the fleet arrived before the harbour of *Acapulca*, where the admiral fell upon a stratagem, which he hoped would procure him intelligence of the *Manila* ship, and the time she was expected to arrive. He sent a message to the governor, importing, that he had made a great number of prizes in the *South Seas*, on board of which were some persons of distinction, now his prisoners, whom he would set at liberty, in consideration of a reasonable ransom, as he proposed to proceed to the *East Indies*. He therefore desired that an officer might be sent on board his fleet, to treat with him; for whose security he was ready to send another as a pledge for his return. To this message the governor answered, that he neither would give or receive hostages; but if the admiral had any such prisoners, and would send them on shore, he should faithfully be paid the ransom. Thus the admiral's scheme was disappointed, and the treaty broke off.

It was then resolved to cruise about the coast for the *Acapulca* ship; and, to prevent her passing unnoticed, the fleet was ordered to extend itself in as long a line, and take in as great a compass of the ocean, as possible. But after spending several weeks, the admiral was compelled by the crazy condition of the fleet to bear away at length to the *East Indies*, without effecting his purpose. *The fleet sails to the East Indies.*

- e ON the 5th of *March* following, the admiral arrived at the *Moluccas*, where, after concerting measures with the governors of the different settlements, he left his fleet to be employed in the service of the *East India* company, and make conquests there; himself taking his passage to *Europe* in a homeward-bound ship, on board of which he died.

- f IN this manner ended the celebrated and much-talked of expedition of the *Nassau* fleet; a fleet so powerful as to raise the hopes of all men, and so unsuccessful as only to disappoint them. Hence it appears that neither unforeseen untoward accidents, nor want of force, but want of conduct, frustrated the great views of the States and prince *Maurice*. We may conclude likewise from hence, that however able and expeditious the *Hollanders* might be in equipping a squadron, yet that they were certainly inferior to us in the knowledge of maritime affairs. To their Stadtholder they owed the spirit and alacrity with which such schemes were undertaken; but to him also they owed the miscarriages consequent on a wrong choice of naval officers. The enterprizes of private merchants were generally successful, because, in these, officers were preferred for their merit, not by interest. Of this the expedition of *Schouten* is a pregnant instance, which, though supported by a few proprietors only, was attended with a felicity that perfectly evinces the necessity of having merit the sole guide to preferment in enterprizes of such a nature. Had *Jaques Le Hermite* enjoyed a sound state of health, it is probable that many of the unfortunate occurrences of this voyage would never have happened; but first his long illness paved the way for misconduct, and his death laid it open to every kind of mismanagement. The intention of the voyage was laudable, and the scheme well calculated to distress the *Spaniards*, and promote the trade of the *United Provinces*; but the means were erroneous, and most of the instruments injudiciously chosen for the execution of such a trust. To pursue right ends by wrong measures is really more prejudicial to a state than the absolute neglect of them. The one makes the ends fall into eternal disrepute *Reflections on this voyage.*

disrepute with the people ; the other occasions only a temporary suspension of the endeavours ■
to attain them. Sir *William Monson*, an excellent judge of naval affairs, observes indeed, that
the situation of things in the *Spanish West Indies* was greatly altered from what they had been
when *Drake*, *Candish*, and *Spilbergen*, undertook their voyages ; but then it may be said, that
the first step which ought to have been taken was the obtaining undoubted intelligence of all
the circumstances of change and variation. Without this, no success could reasonably be
expected ; and so capital an error can never be pleaded as a sufficient excuse for their miscar-
riage. Admitting, however, that the *Spaniards* were fortified in a different manner from what
they had been when the former expeditions were undertaken ; yet still their strength was
insufficient to oppose and every-where baffle so potent an armament, had it been properly
conducted and directed. At *Guiaquil*, half the number under one officer took the place well b
fortified, which twice the force under another officer failed of taking, when these fortifications
were ruinous. After the death of the admiral, all their projects were unsteady, wild, and
ideal. The resolution of going from *Puna* to *Acapulca*, and then returning to *Chili*, was
absurd ; betraying equally their ignorance of navigation and the first principles of war.

BUT the circumstances of this voyage, which demand our greatest attention, are, the extra-
ordinary care taken of the fleet in the *East Indies*, and that it was not enjoined to return by
the *Streights of Magellan*. The first points out the great harmony and sameness of interest
between the States and the *India* company, the ships of the former being employed, without
any particular permission, in the service of the latter. The second is, the clearest proof that
the States General of the *United Provinces* did not intend that their exclusive charter to the *East* c
India company should prevent other ships from entering the *South Seas*, or even to the *East*
Indies, upon their lawful occasions, and without prejudice to the *India* company's trade. Had
it been otherwise, this fleet would, by their instructions, have been directed to return by the
Streights of Magellan. At that time it was presumed there was no passing from the south to the
north seas by the *Streights of Le Maire* ; and this voyage it was that shewed the fallaciousness
of that opinion ; as indeed daily experience does of many speculative points in navigation.

To conclude ; there breathes a spirit of freedom and republican boldness in the narrative of
this voyage, which we cannot but admire. Some countries there are where liberty is as much
the cry as in *Holland* ; yet had any writer censured the conduct of commanders, and laid d
open the causes of a miscarriage, with the same freedom our journalist has done, his labours
would have been construed into an affront to the administration, and resented, if not treated
as a libel. Certain, however, it is, that, in such countries, one miscarriage or false step begets
another, going on in progression, till either the constitution is altered, or the state undone ;
mischiefs these which deserve to be harshly treated, to have the public roused against them,
and to be better guarded against than any inconveniencies flowing from the free animadversions,
the acrimony, and even the lash of liberty, and the freedom of the press. Errors can never
be corrected, where it is penal to discover them ; nor is it possible that suspicion should be
avoided, where inquiry and scrutiny are discouraged. In the instance before us, it was not
only the total loss of the immense sum this expedition cost, but of their hopes also, of that
spirit which had been raised of indemnifying themselves from the expences of a consuming e
continental war, by a proper application of their marine in the *Spanish West Indies*, that dis-
appointed the people. The neglect of this incurred such a load of debt, that nothing could
have saved the state, but the alteration of the government, the suspension of the Stadtholder-
ship, and the frugal and wise administration of the *De Wittes*. The republic, without this,
must have sunk under corruption, and perhaps tyranny, after her long and glorious struggle
for liberty. She must have become the slave of a citizen, who, for a series of years, had
resisted the despotism of the most potent and haughty monarch of *Europe* ; and she must
have lost her power, her grandeur, and freedom at home, after having laid the basis of a great
empire in the most distant countries of the earth.

S E C T. XIV.

Containing the birth and education of Dampier; the variety of scenes he passed through before he wholly applied himself to the sea; his engagements with the buccaneers; their resolution to cruise in the South Seas; their arrival at the Gallapagos; Dampier's account of the tortoise; the descent of the buccaneers on the Spanish coast; Dampier's project for establishing a settlement on the isthmus of Darien; the buccaneers take the city Leon and Santa Pecague; Dampier's scheme for settling in the Philippines; an account of the Piscadores islands; and conclusion of the voyage round the world.

- a** AFTER this expedition of the *Nassau* fleet, there is a wide chasm in the history of the circumnavigators. Many voyages had been made on account of the *English* and *Dutch* companies to the *East Indies*; but these were performed by the route discovered by the *Portuguese* round the *Cape of Good Hope*. Several expeditions were likewise undertaken to the *West Indies*; but all these terminated on the north side of the *Streights of Magellan*, *Le Maire*, and *Cape Horn*. The first circuit which we find after this of *Le Hermite*, is that of captain Cowley, our countryman, who, from *Virginia*, sailed round *Cape Horn* up the *Spanish* continent, arrived at the *Gallapagos*, from thence at *Guam*, proceeded to *China*, then to *Borneo*, and at last to *Batavia*, where he quitted his ship, and took passage to *Europe* in a homeward-bound *Dutchman*. As this voyage contains nothing very entertaining or remarkable, we shall pass it over, to give an account of *Dampier's* voyage round the world; who, as he was one of the best seamen of his time, had a particular talent at rendering his journals agreeable and interesting. We have already mentioned him as one of the discoverers of the *Southern Continent*; at present we are to speak of him as a circumnavigator, although this voyage furnished him with the first hints and materials for the expedition he afterwards undertook to *New Guiney* and *New Holland*^a.

A wide chasm in the history of the circumnavigators.

Captain Cowley's voyage the same with Dampier's.

- b** DAMPIER's character has been variously represented, according to the different notions entertained by men guided rather by their passions and prejudices than by truth. His works appeared under great disadvantages; they were published in detached pieces, without method or order; wrote without the elegance of the scholar; obscure in some places, prolix in others, and every-where filled with promises of giving the world more accurate and explicit accounts. This naturally sunk the reputation of the book, and of the author; yet, under all these disadvantages, the voyages of *Dampier* will always be entertaining and useful to the judicious and thinking reader.

Character of Dampier's voyages.

- c** CAPTAIN *William Dampier* was descended of genteel parents in the county of *Somerset*, where he was born *A. 1652*. During the life of his parents, he had such an education as was thought necessary to fit him for a trade; but losing father and mother at a very early age, his guardians finding him of a roving disposition, much inclined to the sea, resolved to comply with his humour. *A. 1669*, at the age of 17, he was bound to the master of a ship at *Weymouth*, with whom he made a trading voyage to *France*. The following year he went to *Newfoundland*; but, pinched with the severity of the climate, he returned to his friends, much cooled of that ardor he had shewn for the sea. Hearing of an outward-bound *East India* ship from the *Thames*, his former eagerness recurred upon him, and he set out for *London*, entered himself on board the *John and Martha*, as a foremast-man, and in her made a voyage to *Bantam* in the island of *Java*; by which he acquired great improvement and experience. After his return, he entered himself, *A. 1672*, on board the *Royal Prince*, commanded by that brave officer *Sir Edward Spragge*, and was in two engagements that summer against the *Dutch*. He fell sick before the third battle, in which *Sir Edward* fell; being put on board an hospital-ship, he was no more than a spectator. Residing after this at his brother's house, colonel *Hillier*, a gentleman of a large estate in *Jamaica*, persuaded him to accept of the management of his plantations. With this view he went to *Jamaica*, in the spring of the year 1674, where he resided above a year; but disliking his situation, engaged himself among the logwood-cutters, at the persuasion of captain *Hodsdel*. He embarked for *Campeachy* in August 1675, and applied himself diligently to his employment for the space of a year; when, after sustaining a variety of hardships, he returned with great difficulty to *Jamaica*. He soon after returned to *Campeachy*, better provided for the business, resided some time there,

Birth and education of Dampier.

His first voyage.

He goes in quality of supervisor of an estate in Jamaica.

^a The whole account of this voyage is extracted from the first volume of *Dampier's* works; to which we refer the reader.

He enters upon the business of logwood-cutting in the bay of Campeachy acquainted himself perfectly with the manner of cutting and trading in logwood, which enabled him to form some projects for the advancement of his fortune. a

He enters with captain Cooke, and prepares for his first voyage round the world.

In *Campeachy* it was that he introduced himself to the acquaintance of the buccaneers, and acquired the first notion of a life in which he was afterwards engaged, and of which, it is certain, he lived to be very much ashamed. Hence we may account for his passing over in silence many circumstances in his first voyage round the world, which we find mentioned by captain *Cowley*. The accounts given of those two circumnavigators are in fact but the journals of the same voyage, written by different persons. *Dampier* made his first tour round the globe with *Cowley*; but as his journal is by much the most entertaining, we have given it the preference. *Dampier* arrived in *England* in 1678, and the year following set out for *Jamaica*, with intention to follow the logwood cutting and trading in the bay of *Campeachy*. This resolution he changed for that of purchasing a small estate; soon after which he engaged with *Coxon*, *Hawkins*, and *Sharpe*, all buccaneers, with whom he went upon an expedition to *Porto Bello*. It would engross too much of our time to recite the various transactions through which he passed as a buccaneer; sufficient it is, that the resolution was at length taken of making a voyage into the *South Seas*, which it was not doubted would sufficiently repair their fortunes, shattered and broken with disappointments. Captain *Cooke* was the projector of this enterprise, to which *Dampier* and others readily acceded. In this voyage it was, that *Cowley* acted in quality of master, although the true intention of the expedition was concealed from him. A *French* prize they had made was equipped for this voyage. They mounted her, according to *Cowley*, with eight pieces of cannon; but *Dampier*, with more probability, says with 18; it being unreasonable to suppose that, with eight great guns only, they would undertake an expedition of hazard to the *South Seas*. These two officers differ no less in the number of the hands on board; the first calling it 52, but the latter affirming the crew amounted to 70 able-bodied men. Such was the force with which they sailed from *Ackamack* in *Virginia*, on the 23d of *August*, A. 1683, steering directly for the *Cape de Verd* islands. Here they staid some time, which gave *Dampier* an opportunity of examining the islands with accuracy, and giving a minute and exact description of them. From hence they steered to the *Streights of Magellan*, first touching on the coast of *Guiney*, at the mouth of *Serborough* river, where there was an *English* factory, south of *Sierra Leona*. On *January* the 28th, they made the three islands of *De Weert*, in $51^{\circ} 25'$ south latitude, where *Dampier* prevailed on the captain to anchor, apprehending danger in passing the streights at that season of the year. The road, however, proving unsafe, and water being scarce, they weighed again, and by the first of *February* got sight of the *Streights of Le Maire*. With a stiff gale at north-north-west, they came within four miles of the entrance into the streights, when they were becalmed, and found a strong tide setting out of the passage to the north; but whether it flowed or ebbed, they could, from the irregularity of the tide, form no judgment. They next held their course to the south, in order to sail round to the south of *Cape Horn*, the southernmost point of *Terra del Fuego*. Passing through the *Streights of Le Maire*, they came up with a sail, which at first they took to be a *Spanish* merchantman, bound from *Baldivia* to *Lima*, but found it to be captain *Eaton* from *London*, bound also for the *South Seas*. d

They overtake and join company with captain Eaton in the streights.

An account of a Musqueto Indian that had been left on Juan Fernandez.

HAVING got safely through the streights, they arrived on the 24th of *March* at *Juan Fernandez*, where their first inquiry was after a *Musqueto Indian* the buccaneers had left there about three years before. When captain *Watling* deserted him here, the *Indian's* whole stock consisted of a gun, a knife, and some powder and shot. He had frustrated all the endeavours of the *Spaniards* to take him; and such were his activity, his wiles, and his cunning, that they began to look upon him as the apparition of some corpse on the island. When his powder and shot were exhausted, he sawed his gun-barrel into small pieces, which he made into harpoons, hooks, and other instruments, without the assistance of forge, anvil, or tools, besides those he had made out of a hard stone. With the instruments he made he used to strike goats, birds, and fish, upon which he lived plentifully. His hut, about half a mile from the shore, was made of goat-skins, his bed and clothing of the same materials. When the ship came to an anchor, another *Musqueto* on board, discovering his countryman, plunged out of impatience into the sea, swam ashore, and embraced him with all the marks of tenderness and affection. Both melted away in tears in each other's arms, after which the banished *Musqueto* came to salute his old friends, entering again into their service with great cordiality. e

Remark on the island.

DAMPIER describes *Juan Fernandez* very particularly; one observation he makes which we find in no other navigator. The goats, he remarks, that feed towards the west end of the island, are much fatter and better eating than those of the opposite extremity; yet in the last the grass is finer, and in greater plenty, the vallies equally well watered with sweet and pleasant brooks, and the whole circuit of the island but 12 leagues. Taking the fact for granted, we leave the phænomenon to be explained by the naturalists and minute philosophers. After laying for fourteen days at anchor off this island, they set sail, in the words of *Dampier*, for the f

g

the

- a the *Pacific Ocean*, properly so called, being that part of the *Mare de Zur*, extending, from south to north, betwixt 30 and 40 degrees south latitude. "Here," says he, "have I sailed for 250 leagues without any dark or rainy clouds, tempests, tornadoes, hurricanes, or any other winds except the trade winds. Yet the sea runs high at the new and full moon, and makes landing very unsafe. I have, however, frequently taken notice of heavy and foggy weather in the morning, so as to hinder the observation of the sun."
- CONTINUING their course eastward, or rather north-east, to the line, in sight of the continent of *America*, *Dampier* remarked, that the vast tracts of land belonging to *Chili* and *Peru* were exceeding mountainous; and that from 24 to 10 degrees south latitude it still exceeded the former in height, the mountains within the country overtopping those nearer the coast, and elating themselves into the clouds, far, in his opinion, beyond the celebrated peak of *Teneriff*. From hence he deduces the reason why but few, and those very small, rivers exonerate themselves into the sea, scarce any being navigable, and most of them dried up at certain seasons of the year. We must acknowledge, however, that we do not see the propriety of this deduction. All this while keeping company with captain *Eaton*, they descried a sail under latitude 9° 40' south, to which *Eaton* gave chase. He soon took her, and found *Eaton takes a prize*. she was loaded with timber, a commodity no-ways valuable to them in those parts. On May the 10th they anchored at the island *Lobos de la Mare*. Here they found nothing besides penguins in great abundance, and a species of blackbird which burrows at night in holes made in the sand. He describes the penguin and sea-fowl about the size of a duck, with membranous feet; a down instead of feathers, and very short wings. They are common all over the *South Seas*, the coasts of *Newfoundland*, and the *Cape of Good Hope*. Upon examining the prisoners lately made, they found reason to imagine they had been discovered by the *Spaniards*, although they had used their utmost endeavours to keep out of sight from the coasts. Hence it was concluded, that the *Spaniards* would lay an embargo on all the rich ships, to prevent their falling into their hands. This determined them to hazard an attack upon some place, which might compensate their disappointment of prizes. *Truxillo*, tho' a populous city, and of difficult access, *They determine upon attacking Truxillo*. was thought the most commodious; an attempt upon it was therefore resolved on. A muster were getting in readiness for a descent, three sail of ships were discovered at sea, to which they gave chase. On coming up with them, they immediately struck, their lading consisting of flour going from *Guanebagno* to *Panama*. In one of them was found a letter from the viceroy of *Lima* to the resident at *Panama*, intimating, that, having intelligence of some enemies lately arrived in the *South Seas*, he had sent him a quantity of flour to relieve his wants, and enable the garrison to stand out a siege. The prisoners acquainting them likewise, that a fort was erecting at the mouth of the harbour of *Guanebagno*; a piece of intelligence that made them drop the attempt on *Truxillo*. Their next resolution was, to bear away for the *Gallapago* islands, of which they got sight May the 31st. *Dampier* observes, that the hydrographical charts have not placed these islands enough to the west; yet have almost all the charts since his time retained the former situation, placing them in 181° longitude, and extending to 176°, according to which the longitude from *England* west is 68°. The *Spaniards*, the first discoverers, lay down the *Gallapagos* extending from the equator to five degrees north; but *Dampier* says they stand under and on both sides the line. He could discover but 15 different islands, some of which were seven or eight leagues in length, and half as much in breadth. Four or five of those situated most to the east were rocky and barren, without trees, shrubs, herbs, or goats, excepting a little by the sea-side. In the *Gallapagos*, *Dampier* found the tree called the *Dildo*, a species of shrub about the size of a man's leg, 10 or 12 feet high, without fruit, leaves, or any other excrescence than strong prickles from the top to the bottom. He found some fresh water in ponds, and the cavities of rocks, but no natural springs. Some of these islands he describes to be low, flat, and fertile, producing many trees and shrubs well known in *Europe*. The islands lying to the west are large, and produce a variety of curious trees, particularly the tree called the mammee-tree, remarkable for bearing an elegant kind of fig. These islands have also large rivers and brooks of fresh water, the sea breezes by day, and the land breezes by night, without intermission. Hence the air is purified, cooled, and refreshed, so as to make these islands more temperate and wholesome than most places so near the equator. When they approached the shore, they discovered a great number of tortoises sunning themselves at noon-day on the shore; upon these they fed during their stay. *Dampier* observes, that no part of the globe is so well stocked with guanoes and land tortoises as the *Gallapagos*. The guanoes are fat, tame, and of an extraordinary size. The land tortoises are so plenty, that an hundred men might live upon them a considerable time, weighing from 150 to 200 pounds, fat and delicate as a pullet. His description on this subject, being really curious, we will present it to the eaters of turtle in his own words: "the land tortoises here *A full account of the tortoise*. measure from two feet to two feet six inches over the back; whereas in any other place I never met with them above 30 lb. weight, though I have heard it said, that at *St. Laurence*,
- " or

“ or *Madagascar*, there are also very large ones. One is by the *Spaniards* called *Hackatec*, a
 “ which keeps chiefly in fresh water ponds. Their legs are small, necks long, their feet flat,
 “ and they commonly weigh betwixt ten and fifteen pounds. The second sort they call *Teno-*
 “ *pen*, much smaller than the former, and of a rounder make; but, for the rest, not unlike
 “ them, except that the shell on the back is naturally coloured with a curious carved work.
 “ Both sorts afford very good meat, and these last delight in marshy and low places, and are
 “ in vast numbers on the *Isle of Pines* near *Cuba*, among the woods. The tortoises in the
 “ *Gallapagos* islands are in shape like the first, with long necks and small heads; only they are
 “ much bigger. Upon the shoals there grows great plenty of turtle grass, which makes the
 “ chanel between the islands abound in that kind of sea tortoise commonly called the green
 “ turtle. Of sea tortoises there are four or five different sorts; the trunk tortoise, the logger- b
 “ head, the hawk’s-bill, so called from its long small mouth. The trunk tortoise is bigger,
 “ and has a higher and rounder beak than the rest; but its flesh is neither wholesome nor well
 “ tasted, any more than that of the loggerhead, which feeds on the moss of rocks, and bor-
 “ rows its name from its large head. The hawk’s-bill, besides its mouth, is likewise the
 “ least of the three. It is this that bears the so much valued shell of which cabinets, boxes,
 “ combs, &c. are made all over *Europe*. Of this shell each has from three to four pounds,
 “ though some have less. The flesh is but indifferent, yet somewhat better than that of the
 “ loggerhead; though those taken betwixt the *Sambeloes* and *Porto Bella* occasion violent
 “ vomitings and purgings in those that eat of them. It is further remarkable, that the flesh of c
 “ the hawk’s-bill differs according to their food; for those that feed upon moss among the
 “ rocks have a much yellower fat and flesh, and not so well tasted, as those that feed on grass;
 “ besides, their shell is not so transparent. These hawk’s-bill tortoises are in divers parts of
 “ the *West Indies*, and have their peculiar islands where they lay their eggs, and seldom inter-
 “ mix with any other kind of tortoises. However, these, as all other sorts, lay their eggs in
 “ the sand in the same manner. Their laying-time is about *May*, *June*, and *July*, a little
 “ sooner or later; and they lay three times each season, eighty or ninety eggs at a time, round,
 “ of the bigness of a hen’s egg, but covered only with a tough film or membrane of a white
 “ colour. In some of the bays on the north side of *Jamaica*, the hawk’s-bill turtles lay their
 “ eggs, as likewise on the bay of *Honduras*, and in divers places on the continent of *America*, d
 “ from *Trinidad* to *Vera Cruz*, up the bay of *New Spain*. After a sea tortoise gets ashore
 “ to lay, she is an hour before she returns, because she always chooses her place above high-
 “ water mark, where she makes a large hole with her fins in the sand, to lay her eggs in;
 “ which done, she covers them up two feet deep in the same sand she had raked out before.
 “ Sometimes they will take a view of the place before-hand, and be sure to return to the same
 “ next day to lay. They take the tortoises upon the shore in the night, when they turn
 “ them upon their backs above high-water mark, and fetch them away next day; but a large
 “ green tortoise will find work enough for two hearty fellows to turn her upon her back. The
 “ hawk’s-bills are also found in the *East Indies*, and on the *Guiney* coast, but I never met with
 “ any in the *South Seas*. The green tortoise derives its name from the greenish colour of the
 “ shell, which is better coloured than the hawk’s-bill, but has a round and small head; and e
 “ the body is of such a bulk, as to weigh from 200 to 300 pounds. Its flesh is accounted
 “ the best of any, though there is a considerable difference as well in the bulk as in the flesh.
 “ At *Blanco* in the *West Indies* they are larger than any in the *North Seas*, weighing generally
 “ 250 or 300 pounds; their fat is yellow, the lean white, and both very good. But those
 “ of *Boca Toro*, to the west of *Porto Bello*, are neither so large, nor have so white or well-
 “ tasted flesh; and those found in the bay of *Honduras* and *Campeachy* are less than these, and
 “ their fat of a greenish colour. I was told, that at *Port Royal*, in the bay of *Campeachy*, they
 “ caught one of these green tortoises which was four feet thick from the back to the belly,
 “ and six feet broad; a boy of ten years old went in the shell, instead of a boat, on board his
 “ father’s ship, then at anchor a quarter of a mile from the shore. The fat of this creature f
 “ yielded eight gallons of oil.

“ THE tortoises found on the little island of *Cuba*, on the south side, are some bigger,
 “ some less, and their flesh sometimes green, sometimes yellow. These are carried to *Port*
 “ *Royal* in *Jamaica*, where they are kept in weirs made with stakes. The green tortoises feed
 “ upon grass six inches long and a quarter of an inch broad, growing in four, five, and six
 “ fathom water. It is greatly different from the *Manatees* grass, which has a slender blade.
 “ The tortoises of the *Gallapagos* are a bastard kind of green turtle, their shell being thicker
 “ than the others, but their flesh not so good. Besides, they are much larger, and two or
 “ three feet thick, their bellies five feet broad. In the *South Sea* is another kind of green tor-
 “ toise, no bigger than the small hawk’s-bill. As they feed on moss, so their flesh is rank, g
 “ though fat. Both these kinds differ from all the rest; for, whereas in other places the
 “ female only goes on shore, and that in the night-time; among those, both the male and
 “ female

- a " female go together in the day, and retire together at night. Both are very fat at first ; but
 " when they are ready to return, they are lean, though the female not so lean as the male.
 " It is the common opinion that they are nine days engendering, the male on the back of the
 " female in the water. This is certain, that at that time he will not forsake her, who is
 " more timorous, and often endeavours to get away ; but that the male keeps her with his
 " fins, so that if you strike the *she*, at their first coupling time, you are sure of the *he*. They
 " are supposed to live many years, because they are a long time coming to their full growth.
 " In the *South Seas*, on the west end of the coast of *Mexico*, is another kind of green tor-
 " toises, much smaller than the rest, but their flesh well tasted. There is one thing extremely
 " surprising in all those creatures ; that for three months, while they are laying their eggs,
 b " they forsake their usual places of resort, and seek others where they lay their eggs ; and it
 " is generally supposed that they neither eat nor drink all that season. The most noted places
 " where they breed are, the island *Caimanes* in the *West Indies*, and the island of *Ascension* in
 " the *Western Ocean*. No sooner is their coupling time over than they are all gone ; though
 " it is certain they must swim a great way to come to either of these places, since it has
 " been taken notice of, that all the before-mentioned tortoises have been found at *Caimanes*
 " in breeding-time. The nearest place from whence they can swim thither is the island of
 " *Cuba*, about forty leagues distance. Those that breed at the isle of *Ascension*, coming from
 " the continent, must swim at least three hundred leagues, it being certain, that their places
 " of constant residence are always near the shore. Thus in the *South Seas* they go from the
 c " *Gallapagos* to lay their eggs on the continent, above an hundred leagues thence. It is farther
 " observable, that not all the tortoises leave their ordinary places at breeding time, but many
 " remain there ; and those that go are followed by great numbers of fishes, especially sharks,
 " so that those coasts are left destitute of fish till they return."

- DAMPIER, having staid twelve days here, acquaints us, that the ship then sailed, at the
 instance of a native of *Rio Leja*, to that place, which he affirmed to abound with riches. They
 took their course $4^{\circ} 40'$ latitude. With fair weather and favourable winds, they got sight of
Cape Blanco, on the continent of *Mexico*, by the first of *July*. On the coast of the *North Sea*,
 captain *Cooke*, who had been confined to his bed from their departure from *Juan Fernandez*,
 died, just as they were within a few leagues of land. Here *Dampier* observes, this is
 d extremely frequent at sea, people often dying within sight of that very object which themselves
 and all about them believed would be their cure. While the men were busied digging a grave
 for him on shore, three *Spanish Indians* came up to them, and expressed an impertinent curi-
 osity, which the ship's crew gratified in the manner most convenient, watching a fit oppor-
 tunity to seize them ; which accordingly was done, one of them however escaping before they
 got them on board. The others confessed they had come as spies from *Nicoya*, a small *Mulatto*
 town twelve leagues distant, which being a place convenient for refitting ships, the governor
 of *Panama* had sent advice to the admiral of the arrival of the *English* in those coasts. After
 a great deal of other intelligence, they added, that near this place was a beef pen, where the
 crew might provide themselves with as much beef as they pleased. This news being extremely
 e grateful to the seamen, *Dampier*, with twenty-three more hands, went in two boats in quest
 of the booty. One of the *Indians* led them to the place, where they found a number of black
 cattle feeding. Some were for killing three or four immediately ; others thought it better to
 wait till the next morning. Upon which, *Dampier*, with eleven more, returned on board,
 expecting the rest to follow. Hearing nothing of them, at four o'clock, the following after-
 noon, a party was sent to look for them. The boat was no sooner come into the bay where
 they landed before, than *Dampier* saw his comrades upon a small rock half a league from shore,
 up to the waist in the sea, and almost perished with thirst and hunger. There they had taken
 refuge against a party of fifty well-armed *Spaniards* that had assaulted them, and must soon
 have been lost by the flowing of the tide, had not the long-boat come so opportunely to their
 f relief.

- THIS transaction passed in the bay of *Caldera*, where, on the 19th of *July*, Mr. *Edward* On captain
Davis was elected captain in the room of captain *Cooke*, deceased. Next day, in company Cooke's death
 with captain *Eaton*, they steered for *Rio Leja*, where they arrived in three days. On their Davis is chosen
 approach to the harbour, they took a canoe with three *Indians*, placed as a watch on the little in his room.
 island at the mouth of the harbour, to give notice of the *English*, of whose coming the gover-
 nor was apprised. They observed at the same time on the continent a horseman riding full-
 speed, probably to give intelligence of their arrival. Thus finding themselves discovered, the
 attempt of the town was laid aside, and they steered their course for the gulph of *Amapalla*.
 This gulph *Dampier* describes as a large branch of the sea, entering eight or ten leagues deep
 g into the country. On the south side of its entrance is *Cape Caswina*, and on the north-west *St.*
 " *Michael's Mountain*, at $12^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude. Between these lie two islands, *Mangera* and
Amapalla, of a black, deep, and stony soil, producing large and lofty trees. The latter has two
 towns two miles distant from each other, both of them beautified by handsome churches.

Dampier remarks, that, in all his voyages, here only he saw the hog plum-tree growing close to the shore.

Land on the
island of
Amapalla.

Manners of the
inhabitants.

An accident
frustrates the
design of *Davis*.

CAPTAIN Davis being sent before with two canoes into the gulph, to procure, if possible, some prisoners, he landed at *Mangera*, where he took an aged priest and two boys, who were unable to fly with the speed of the other inhabitants. These he made his guides to *Amapalla*, marching up with them to the nearest town. The inhabitants who were assembled on the top of a hill, were ready to fly into the woods, but prevented by the secretary, an enemy to the *Spaniards*, who persuaded them that the *English* were friends, come to request their assistance against the common enemy and oppressors. Upon this, they bid *Davis* and his men welcome. After the first salutation, they proceeded to the church, the usual place of all public meetings, whether for consultations, mirth, or amusement. Here they keep their vizards, hautboys, strumstrums (a kind of cittern or guitar), and other musical instruments. They dance, sing, play, with antic dresses and gestures, the night preceding a holiday. *Dampier* observes, that their music has in it something melancholy, and expressive of the *Spanish* servitude under which they groan. When captain *Davis* found them all assembled, he endeavoured to excite them against the *Spaniards*, and was supported strongly by the priest. An accident, however, frustrated their endeavours; for, entering the church, a seaman happened to jostle an *Indian*, which the latter mistaking for a prelude to rougher usage, took to his heels, and was followed by all the rest of his countrymen. Captain *Davis* imprudently ordering his men to fire upon them, the secretary was killed, and with him ended the whole project. *Davis* returned to the ships, carrying along with him the priest, who advised sending for the *casica*, whose influence was the greatest now the secretary was dead. This accordingly was done, and that chief came attended by six *Indians*, who did them considerable service in supplying the ships with beef and fresh provisions. Our author remarks, that some years after a company of *English* and *French* landed at *Amapalla*, and went from thence to the continent, marching by land to the *Cape* river. At the source of this river, they made barcolongos, by which they passed into the *North Seas*. However, they were not the first discoverers of this passage, as *Dampier* observes; it having been found out by a party of *English*, who, thirty years before, went up the *Cape* river in canoes into the *North Seas*, and thence to an inland town called *Segovia*. This they effected not without incredible difficulty, and in no less than the space of a month, the cataracts obliging them to drag their canoes over large tracts of land. *Dampier* had often conversed with some of the men engaged in this expedition, and he imagines that captain *Sbarpe* was of the number.

Cape Blanco
the most difficult
point of
land in the
South Seas to
double.

The *English*
take and burn
Paita.
A project formed
against
Guiaquil mis-
carries.

On the 3d of *September* 1684, they sailed for *Amapalla*, and arrived on the 20th at the island *Plata*, situated in $1^{\circ} 10'$ south latitude, having now fallen in with the place where our author begins his voyage, after encompassing the whole continent of *South America*. On the 30th of *October*, they doubled *Cape Blanco*, the most difficult point of land in the *South Seas*, the spring current setting at north-west preventing the ships from standing to sea. November the 2d, they lay six leagues off *Paita*, sending their canoes manned with 110 men, to attack the town. Next morning they landed early, and made some prisoners, from whom they received intelligence, that the governor of *Piara*, with 100 men, had reinforced the garrison of *Paita*. The *English*, however, attacked a little fort on an eminence, and took it with little opposition, upon which the governor and inhabitants evacuated the town. The *English* soon entered it, but found it emptied of money, goods, and provisions. Here they staid for six days in expectation of having the town ransomed, but perceiving the *Spaniards* had no such intention, they set fire to it, and returned to the fleet. After this exploit they sailed for the island of *Rana*, to execute a project they had formed against *Guiaquil*. In their voyage hither, they took a bark laden with *Quito* cloth, a coarse woollen manufacture worn all over the kingdom of *Peru*. From the master of this vessel they learnt, that three canoes filled with negroes would come out the next tide. Upon this the *English* embarked all their men on board canoes, leaving only five men in the bark, with orders not to fire at any thing before eight o'clock next morning, by which time they imagined they would have taken the town. On their approach they met and took one of the barks with the negroes on board. By them they were informed, that the other two would not come out till the next tide. This determined them to push forward, and conceal themselves in a creek, in order to watch the intended barks. By some mistake the project failed, and, of the whole, they only took the two masters, as they were endeavouring to escape on shore. This miscarriage occasioned great confusion, as from thence it was concluded the town would be alarmed, and their scheme frustrated. Some were for returning to the ships; others, of which number was captain *Davis*, were for penetrating by land, and instantly attacking the town, before it could be put in a posture of defence. Accordingly, with fifty men he began his march; but, after four hours, was forced to abandon the attempt, thick woods and deep marshes preventing his progress. As the tide now answered, it was resolved to row up to the town, and, in case of their

- a their being discovered, to retreat with all possible expedition. At first only one light appeared, but, upon turning a point of land, a great number were observed, which some deemed a sure token of their having been discovered, while others were no less obstinate in the opinion that it was no more than certain orgies and ceremonies usual on the eve of a festival, as the following day happened to be. Captain *Swan*, and those who maintained the first conjecture, were upbraided with cowardice. A descent was therefore resolved on, and a landing effected about two miles from the town; but as the whole space to the town was over-run with thick wood, they were forced to wait for day-light. This circumstance, and the desertion of one of their guides, disconcerted the whole measure, upon which they retreated to *Puna*. In their way they seized upon the three above-mentioned barks, on board of which were no less than 1000 stout negroes. They kept 60 of these, and dismissed the rest; a piece of conduct which *Dampier* greatly blames, and exclaims against as an unpardonable oversight. They ought, *Dampier*'s says he, to be carried to *Santa Maria*, on the isthmus of *Darien*, to work the gold mines on ^{project for} that side. By erecting a fort or two at the entrance of the river *Maria*, and the assistance of ^{establishing a} their friends among the natives, of the *English* and *French* privateers, who would naturally ^{settlement on} flock in to them, they would be able, he is of opinion, not only to maintain themselves against ^{the isthmus of} all the power of *Spain*, but also to extend their conquests to the coasts and gold mines of *Quito*.

- After this disappointment, it was unanimously resolved, that after providing themselves with fresh water and provisions, they should proceed to *Lavelia*, a town in the bay of *Panama*.
c They steered to the river *St. Jago*, chusing this on account of its vicinity to the island of *Gallo*, abounding with gold, and affording good anchorage. This river they entered on the 27th ^{The English} of *December*, by the lesser branches, meeting with no natives for six leagues up, when they ^{enter the river} discovered two huts thatched with palmeto leaves. Soon after they saw several canoes of ^{of St. Jago} *Indians*, their whole families and household goods, paddling against the stream, but with great rapidity. In the huts they found a few plantanes, a hog, and some fowls. Not perceiving that there was any encouragement to proceed, they returned to the mouth of the river, proposing to pursue their way to *Gallo*, where they had appointed to meet the ships. *Gallo* is a small uninhabited island, seated under 3° north, in a spacious bay, three leagues from the river *Tomaco*. It is pretty high, and well stored with lofty trees; affords fresh water, and a good anchorage.

- d JANUARY the first, after making prize of a small vessel belonging to a *Spanish* knight, they seized upon a packet of letters going from *Panama* to *Lima*, to hasten the plate fleet, the ^{They intercept} armada from *Spain* being arrived at *Porto Bello*. This news made them determine to watch ^{letters which} the motions of these rich ships, and cruize off the pearl islands, by which all ships from ^{give them in-} *Panama* to *Lima* must necessarily pass. With this view they were under sail on the 7th, and ^{telligence of} the following day took a ship laden with flour. The 16th they took a prize off the pearl islands, bound from *Lavelia* with maize, beef, salt, and fowls. On the 20th, they made another prize laden with hogs, beef, fowls, and salt. During their stay at *Tobagilla*, they narrowly escaped being destroyed by a pretended merchant of *Panama*, who, under colour of ^{A plot of the} carrying on a contraband trade with them, had introduced in the night a fire-ship into the ^{Spaniards to} midst of the squadron. Some of the *English* suspecting the affair, hailed her to come to an ^{destroy the fleet} anchor, which she refusing, they fired at her. The crew, terrified at their being discovered, set fire to the train, and took to their canoes, which obliged the *English* ships to cut their cables to save themselves. Captain *Swan* likewise perceived an *Indian* upon a float coming towards him, which he suspecting to be loaded with combustibles, sunk it. The fireship was conducted by one *Bond*, an *Englishman*, who had deserted the buccaneers. *Dampier* says, that without his assistance they could not have fitted her out, all those of that nation in the *South Seas* being grossly ignorant of the art of war, especially in naval affairs.

- NEXT morning, while captains *Swan* and *Davis* were busied in recovering the anchors they had cut the preceding night, they observed a whole fleet of canoes pass the coast of *Tobagilla*.
f This proved to be a body of *English* and *French* privateers, who crossed the isthmus of *Darien* ^{They join com-} from the *North* to the *South Seas*. It was composed of 200 *French* and 80 *English*, the latter ^{pany with a} of whom were taken on board captains *Davis* and *Swan*, and the former put to man a prize. ^{large party of} With this force they sailed to the continent, to meet captain *Townley*, who, they were told, was likewise crossing the isthmus with 180 men; a junction with whom, they doubted not, would enable them to undertake great exploits. They soon met with *Townley* and his crew, in two *Spanish* barks laden with wine and oil he had taken. The whole fleet now amounting to nine sail, they went with confidence to their station, to watch for the plate fleet, of which they had an account by intercepted letters. They were 1000 men strong, had one ship of ^{They skirmish} 36 guns, another of 16, and the rest well provided with small arms. On the 25th they got ^{with the Spa-} fight of the *Spanish* fleet, which consisted of 14 sail, besides *periagoes*, or boats of 12 oars. ^{nish squadron;} The ships mounted from 8 to 48 guns, and had about 3000 men on board. Night coming ^{but are defeat-} on ed in their

design by the
artifice of the
enemy.

on before the fleets came near enough to engage, a stratagem of the *Spanish* admiral gained him the weather-gage before the morning, and rendered the engagement still more unequal. When the dark came on he hung out a lanthorn at his top-head, as a signal to anchor. This light he soon after took down; but in half an hour it appeared again, whence the *English* concluded that he remained in his former station. No sooner had day approached, than they discovered their mistake, the lanthorn being fixed to the top-mast of an empty bark left at anchor to the leeward, while the *Spanish* fleet was discovered on the windward bearing down upon them. Every thing being now in confusion, the *English*, instead of compensating their long toils by rich booty, were happy to get off, and save themselves by a running fight. Thus this great project, which had cost them so much pains in contriving, so many hazards, dangers, and difficulties, in pursuing, vanished in smoke. b

They take the
city of Leon.

AFTER this they encountered various dangers and disappointments, till at length they made an attack on the city of *Leon*. This city stands 20 miles up the country, in a sandy plain, the way to it from the sea being through a champain country, covered with long grass: 470 men were landed for this expedition, who marched up to the city, captain *Townley* with 80 chosen men leading the van. Advancing two miles before the main body, he drove a party of 70 horse back into the city, which he entered with little resistance: 500 foot and 200 horse were drawn up in the principal street, and made a shew of engaging, but, on *Townley's* approach, they were disconcerted with the courage of such a handful of men, and retreated precipitately, leaving the city in possession of the *English*, having removed every thing of any value. Next day the governor sent a trumpet, offering to ransom it; but the *English* asking 30,000 pieces of eight, he dropped the negotiation, and they set fire to the city, after which they retreated to their ships. The *English* took here a few prisoners, among the rest a *Spanish* gentleman, who was released upon his parole to pay them 150 head of oxen at *Rio Leja*, a promise which he punctually performed. At this latter place captain *Swan* and captain *Davis* parted company, the latter intending to return to the coast of *Peru*, the other purposing to proceed farther west. *Dampier*, being curious to see the northern parts of the continent of *Mexico*, quitted *Davis's* ship, and accompanied *Swan*. c

They make several descents
on the coast of
Mexico for
provisions.

BEFORE they left *Rio Leja*, their men began to be much afflicted with fevers, which they attributed to the remains of a contagious distemper that had reigned in the place before their arrival. On the 3d of *September* they weighed anchor, and steered a westerly course till *October* the second, when they endeavoured to make a descent upon the coast, in hopes of obtaining some refreshments; in which they were disappointed by the difficulty of landing. Some days after, captain *Townley* again attempted a descent near the harbour of *Guatulco*, but with as little success as on the former occasion. The troops indeed were fairly landed; but, after marching fourteen miles up the country, they could meet with nothing worth the trouble they had taken. The 23d, they landed again at *Port Angels*, in the latitude of 15 degrees north, where they met with store of beef and fresh water, as well as of hogs, maize, and poultry. The 2d of *November*, some canoes were sent to cut a ship out of the harbour of *Acapulco*, which they did without opposition. Captain *Townley's* vessel being extremely leaky, he exchanged her for this, which proved a stout ship and good sailer. On the 11th of *December* they arrived at *Cape Corientes*, in 20° 28' north latitude. The ship from the *Philippines* necessarily making this point in her way homewards, captain *Swan* resolved to cruise off here. The ships took their stations in such a manner as they imagined would render it impossible for her to pass unnoticed; but as the squadron was in want of provisions, 50 men were detached in canoes to examine what the country afforded. They returned the 17th, without any purchase. After this, captain *Townley* landed in the beautiful valley of *Valderas*, where his party was attacked by 150 *Spaniards*, who were soon put to flight, with the loss of their commander, and 17 troopers. The reward of this victory was no more than 50 bushels of maize, which *Townley* carried on board: an acquisition of great importance in the present circumstances of the fleet. After this the fleet came again before the valley of *Valderas*, where they killed a great number of black cattle, and fully supplied the whole squadron with beef; but, in the mean while the *Manila* ship escaped from them; a loss which was attributed to the obstinacy of *Townley*. *Dampier* launches out into severe invectives against this officer, which shews how much he was chagrined at the loss of so rich a prize. Hitherto they had a double design in view, either watching the *Manila* ship, or examining the coast for rich towns and mines; but the first intention being frustrated, discord arose; in consequence of which *Swan* and *Townley* parted, the former holding his course, and the other going back to the east. f

The fleet separates.

STILL *Dampier* kept by *Swan*, resolving to make a complete tour. Seven leagues north-north-west of the islands of *Chametty*, a party was landed in 24 degrees, where they were encountered by a party of *Spaniards*, who made but a short resistance. From some *Indian* prisoners made, the *English* had intelligence that the town which presented itself was called *Massatan*; g

- a *Massatan*; and that five leagues farther were some rich gold mines. The *English* were, however, so much distressed for provisions, that, neglecting the mines, they went in search of maize; of which they picked up a few bushels. This quantity not being sufficient for their purpose, they sailed towards the fine river of *St. Jago*. Entering it with their canoes, they rowed for some time, and then landed under a field where the natives were gathering maize. One of them they made prisoner, and by him were informed, that a few miles up the country was a town called *Santa Pecaque*, where they would find provisions. Thither the party immediately took their march, and entered it without opposition. They found here abundance of maize, sugar, salt, and salt-fish. Captain *Swan* directed that one half of the party should carry provisions on board, while the other defended the town; but receiving advice that 1000 *Spaniards* were on their march from *St. Jago*, about three leagues distant, to attack him, he ordered all the horse possible to be got together, on which he piled provisions, and marched with them to his canoes. Notwithstanding all their expedition, they were way-laid by the *Spaniards*, a great part of their provisions retaken, some of their men killed, and others made prisoners. Among the slain was Mr. *Ringrose*, who published captain *Sharpe's* journal, and a history of the buccaneers.

They take Santa Pecaque; but are way-laid by the Spaniards.

- c CAPTAIN *Sharpe* returning on board with the remainder of his men and booty, it was determined in a general council to sail to *Cape St. Lucas* in *California*, in hopes of a commerce with the *Indians* there, and consequently in the lake of *California*. This lake is a chanel, or part of the sea, between an island and the continent; but little known to the *Spaniards*, or else concealed by them, lest the other nations of *Europe* should discover that way to the mines of *Mexico*. They vary considerably concerning its situation in their charts; some make it an island, others the continent; but none of them give any account of the tides, the soundings, or the harbours near this lake; whereas their hydrographical maps describe the coasts towards *Asia*, on the west side of the island, from *Cape St. Lucas* to 40 degrees north. The vast distance of this country, and the reasons we have given, have prevented other nations from penetrating to the mines of *Mexico*. Several attempts have indeed been made for the discovery of a north-west passage; but if we may be permitted to offer our opinion, wrong methods have been taken. Instead of searching for the passage through *Davis's* or *Hudson's Bay*, we would think it promised more success by beginning the scrutiny with the *South Seas*, thence along *California*, and so a passage made back into the *West Seas*. The same rule might be observed in searching for a north-east passage; viz. wintering about *Japan*, *Corea*, and the north-east part of *China*, and hence taking advantage of the approaching spring and summer to go along the coast of *Tartary*, whence you may have time enough to reach *Archangel*, or some other port on those coasts.

The lake of California either little known or concealed by the Spaniards.

Proposals for a new method of searching for the north-east and north-west passages.

- e SAILING from *Cape Corientes* on *March* the 31st, they got sight of *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones*, on *May* the 20th. Having secured fresh provisions here, they steered for the *Philippines*, where they arrived on the 21st of *June*. Our author is extremely circumstantial in respect to the history of the *Philippines*, of which we shall here say nothing, having reserved that subject for another place. At *Mindanao* the author was present at the circumcision of the king's nephew, the son of *Rajah Daut*, which was performed with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. He acquaints us, that the natives were extremely urgent with the *English* to settle in the island, as a bulwark between them and the *Dutch*, whose cruelty and avarice they dreaded. *Dampier* is at great pains to demonstrate that a more prudent measure could not, in their present circumstances, be followed than establishing such a colony. They were provided with all kinds of artificers, carpenters, bricklayers, shoemakers, taylor, and also with convenient tools, arms, guns, and small-arms, sufficient for a beginning; and they might reasonably expect supplies from *England*, in the space of 18 months from their first settling. Captain *Swan* was invited on shore by *Rajah Daut*, who promised to furnish him with all the provisions he wanted; but desired he would in the mean time secure his ship in the river against the approaching storm. This the captain, after some deliberation, agreed to; but the river being narrow it was with great difficulty she could get a quarter of a league above its entrance. Here she was moored fast, and the inhabitants of the city of *Mindanao* frequently came on board, inviting the *English* to their houses, where they entertained them in a hearty manner with tobacco and betel. As for the captain, he was every day entertained at the *Rajah's* house, and boiled rice, fowls, and buffaloes flesh, given to such of his men as had no money. Notwithstanding these external marks of friendship, *Swan* began to suspect the *Rajah's* integrity and sincerity. This prince had been mean enough to borrow several sums of money of captain *Swan*, which he could never get from him. This, and many other doubts concerning his designs, determined the *English* to quit the island. *January* the 13th was appointed for their departure; but many of them, unwilling to leave the island, had dispersed themselves up and down the country, by the encouragement of the *Rajah*. A majority, however, were for quitting the island at the appointed time; and the captain not being ready to depart, they deposed him, chusing in his room

Dampier's proposal for settling in the Philippines.

captain *Tate*. *Swan*, with about 40 of the men, were left on the island, besides 16 they had a buried.

*A prodigious
size of bats.*

ANCHORING on *February* 3d in the latitude of $15^{\circ} 9'$ north, on the west side of the island of *Sebo*, they saw in the bay a low woody little island, inhabited only by a kind of bat of an incredible size, the wings, when extended, being seven or eight feet from pinion to pinion. Every night they took their flight to the great island, returning before dawn to thick haunts in this solitude. On the 23d they took a *Spanish* bark off the island of *Luconia*. A canoe came to them from *Manila*, offering to convey their letters to certain merchants in the town, who would be glad to carry on a clandestine trade with them. By these *Indians* they were informed likewise, that no less than thirty sail were lying in the harbour of *Manila*, *Chinese*, *Spaniards*, and *Portuguese*. The 23d of *March* they came to the island of *Ubi*, forty leagues west of *Pulo Condore*, lying near the south-west point of land that forms the long cape or promontory of *Siam*, called *Cambodia*. May the 21st, returning to *Pulo Condore*, some of the *English* going on board a *Malayan* vessel, ten of them were stabbed by the crew, of which wounds they soon died; however, it was not convenient for the rest to revenge their death. In *June* they arrived on the coast of *China*, anchoring at the island of *St. John*, on the coast of *Canton*, in $22^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude. After encountering a violent storm, they steered to the *Piscadores*

*They arrive at
the Pisca-
dores islands.
An account of
those islands.*

in 23 degrees north lat. Here they were civilly received by the *Tartarian* governor, who sent them refreshments and other presents; in return for which Mr. *Read*, now captain of the ship, sent him a silver-hilted sword, a carbine, and a gold chain. The *Piscadores* islands are in general high and rocky, with fertile and pleasant vallies, which, besides fine grass, produce plantains, bananas, pine-apples, pumpions, sugar-canes, potatoes, and some cotton. These islands afford fine brooks of fresh water, are well-stored with hogs, fowls wild and tame, with every other necessary of life. The natives are short, thick, round-visaged, with low foreheads, and thick eyebrows. Their eyes of an hazel-colour, and small. Their noses are flat and short, their lips and mouths of the ordinary size; their teeth white and regular, their hair long, lank, and black, and their complexion of a dark copper colour. They go always bare-headed, and the greater part wholly naked, with only a small bit of rag tied round the waist. Some have jackets of plantain-leaves, but rough as a goat's skin. The women have a short petticoat of coarse callicoe, of their own manufacture, reaching a little below the knee. Both sexes wear ear-rings of a yellow metal like gold, having its weight and malleability, but something paler in the colour. *Dampier* is doubtful whether, for this reason, and that he observed it lose its brightness, it be true gold; concerning which we, however, have no kind of doubt, as every chymist knows it to be possessed of the true requisites of pure gold, viz. its weight and ductility. As for the colour, it is adventitious, and may easily be given to artificial gold; but the other two qualities are what constitute its real value, and never yet could be imitated.

ONE experiment which *Dampier* mentions would seem, however, to contradict our opinion; it is the custom the natives have of putting it into a quick fire till it was red-hot, after they had besmeared it with a red earth or loam. By this means they refine it without melting, all the sulphurous particles flying off.

*R marks on
the Pisca-
dores islands,
with an ac-
count of the
natives.*

THE houses of the natives are small, scarce five feet high. They stand in little villages upon the sides of a rock, three or four rows one above the other. The rocky precipices seem to be formed by nature into different shelves or stories running parallel, upon which they build a row of houses, and a second up to them, a third and so on as far as the nature of the rock favours their design. Each row communicates with ladders set up like flights of stairs. By this they are not only exceedingly sociable, but secure; these ladders being removed, there is no access. Nor are they less expert in building their boats and larger vessels, of which they make great use, fishing being their chief employment and amusement. They never kill hogs or goats, but feed upon the intrails of such as die by accident or disease; even their skins they eat, after having burnt off the hair. Another extraordinary dish is in great esteem at certain seasons of the year; we mean a dish of locusts, which they take in their nets, and boil or bake in an earthen pan. *Dampier* says, that it eats deliciously; and perhaps it is prejudice only which nauseates the stomach of an *European* at the thoughts of it. Their common drink is simple and pure water; but at festivals, and all other extraordinary occasions, they use a sort of liquor boiled out of the sugar-cane, mixed with black berries. This they put into jars, suffer it to ferment, refine, and settle; after which it become a pleasant and strong wine, resembling in taste and colour our *English* beer. They call it *Bashee*, whence the *English* sailors called one of those islands by this name. *Dampier* says their language bears no affinity to the *Chinese*, *Malayan*, or any other language he had ever heard.

THEIR only weapon is a kind of lance, headed with iron. A sort of armour they use of a buffaloe's hide, without sleeves, close about their shoulders, reaching below the knee, and there about

- a about three feet wide; the whole stiff, hard, and impenetrable as an oak plank. *Dampier* could observe no kind of religion among them. They seemed to have neither idols, worship of any kind, laws, or government, except a certain family precedency, and respect which children paid to their parents, and young people to old men. However, he imagines that they have some laws established by antient custom; for he saw a young man buried alive for theft. The wife stands in great awe and obedience to her husband; insomuch, that our author suspects he has the power of life and death over her and her children. The boys are bred up to fishing, and the girls to working under their mothers in the plantations, which are smaller or larger in proportion to the family; no riches being requisite here, and nothing more required than to supply the wants and calls of nature. They are a peaceable, hospitable, and civil people both to strangers and to each other. During the stay of the *English* there, not the smallest difference arose either among themselves or with the sailors in the course of commerce, tho' there were not wanting occasions, had they been of a quarrelsome humour.

- After laying in a stock of fresh provisions, and making the necessary observations, they weighed anchor with intention to pass to *Manila*, there to cruise for the *Manila* galleon; but a violent storm disconcerted their measures, terrified the men from continuing in those seas, and determined the captain to bear away for *Cape Comorin*. Captain *Tate's* opinion to go round the east side of the *Philippines*, keeping south of the *Spice* islands, to pass to the *Indian Ocean*, prevailed. By the 29th of *December* they discovered two islands south-west of *Timor*, from which they stood off south towards *New Holland*. Here *Dampier* affirms, in the most positive manner, that no part of *New Holland* lies by forty leagues so far north as is laid down in all preceding hydrographical charts. His reasons are, that a shoal placed by those charts under $23^{\circ} 5'$ south-west from the east end of the island of *Timor*, did not appear to them till they had sailed fifty or sixty leagues further; and that they found the tides on the coast of *New Holland* keeping their constant course, the flood running north-by-east, and the ebb south-by-east. On *January* the 4th they fell in with the coast of *New Holland*, at $16^{\circ} 5'$ south latitude. His observations here are such as we have taken notice of in his voyage expressly made for discoveries in the *South Seas*. May the 5th they arrived at *Nicobar*, where *Dampier* quitted the ship, and took passage in a large canoe to *Sumatra*, whence he embarked in an *English Indiaman* to *Togaia*, from thence to *Madrafs*, afterwards to *Benculi*, and at last to *England*, where he arrived in *July* 1691.

Thus ended the voyage of the *Buccaneers* round the world; the reputation of which recommended our author to the favour of the most ingenious and public-spirited persons of the age. As the earl of *Pembroke* was the most powerful in his patronage, so were his professions the warmest and most sincere. His countenance chiefly it was that enabled *Dampier* to undertake the expedition we have already mentioned to *New Guiney* and *New Holland*. Although he had no command in the present circuit, yet the accuracy of his journals, and the genius he discovered for observation, gave him the chief reputation of it, and pointed him out as a person qualified for making discoveries in the *South Seas*.

S E C T IX.

Containing a concise view of the voyage round the world performed by Captain Woodes Rogers. Next an introduction to Mr. Anson's expedition round Cape Horn; the distresses he suffered in his passage; the loss of the Wager sloop, and misfortunes of Captain Cheap; the taking of Païta. The dreadful situation of the Centurion before her arrival at the Ladrões; the happiness the seamen enjoyed at Tinian; Mr. Anson's departure for China; his transactions there; his cruise for the Acapulco ship; the taking of the galleon; his second arrival in China; his visit to the viceroy of Canton; and lastly his arrival in England; with reflections on the voyage. To this account is annexed a short view of Admiral Pizarra's squadron sent from Old Spain to intercept the commodore; with the numberless distresses he encountered in his attempt to double Cape Horn.

An account of Woodes Rogers's voyage into the South Seas.

IN the year 1708, an expedition was set on foot by the merchants of *Bristol*, which terminated in a voyage round the World. Captain *Woodes Rogers*, an active, resolute, and vigilant officer, was appointed commander in chief of two stout privateers, well-manned and provided for a long voyage and desperate attempts. *Woodes* bore away for the *Cape de Verd* islands, where, by his courage, he suppressed a dangerous mutiny on board, sails for the *South Seas*, takes a prize, performs several gallant exploits on the coast of *Mexico* and *Peru*, arrives upon the coast of *California*, where he entered upon commerce with the natives; takes a *Manila* ship richly laden, after a warm engagement; he engages three other *Manila* ships, but, after a long struggle for victory, is forced to abandon the enterprize; he continues his voyage to *Batavia*, and thence proceeds for *England*, where he arrived in *October* 1711. This expedition was supported with abundance of spirit, and the plan so well laid that it could not fail of success. Captain *Rogers's* wound that he received in the first engagement was some impediment to his succeeding in the next; but the loss of so rich a prize as the *Manila* squadron ought wholly to be attributed to the great superiority of the *Spaniards*. There is a variety of curious occurrences in this voyage, that render it well deserving of the reader's perusal; but our limits will admit of no more than a brief recital of the contents. After this the voyages of *Clipperton* and *Shelvocke* were undertaken in the year 1719; but as we have already given a short account of these, we shall proceed to that of *George Anson*, Esq; in the *Centurion*, as commodore of a squadron of *British* ships (A).

The voyage of George Anson, Esq; with a British squadron, into the South Seas; with the importance of keeping open that navigation.

FROM the time that *Spain* possessed herself of the *West Indies* and the southern continent of *America*, it has been deemed a maxim of state, that the best way to reduce her power, and humble her pride, is by attacking her in the *South Seas*. This maxim was cultivated with great diligence and equal success, under the glorious reign of *Queen Elizabeth*. Even in that of her indolent successor, when a quarrel with *Spain* broke out in 1624, the first thing thought of by our patriots was an expedition either to the *West* or to the *South Seas*. The project was called the *West India Association*, supported and approved by men the most eminent for birth, opulence, and ability, of any in the nation. This scheme, however, shared the fate of most other public-spirited, bold, and honest projects of that reign. It was entered upon with vehemence, pursued with languor, and suffered to vanish into nothing, through indolence and corruption. The next rupture with *Spain*, which was under the protectorate of *Cromwell*, produced the same designs, but with effects as different as were the dispositions of *James* and *Oliver*. By this latter Father *Gage* was encouraged to publish his account of the *West Indies*; a circumstance which that active and enterprising usurper converted into immediate advantage; for, upon *Gage's* account, the project upon *Hispaniola* was formed, the consequence of which

(A) In the *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes*, we have, previous to this of commodore *Anson's*, now Lord *Anson*, an account of voyages performed by *Gentil de Barbinais*, A. 1716, by *Antoine Contova* in 1731, by *Lozier Bouvet* in 1739; and, subsequent to Lord *Anson's* in the year 1747, a voyage through the *Streights of Le Maire* was performed by *Henry Brignon*. As no-

thing, however, of any considerable importance appears in these expeditions, we shall proceed to that of Mr. *Anson*, and gratify the reader with as minute a detail of this curious voyage, as the nature of our design, and the limits of this work, will permit. For the rest, we must refer him to the general account digested of it from the papers of Mr. *Waiter*, by the ingenious Mr. *Robertson*.

a was the conquest of *Jamaica*; an island the most valuable perhaps of all the *British* colonies. After the restoration, notwithstanding *Great Britain* was on terms of friendship with *Spain*, *Charles* sent Sir *John Narborough*, in the year 1669, by the *Streights of Magellan*, into the *South Seas*. To acknowledge the truth, our privateers, *Sbarpe*, *Davis*, *Swan*, and others, were continually infesting *South America*; so that our seamen were no strangers at that time to any of the passages into the *South Seas*. It was then no unusual practice with the merchants of *London* and *Bristol* to fit out ships for these parts; but whether for the purposes of trade, or for the less fair but easier profits of privateering, is, at this distance of time, a point we cannot clearly determine. Whatever their purposes might have been, certain it is that frequent expeditions were made into the *South Seas*, and no complaints heard of the danger, fatigue, and

b hardships of such a voyage. This sufficiently evinces the necessity of keeping every branch of navigation open, if we would always preserve ourselves in a condition to secure and extend our trade, and maintain the reputation of *Great Britain* as a maritime power. After the revolution, several proposals were made, and received with approbation, for establishing a commerce in the *South Seas*. It is even beyond doubt that King *William* gave instructions to admiral *Bembow* to inquire how far any of these projects were practicable. On the breaking out of the general war in the reign of Queen *Anne*, all the world expected that the first thing the maritime powers would have tried, would be the effects a squadron would have in the *South Seas*, either for the service of *Charles*, the prejudice of the duke of *Anjou*, or the general advantage of the confederates. The *British* nation, in particular, was earnest that the war might be carried on

c in this way; and, to give them hopes, the legislature so far approved the sentiments of the people, that a bill was introduced into parliament, and passed by the house of lords, for the better carrying on the war by sea and land in the *West Indies*. It was, by ministerial craft, lost in the house of commons, and all designs of that nature laid aside, for reasons with which the public has never yet been made acquainted. The only expedition during the whole war was that of the *Duke* and *Duchess* ships, under captain *Rogers*, just mentioned. Clamours, on a change of ministry, were raised upon this head, and a sudden resolution was taken to secure all the advantages the nation could expect from a *South Sea* trade. This ended in erecting a company with the name and title, but without advancing the wishes of the people in their favourite scheme, by the manner of their establishment. The nation soon discovered that the

d company was an empty name; that other measures were wanted to bring this trade to any degree of height; and till more effectual methods could be taken, the merchants once more began to send privateers, which produced the voyages of *Shelvocke* and *Clipperton*. Hence it is apparent what the sense of the nation has been for a series of years, in regard to attacking the *Spaniards* in their colonies and plantations. One additional reason for sending a squadron into the *South Seas* concurred in the last war with the others we have mentioned; the nation had been long deprived of the liberty of sending ships, even in profound peace to the *South Seas*, which was not the case before the establishment of the company. It was therefore not surprising, that as soon as the last rupture with *Spain* happened, the general voice of the nation should dictate such an expedition, as might revive the navigation in the *South Seas*, and likewise affect

e the enemy in a tender part. Hence was it that so universal a joy spread itself over the nation at the time this enterprize was first undertaken, and a fleet for that purpose equipped. During its stay at *Portsmouth*, there was a most general expectation of its performing things of the highest consequence to *Great Britain*, and reducing the enemy to reason.

At *London* every one spoke of it as a design that must necessarily be attended with consequences highly advantageous, if properly conducted. Their hopes of success were raised to the highest pitch, when it was known that captain *Anson* was named to the command. He had, upon all occasions, shewn himself an officer equally vigilant in his duty, and moderate in the exercise of power; correcting the enormities of his inferiors by example rather than harsh reproof; by which he had acquired, in the course of his services, the esteem of the officers, and

f the affections of the seamen; qualities rarely blended in the same person, but justly ascribed to him.

The great expectations of the British nation from this expedition of commodore Anson.

ALTHOUGH his majesty's instructions to the commodore were dated *January* the 31st, 1740, yet he did not receive them from the duke of *Newcastle*, the principal secretary of state, before the 28th of *June*. Afterwards a variety of accidents continued to hinder his departure. On his arrival at *Spithead*, he found the squadron wanted 300 seamen of the full compliment; a deficiency that was not supplied till the latter end of *July*, and even then but imperfectly. Instead of 300 able sailors, his fleet was augmented by no more than 170 raw men, of which 98 were marines. To increase his mortification, 500 invalids, collected from *Chelsea* college, were substituted in the room of *Bland's* regiment of foot, and three independent companies of 100 men

g each, which he had been given to expect. Indeed as these out-pensioners are reputed to amount to 2000 in number, there was a possibility of being able to cull out 500 men capable of discharging their duty. But, alas! they had been before draughted; and, instead of rough hardy veterans, an aged, feeble, and decrepid detachment was sent to make the circuit of

The various
disappoint-
ments he met
with before
sailing.

the globe. The commodore was chagrined at the disappointment, and the old soldiers dis-
gusted at being thus hurried away from the repose their services merited, to perish by disease in
a long voyage before they could arrive at the scene of action. Many of them were above 70,
most of them exceeding 60 years of age, and all of them much fitter to spend the remainder of
their lives in the enjoyment of peace and tranquility than amidst the perils of storms and
the frowns of war. The consequence was, that above a third deserted, and their place was
supplied by 210 marines draughted from different regiments, being a raw undisciplined corps.
Thus the commodore's land-force was composed of young men, who knew not the use of
arms, or of veterans who had long lost the ability of using them. The squadron, however,
being put in the best condition that such circumstances would admit of, he made the necessary
dispositions for sailing.

THE squadron consisted of the following ships of war, and others; viz. (B)

The number
and strength of
this squadron.

	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
<i>Centurion</i> , —	Commodore <i>George Anson</i> ,	60	- 400
<i>Gloucester</i> , —	— — — Captain <i>Norris</i> ,	50	- 300
<i>Severn</i> , —	— — — — — <i>Legge</i> ,	50	- 300
<i>Pearle</i> , —	— — — — — <i>Mitchel</i> ,	40	- 250
<i>Wager</i> , —	— — — — — <i>Kidd</i> ,	28	- 140
<i>Trial</i> sloop,	— — — — — <i>Murray</i> ,	16-8	- 100-80
Tenders.		Tons.	
<i>Anna Pink</i> ,	— — — — —	400	
<i>Industry</i> ,	— — — — —	200	

were to attend the squadron till the provisions on board were so far consumed as to make room
for that on board the tenders, after which they were to be discharged.

He sails at
length from
St. Helen's.

WITH this squadron of six men of war, and a body of land-forces commanded by lieutenant-
colonel *Cracherode*, the commodore sailed from *Spithead* to *St. Helen's* on the 10th of *August*,
where, for want of positive orders, he was detained till the 18th of *September*, when, joining
another squadron under Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, he got under sail by ten that evening. It was then
observed, that no ships destined for the *South Seas* had ever begun their voyage at that season of
the year; yet perhaps in this remark was less truth than was generally imagined; for Sir *John*
Narborough, one of our best seamen, did not weigh from *England* before the 26th of the
same month. Commodore *Anson* tided it, and cleared the channel in four days, arriving at
the *Madeiras* on the 28th of *October*; a tedious passage, which made the seamen more cla-
morous against the dilatory proceedings that prevented their sailing several weeks sooner.

He arrives at
the *Madeiras*.

After continuing about a week at the *Madeiras*, in wooding, watering, and providing the
fleet with necessaries, the commodore gave orders for weighing. Previous, however, to this,
a small alteration was made in the command, owing to the ill state of health of captain *Norris*,
who obtained leave to return home. Captain *Kidd*, of the *Wager*, was appointed to the *Pearl*;
Mitchel, of the *Pearl*, removed to the *Gloucester*; *Murray*, of the *Trial* sloop, succeeded to
the *Wager*, and his ship was given to lieutenant *Cheap*. Just before his departure from the
Madeiras, the commodore received advice from two *English* privateers, that 10 sail of ships,
supposed to be *Spanish*, were cruising off to the westward. He sent one of the privateers in
quest of them, but she returned the next day without any intelligence, upon which the squa-
dron weighed to proceed on their course. The island of *St. Catherine's*, on the coast of *Brazil*,
was appointed for the rendezvous of the whole squadron, in case of separation. On the 13th
of *December* they crossed the tropic of *Capricorn*; and on the 19th had sight of the island of
St. Catherine's, after having lost a great number of men by the intemperance of the climate.
Many besides were confined to their hammocks, in calentures, past all hopes of recovery, and
some in a very languid condition with dysenteries, fluxes, and tenesmus's, the common attend-
ants on the recovery from a calenture. It was with great joy they arrived at a place where
they expected refreshments. They moored the ships, wooded and watered, cleansed the ves-
sels, examined the rigging, and, above all, took every precaution for the recovery and ease of
the sick, for whom a tent was pitched on shore.

Sickness in the
fleet which
greatly reduces
the crews.

THE season of the year growing every day less favourable for their passage round *Cape Horn*,
the commodore was very desirous of leaving the island, but was detained in securing the masts
of the sloop till the 18th of *January*, when he again proceeded to sea. After all the care taken
properly to refit the *Trial* sloop, she was still in a crazy condition. On the 24th, the head of
her mainmast being carried away, and her foremast sprung, she was taken into tow by the
Gloucester. On *February* the 8th the crews were put to short allowance, having two quarts
of water a day. On the 13th they found themselves off *Cape Blanco*, which at a distance

(B) Some accounts affirm that the *Centurion* had 513 Mr. *Walter's* account admits of. See *Harris's Voyages*,
men, the *Gloucester* 350, the *Severn* the same number; vol. i. p. 338.
in short all of them a greater proportion of men than

- a appears like a long table. Three days after they fell in with a sail, to which the *Gloucester* gave chase. It proved to be the *Pearl*, separated from the squadron by a hard gale some days before. She had been chased by five large *Spanish* men of war, from which she escaped by favour of the night. This was *Pizarro's* squadron, who had received so minute intelligence of every thing belonging to the *British* squadron, that by exactly imitating the red broad pendant of the commodore at the main-topmast-head, he had nearly drawn in the *Pearl* to her destruction. On the 18th the *British* squadron anchored in the bay of *St. Julian*, on the coast of *Patagonia*, situated in the latitude of 49 degrees 11 minutes south latitude, and in the longitude of 80 degrees west from *London*. The captain of the *Pearl* having died during her separation from the fleet gave room for another promotion. Captain *Murray* succeeded to the *Pearl*, and his command was filled up by captain *Cheap*, who had for his successor Mr. *Saunders* his lieutenant. There was a report through the fleet, that captain *Kidd* should, on his death-bed, have declared, that this voyage, entered upon with such high expectations, would in the end produce poverty, vermin, famine, and every other misery that could complete the measure of their destruction. But however current this rumour passed, it is probable that the prophecy, so unbecoming a man of sense and a seaman, had no foundation in truth. An *English* officer knows his duty too well to serve his country only for the increase of his fortune, or to breathe discontent and despondency amongst his sailors. This story, therefore, was probably forged by certain persons, as an excuse to colour their own ill conduct. Without doubt it was attended with unlucky effects, and the dejection it inspired contributed not a little to produce the mischiefs it predicted.

The Pearl brings him intelligence of Pizarro's squadron.

Some promotions in the squadron.

- THE squadron remained a week in port *St. Julian*, over-haling the rigging, receiving their proportion of stores out of the tenders and *Trial* sloop, and taking in salt. As no water could be found on that coast, the men were restricted to one quart a day, and three pints for the sick. The 27th the squadron weighed; but the *Gloucester*, not being able to purchase her anchors, cut away, leaving her best bow anchor and the third of a cable behind. March the 4th the commodore had sight of *Cape Virgin Mary*, at the entrance of the *Streights of Magellan*, bearing south-west-by-south. Immediately before their sailing a council of war was held on board the *Centurion* by the sea officers and colonel *Cracherode*, when the commodore acquainted them, that it was an article in his instructions to endeavour to secure some port in the *South Seas*, where the ships might be careened and refitted; he therefore proposed, that their first attempt should be on the town of *Baldivia*, the chief frontier of the district of *Chili*. To this proposition the council unanimously acceded; and, in consequence of this resolution, new instructions were given to the captains, directing them, in case of separation, to cruise off the island of *Neustra Seniors de Socoro* for ten days; whence, if not joined by the commodore, they were to proceed and cruise off the harbour of *Baldivia*. If, in 14 days more, they were not joined by the rest of the squadron, they were then to proceed to the island of *Juan Fernandez*, and to regulate their future proceedings by their former orders. But as the separation of the fleet might be attended with the worst consequences, each captain was enjoined not to keep his ship at a greater distance than two miles from the commodore. On the 6th they first saw *Terra del Fuego*, and the day following got sight of the *Three Brothers*, at the very mouth of the *Streights of Le Maire*. At length, after a continual series of hardships, and the greatest calamities that sickness, want, and tempests, could bring along with them, the commodore arrived in the *South Seas*. It would greatly exceed our bounds to relate every minute circumstance; sufficient it is, that fancy cannot picture to itself dangers more perilous, and distresses more pressing and severe than those the squadron suffered. Above 200 men were dead, most of the crews confined to their hammocks; those who were able to keep the deck were too feeble to be of use in working the ship; and the few healthy men that remained were pinched by hunger and thirst, and fatigued to death with continual watching, and the business of their respective ships.

Mr. Anson makes some stay in the port of St. Julian.

The commodore acquaints a council of the officers with his instructions, in consequence of which certain resolutions are taken.

Mr. Anson arrives in the South Seas, after an unhappy passage round Cape Horn.

- f APRIL the 19th they parted with the *Gloucester* and *Wager*, the latter of which they never again saw; an unaccountable accident, considering they had now better weather than any time since their passing the streights, and were but a moderate distance from *Juan Fernandez*. The *Centurion* and *Gloucester* were, of all the squadron, in perhaps the most pitiable condition; with hands scarce sufficient left to work the ships, the living were pestered with rats, and the most disagreeable animals. Their sick men had even their toes eaten off by that nauseous vermin, and their bodies miserably mangled by those rapacious enemies. On the 9th of June the commodore descried land, which proved to be the island of *Juan Fernandez*, a piece of intelligence received by the seamen with incredible transport. The *Centurion* was in an inconceivable state of debility, their water exhausted, and the officers without distinction obliged to assist in navigating the ship. But the emotions of the seamen are not to be described when they approached near enough the shore to behold the prospect of a pure limpid stream of fresh water that poured down in a crystal cascade from a rock an hundred feet high into the sea. The 11th they entered the harbour, being the same day joined by the *Trial*, which had lost 34 of her men

The Gloucester and Wager are separated from the squadron.

He arrives at Juan Fernandez.

men since their separation, and sustained hardships little inferior to those suffered by the *Centurion*. This island, which stands 110 leagues from the coast of *Chili*, is perhaps the only commodious place where *British* cruisers can refresh and recover their men after a passage from the *North Seas*, and where they may remain for some time without alarming the *Spanish* coasts. This rendered the situation of the commodore the happier, especially as he was to wait so long for the junction of the rest of the fleet.

The condition
of the crews.

HOWEVER eager their desire might be to free the sick from their loathsome confinement, and their own impatience to get on shore, they had not hands sufficient to prepare tents for their reception before the 16th. On that and the two following days, they were busied in landing them, the whole amounting to 179 persons, 12 of whom died in the boats, occasioned by the too violent pressure of the air upon their enfeebled and spiritless bodies. As this was a work of great fatigue to the few healthy men, the commodore and other officers lent their aid without distinction of station or quality. They now expected an immediate recovery to their infirm companions, from the happiness of the climate, and the refreshments the island afforded; but, to their great mortification, it was 20 days after their landing before the mortality ceased, or even abated. For the first 12 days they buried six or seven in a day, and those who promised a longer life recovered by slow and almost insensible degrees. On the 27th they had sight of the *Gloucester*; and conjecturing, from their own situation, what hers must be, sent a lieutenant with a few hands in the yawl to inquire into her condition. Captain *Mitchell* thought proper to detain the hands to assist in working his ship, not above 80 of his whole crew being able to keep the deck. He continued for a whole week off and on, within four leagues of the island, sometimes endeavouring to bring the ship in tow to the harbour, at other times changing this ineffectual measure for some other. At last, on the 10th of *July*, in spite of all his efforts, he was driven quite out of sight, when the people on shore began to despair of ever again seeing the companions of their misfortunes. On the 16th she was again within sight of the island, fired two guns, and made a signal of distress, having then but one puncheon of water left. This want the commodore immediately supplied by his boats, sending likewise wine and other refreshments. The 19th she was a second time blown off to the lesser island of *Juan Fernandez*, about 20 leagues south-south-west of the greater. Here the *Gloucester* attempted to send her boat on shore for water, having sight of several rivulets, but to no purpose. On the 23d they made the larger island once more, and that day came to an anchor; upon which the commodore dispatched some hands, to assist them in mooring.

The distressed
condition of
the *Gloucester*.

Four ships of
the squadron
still missing.

As the men on shore were now tolerably recovered, they diligently fell to cleaning their ships, filling water, cutting wood, and preparing for the prosecution of their voyage. Four ships of the squadron were still missing, which inconceivably afflicted the commodore, who represented them to his imagination in circumstances the most deplorable. Captain *Mitchell* having discovered an island called *Masu Fuero*, lying about 22 leagues to the westward of *Juan Fernandez*, it was thought possible that either the other ships might have mistaken this for the place of rendezvous, or at least have it out of their power to proceed further. The commodore ordered the *Trial* sloop to proceed thither, to see whether the event would justify their conjecture; but she returned without being able to bring the smallest intelligence. In the mean time the commodore ordered coppers for baking bread for the sick to be erected on shore; but it happened that the greater part of the flour was on board the victualler the *Anna* pink, which obliged him to shorten the allowance of the seamen.

The *Centurion*
takes a prize,
and is joined
by one of the
tenders.

SEPTEMBER the 7th a sail appeared in the offing; upon which the commodore, slipping his cables, gave her chase. The next day they lost sight of her; but soon discovered another, which they took, returning with her to *Juan Fernandez*. The prize was called the *Camilla*, and had on board, among other things, 140,000 pieces of eight. Soon after this they were joined by the *Anna* pink; but on her arrival she was found unfit for further service, unloaded, her rigging taken out, and condemned. After this the fleet weighed, in order to cruise upon the *Spanish* shore, having sent the *Trial* sloop before, to cruise in a certain latitude, till joined by the commodore. After the *Anna* pink there remained missing of the fleet the *Severn*, *Pearl*, and *Wager*, the other victualler having delivered her provisions, and been discharged before their arrival in the *South Seas*. These ships all underwent very signal disasters. The *Severn* and *Pearl* parted company with the commodore off *Cape Noir*, put back into the *Brazils*; whilst captain *Cheap*, in the *Wager*, seemed to have all the complicated misfortunes suffered by the rest of the squadron united and discharged upon his head. He had on board a few field-pieces mounted for land-service, some cohorns, several kinds of artillery stores, pincers, tools, and other materials, intended for the operations on shore. This made the commodore and captain *Cheap* extremely desirous, that as the enterprise at *Baldivia* was projected, every thing might be in readiness for the execution, if the squadron should rendezvous off that coast (B). As the *Wager*, with

An account of
the loss of the
Wager, and
the misfortunes
of Captain
Cheap.

(B) We have extracted from *Harris* the account published by the gunner and carpenter; an account which ought to be read with attention, and merits regard, as it stands uncontradicted by any future publication, except

- a this view, was making the best of her way to the first rendezvous, whence she proposed steering for *Baldavia*, she made the land on the 14th of *May*, and at half an hour past four in the afternoon struck upon a rock at about the latitude of 47 degrees south. The crazy condition of the ship, being little better than a wreck, prevented her from keeping off to sea, and entangled her more and more with the land, which occasioned the present misfortune. She was grounded between two sharp rocks, presently bulged at about a cannon-shot from shore, and was intirely lost, but not before the crew had time to escape to land in the boats, with a considerable quantity of provisions. They were now on a desolate coast, with every circumstance of horror presented to their imaginations; a deplorable state, rendered still more terrible by the ungovernable impetuosity, anarchy, and mutinous inclinations, which prevailed among the crew.
- b From this disposition followed those bitter revilings, those fatal diffensions, and malevolent humours, which nearly terminated in their total destruction. Captain *Cheap*, anxious for their general safety, and without any bias or partiality, resolved, if possible, to fit up the boats in such a manner as to bear the sea, and to proceed to the northward. As he had with him above 100 men, and fire-arms, he doubted not, if he should meet a *Spanish* ship, to be able to take her, and accommodate his crew better. The neighbourhood of *Chili*, it was probable, would furnish him with many opportunities of making the experiment; and this course he determined to follow: at least, whether he succeeded in his project or not, he stood a chance for falling in with the commodore. But, however prudent this scheme was laid, it met with obstruction from the greater part of the crew. As they were fatigued with the distresses and dangers they had already encountered, and allured with the delusive hopes of returning to their native country, they disrelished the pursuit of an enterprise already attended with so many disastrous incidents. Their common resolution, therefore, was to lengthen the long-boat, and with that, and the rest of the boat, to steer to the southward; to pass through the *Streights of Magellan*, and to range along the eastern coast of *South America*, till they should arrive at *Brasil*, whence they expected to find a passage for *England*. Although this project appeared unspeakably more dangerous and tedious than the other, yet did they persist in it with inflexible obstinacy. *Cheap* remonstrated first in gentle and persuasive terms against a resolution so ideal, and a proceeding so opposite to the first intention of the expedition. He afterwards opposed it with his authority, and with so steady an opposition as to incur their dislike and resentment; inso-
- d much that they insulted him with the most provoking scurrility and abuse. At last the long-boat was nearly completed, and every thing in readiness for pursuing their design; but, finding that the captain was likely to influence so strong a party as might frustrate their chosen project, they seized upon a favourable pretext to secure him from any such attempt. This was the death of a midshipman, fatally and rashly committed by the captain, on a suspicion of mutiny; an action we will not pretend to excuse, although it may admit of palliation on account of his ticklish and precarious circumstances. On this pretence he was confined, and threatened with being carried a prisoner to *England* (C), to be tried for the murder. However, when they were just ready to put to sea, they released him, leaving the few that chose to share his fortune no other means of escaping from famine, and the desolate island, besides the yawl and barge.
- e Thirty died on the island, about 60 went off in the long-boat converted into a schooner, and nineteen were left with the captain. Among these were Mr. *Hamilton*, lieutenant of marines, the honourable Mr. *Byron*, Mr. *Campbell*, midshipman, and Mr. *Elliot*, surgeon. That captain *Cheap* behaved with great spirit and firmness during this whole transaction, is a point not to be questioned; but it is a little extraordinary, that the same insolence of temper should appear in the midst of adversity as characterised the man in prosperity. Captain *Cheap* seems to be justly accused of governing despotically on board, without consulting his officers, or taking pains to acquire the affections of his people. His authority he constantly made the measure of their obedience, and this manner of acting he affected when shipwrecked on a desert island. Instead of encouraging the people to live in harmony and friendship, he shut
- f himself up in his tent, and thence issued out his commands with great loftiness, and a supercilious, if not ridiculous dignity; this at least is the charge brought against him by the gunner, which remains uncontroverted. He used gentle measures, it is true, to endeavour to dissuade

cept what the captain made in his own justification, where both were parties concerned. Certain indeed it is, that the captain's arrival in *England* set a different face upon matters; but as part of his defence was founded upon the denial of circumstances well attested; viz. the rendezvous at *Juan Fernandez*, it is still a dubious point how far his conduct stands acquitted. Without entering upon the merits of the argument, we shall briefly recite the adventure.

(C) A spirit of mutiny had appeared on board before either the project for returning to *England* was laid, or

the midshipman killed. First, a boatswain got a quarter-deck gun to bear on the captain's tent, the ball of which grazed over it without any damage. Soon after, eleven of them formed a design to blow up the captain, surgeon, and a lieutenant of marines, in their tent. They were discovered, and the train they had laid for their villainous purpose was an undeniable evidence of their intention; but whether the midshipman, Mr. *Henry Cozens*, who was shot, had been a party, was never clearly proved.

them from the project of returning to the *Streights of Magellan*; but it was after he had perceived, in other instances, that his authority was disregarded.

To return: captain *Cheap* and his associates, after the departure of the long-boat, proposed passing to the northward in the yawl and barge, but they were prevented from putting to sea till the 14th of *December*. They then began their voyage; and were, after many difficulties and struggles, in which they lost five or six of their company, forced to return to their former station, after having spent near two months at sea. It was the middle of *February* when they arrived the second time at the desert island, to which they gave the name of *Wager Island*, quite spiritless, dejected, and almost famished with hunger. Not long after their return, two *Indian* canoes happily came to the island, having on board a native of *Chiloe*, who spoke broken *Spanish*. With him they bargained, that, if he could prevail on the *Indians* to carry them to *Chiloe*, they should have the barge with all that belonged to her, in reward for their services. While the captain, officers, and surgeon, were on shore, the six of their surviving companions put off with the *Chiloan*, leaving them to the most melancholy reflections, without provisions, arms, or amunition, either to support them against hunger, or to defend their lives against any attempts which might be made by such *Indians* as should perchance stop on the island. But, while they were revolving the various circumstances of their calamity, they perceived at a distance the other canoe belonging to one of the *Indians* they had before seen. Convinced of the safety of his companion, he ventured on shore, took them on board; and, after a tedious passage, carried them to *Chiloe*, where they were entertained with the most humane compassion by the *Spaniards*. They had buried Mr. *Elliot* in the way, and now remained only the captain, lieutenant *Hamilton*, Mr. *Byron*, and Mr. *Campbell*. From *Chiloe* they were sent to *Val Paraiso*, and thence to *St. Jago* the capital of *Chili*, being every-where generously treated by those enemies against whom they had been sent. Here they continued for a year; after which, a cartel being settled, they returned to *Europe* on board a *French* ship.

Nor did the long-boat undergo misfortunes at all inferior to those the captain and officers had sustained. The miseries they suffered in passing through the streights are such as cannot be described; the reader may suggest to his imagination the sufferings of men labouring under all the rigours of fatigue, sickness, hunger, delirium, in which state they generally died laughing, their number being reduced to little more than a third, in which deplorable manner a few of the survivors arrived at *Rio Grand*, the rest being left by unavoidable accident on that part of *South America* stiled *Terra de Pampas*. Such is the account given by the gunner, Mr. *Bulkley*, who, with his companions, had a passage to *Portugal*, and thence to *England*, where he arrived *an.* 1743, after having received instances of the greatest kindness, humanity, and tenderness, from the *Portuguese*.

Mr. Anson
leaves Juan
Fernandez.

To return to the commodore: He proceeded after the *Trial* with the *Centurion* and *Gloucester*, who, after all the ease and refreshment procured at *Juan Fernandez*, were but in a weakly condition. The former had lost one half, and the other near two thirds, of her crew, since their departure from *England*. When the commodore weighed from the island of *Juan Fernandez*, the *Centurion* had but 214 men alive, and the *Gloucester* no more than 81; but the victualler being condemned as unfit for service, her hands amounting to 16 men, were distributed among the other ships. Thus the whole force of two ships of the line did not exceed 311 men, many of them of little use on account of their age, and the remnants of their late disorders; a number greatly below the complement of the *Centurion* alone, and consequently very insufficient to navigate two large ships in a hazardous and difficult long voyage, with all their vigour, experience, and courage. This unfortunate reduction was the more alarming, as they dreaded falling in with *Pizarro's* squadron, and had some imperfect intelligence of a force fitting out at *Callao* against them. However, in this condition it was resolved to sail down the coast, and touch in the neighbourhood of *Panama*, in hopes of being able over land to open a communication with the squadron under admiral *Vernon*. The commodore was, indeed, enjoined by his instructions to transmit, by any occasion he could, over land to *Porto Bello*, or *Darien*, an account of what he had done, or intended to do; and, lest any such intelligence should fall into the hands of the enemy, he had a cypher given him to correspond with whatever *British* admiral might be in the *North Seas*, or the commander in chief of the forces in *America*. He was likewise acquainted, by his instructions, of the destination of the troops sent to the *West Indies* under lord *Cathcart*; and was ordered, that, if those forces should go to *Porto Bello* or *Darien*, with intention to proceed to *Panama* or *Santa Maria*, to make the best dispositions to assist them, supply them with cannon, or any other necessaries he could spare, without too much weakening the squadron; and, if they should want soldiers, to reinforce them with those on board his ships, with consent of the proper officer. Imagining, therefore, that *Porto Bello* might be in the hands of the *English*, the commodore hoped, on his arrival at the isthmus, to procure an intercourse with the garrison, or some mercenary *Spaniard*, who might prefer his own private interest to that of his country, and gain to honour or honesty. He even flattered himself,

The design to
open a commu-
nication with
admiral Ver-
non cross the
isthmus of Da-
rien.

- a himself, that by this means, and settling with the commander in the *North Seas*, a prudent plan of operations, to take *Panama*, and thence obtain possession of the isthmus of *Darien*, and the treasures of *Peru*. Nor can it be denied, that, had the forces in the *West Indies* had the wished-for success, these views were the most rational that could have been concerted. *October* the 20th, 1741, the commodore, with his two prizes (for the *Trial* sloop had taken a ship of considerable value), were off the islands of *Lobos*. Two days after he saw a sail, to which he immediately gave chase, and took her; but the prize was of little value to persons in their situation, being loaded only with iron and plank. As he had a design upon the little town of *Paita*, so often taken by the *English* privateers, but now well recovered, and in a flourishing condition, he obtained all the possible intelligence he could from the prisoners, whom he entered with the utmost civility.

*He receives
advice of the
situation of
Paita, and re-
solves to at-
tack it.*

- b IN consequence of the information received from them, the resolution was adhered to. On *November* the 9th, he arrived before the place, and immediately prepared for attacking it. Before his arrival here, his crew was augmented by the hands of the *Trial* sloop, which had the misfortune to spring her mainmast; which accident, together with the crazy condition of the ship, induced the commodore to sink her. As soon as he came before the port, proper dispositions were made for attacking the place, from which they were not distant above five leagues. Unluckily, however, a vessel to which the *Gloucester* gave chase, got into *Paita*, and acquainted the governor of the approach of the *English* fleet; upon which all hands were employed in removing the treasure to *Paiva*, a town fourteen leagues within land. Notwithstanding the commodore received advice of this, he resolved to proceed in his design, and with all possible dispatch, in order to intercept a ship, on board of which the treasure of some merchants was shipped, who imagined it unsafe in the customhouse. Besides the treasure he expected, there was the greatest reason to believe that the ship might be supplied with abundance of fresh provisions; a circumstance alone that would render the attempt eligible. Another co-operating cause was the desire of setting the prisoners at liberty for an equivalent, as they were numerous, and made a greater consumption of the ships stores than those found on board the prizes were capable of supplying. Accordingly Mr. *Brett*, second lieutenant of the *Centurion*, had the command of a body of sixty men, embarked in three boats, one of 18 oars, each of the rest of eight oars; one of the *Spanish* captains being his guide. *Brett* kept under shore for the beginning of the evening; entering the port about ten at night, he landed safely with all his men, without being perceived either by the ships or the fort. Thence he marched directly to a little fort, which, had any conduct been shewn, he might have taken by surprize. This, indeed, was not owing to *Brett*, who did all in the power of a good officer to keep them within their duty; instead of which they shot at random, as any person, *Spaniard* or *Indian*, happened to move near them. By this the alarm was given, and several stragglers ran up to the fort, crying, *The English dogs are here!* Upon this the lieutenant hastened his march, and was conducted by the *Spanish* captain to the entrance of a narrow street, where he was securely screened against the fire of the *Spanish* fort. Hence he marched to the parade, a large square at the further end of this street, the fort being on the one side of the square, and the governor's house on the other. The shouts and cries of this animated detachment, joined with the noise of their drums, and favoured by the gloom of night, which never fails to increase the confusion occasioned by such a surprize, had augmented their numbers, in the opinion of the enemy, to at least 300 men. The inhabitants were so intimidated, that they immediately sought the means of flight, without a thought of resisting or opposing the danger. As *Brett* entered the parade, he received the fire of the merchants, and a few others, who ranged themselves before the customhouse; but this he returned so briskly, that they were put in confusion, and dispersed. He then divided his men into two bodies, ordering the one to surround the governor's house, whilst at the head of the other he marched up to the fort, with intention to force it. But, on his approach, he found it abandoned, the garrison having made their escape over the walls. By this time the governor's house was surrounded and taken, after he had escaped half-naked, leaving his wife, a lady of seventeen years of age, to whom he had been married a few days only, a prey to the *English*. She had, however, the good-fortune to be carried off in her shift by two bold centinels, just as the sailors took possession of the house. The greatest part of the inhabitants, surprized in their beds, fled in the wildest consternation and hurry; so that the few remaining in the town were no-ways formidable, and were easily dispersed. Thus the town of *Paita* was taken in less than an hour from their first landing, with no other loss than one man killed, and two wounded; though the honourable Mr. *Van Kepple* had a narrow escape from a ball that shaved his cap off close to his temples. *Brett*, after this happy success, placed a guard at the fort, another at the governor's house, and appointed centinels at all the avenues, to prevent a surprize, and to secure the effects against embezzlement. He then seized on the customhouse, where the treasure was deposited, confining the inhabitants he took in a church under strong guards. All his endeavours could not, however,

Paita taken.

ever, prevent the sailors from entering the houses in search of plunder, and covering their dirty jackets and trowsers with the embroidered silk garments of the *Spaniards*. Those who came last, not finding mens cloaths sufficient, dressed themselves in womens apparel, and made a most ridiculous motley appearance, when the drum beat for drawing up on the parade.

DURING the attack on the town, the commodore lay by with his ships till one o'clock in the morning ; after which, supposing the detachment landed, he proceeded under an easy sail to enter the bay. At day-light he had a view of the town, and perceived the *English* colours flying on the fort ; upon which he plied into the bay, and, at eleven, the *Trial's* boat came on board him, laden with dollars and rich merchandize, as well as church-plate. The commanding officer then made him acquainted with the transactions of the preceding night ; with which he was extremely pleased, only regretting the escape of the governor. He had particularly enjoined *Brett* to secure him, hoping by this to procure a valuable ransom for the town. Anchoring in the afternoon at about a mile from the town, he had a more immediate intercourse with the party on shore. Hitherto they had proceeded without molestation in removing the treasure ; but the *Spaniards* assembling from all parts of the country, having among them 200 horse well armed and mounted, began to make their appearance on a hill behind the town, where they paraded with much ostentation, founding their military music, and practising every art to intimidate the *English* to abandon the town. Their menaces, however, had no effect ; for *Brett*, as long as day-light continued, went calmly on in sending off the treasure and live-stock, of which there was by no means the supply that was expected. At night the commodore sent a reinforcement on shore, and the *Spaniards* continuing quiet, the work of the former day was renewed as soon as it was light. They were now convinced of what importance securing the governor's person would have been ; for, finding himself at the head of a little army, he refused all the terms offered by the commodore about the ransom of the town. He was in expectation of forcing it, as his troops were greatly augmented, and much superior in strength to the whole *English* squadron. This made him arrogantly despise the repeated overtures to him, and the menaces that, if he did not settle a ransom, the *English* would set fire to the place. However, the vigilance of captain *Brett* disconcerted all his schemes, and deterred him from making any attempts to dislodge the seamen. The treasure being all embarked, the boats were employed on the third morning in carrying off the most valuable effects ; after which the commodore released all his prisoners to the number of eighty, giving orders to captain *Brett* to set fire to the town, and make the best of his way to the ships. His instructions were punctually executed ; for *Brett*, finding large quantities of combustibles in the town, had them distributed in different parts ; so that, the place being at once fired in several quarters, the destruction might be more violent and sudden, and the *Spaniards*, after his departure, less able to extinguish it. After nailing up the cannon, he set fire to the train, and marched to the beach, where his boats waited ready to put off. The *Spaniards* perceiving his retreat, detached sixty horse to intercept him ; which might easily have been done, had their courage been equal to their advantages and number. The enemy marched down the hill with apparent resolution ; but no sooner had *Brett* ordered his men to halt and face about, than the *Spaniards* stopped their career, hesitated what they were to do, and at last permitted the *English* to embark, without firing a shot. The spreading flames had soon seized upon every part of the town, owing to a fresh gale that blew, to the lightness of the materials with which the houses were built, and to the proper disposition of the combustibles, till the whole was destroyed in one general conflagration. Besides a great quantity of rich effects, some live-stock, and other provisions, the booty in specie amounted to 130,000 pieces of eight, exclusive of two chests of jewels and household plate, and one of church plate. This plunder was equally divided among the whole squadron, as well those on board as those upon the attack, the commodore thinking this the most equitable and encouraging distribution. As to the *Spaniards*, their greatest loss arose from the burning the town, by which an immense value of rich merchandize, broad-cloths, silks, cambricks, velvets, &c. were consumed. By a representation transmitted to the court of *Madrid*, the whole loss was estimated at a million and a half of dollars. Besides the booty taken in the town, the commodore made a valuable acquisition in the harbour, where he found a fine ship, the *Solidad*, and five other vessels, fitted out with intention to defend the coast. The *Solidad*, being a fine sailer, he added to his squadron, giving the command to captain *Hughes* ; the rest he destroyed and burnt.

THIS exploit being ended to his satisfaction, he weighed from *Paita* on the 13th, ordering the squadron to extend the line as far as possible, in hopes of falling in with the *Gloucester*. With her they came up the next morning, and found she had taken a small bark, supposed at first to be laden with cotton only ; but, upon a strict search, they found several jars stuffed at the top with rags, filled with gold, the whole amounting to 120,000 pieces of eight ; a prize as welcome as it was unexpected. On the 26th of *October*, she fell in with another prize, which he likewise took, laden chiefly with *Piscaya* wine, but having also on board plate

The *Spaniards* assemble a body of men to recover *Paita*.

The governor refuses to ransom *Paita* ; in consequence of which it is burnt by order of the commodore.

The booty taken in *Paita*.

The *Gloucester* takes a prize.

a plate to a considerable amount. They likewise affirmed, that, in passing by *Paita*, they saw a smoke; but the commodore suspecting this to be a fiction contrived by the men to intitle them to a share of the plunder, he ordered the officers journals to be brought on board, and sealed up, directing them for the future to keep their journals in other books. As on inspecting the papers found on board the *Carmela* prize, the commodore was apprized of the unfortunate attempt on *Cartagena*, he laid aside his design against *Panama*, there being no prospect of a reinforcement cross the isthmus, and his own squadron unequal to the enterprize. He therefore resolved to proceed to *California*, or the adjacent coast of *Mexico*, to cruise for the *Manila* galleon, which he knew was at sea, bound to the coast of *Acapulco*, where she could not arrive before the middle of *January*. Before this time, he doubted not of being on a proper station
b to intercept this valuable ship; he therefore imparted his design to the crews, which was received with general approbation; every man indulging his imagination in the most unlimited prospects of the wealth that must accrue to himself from such a capture. As there was a
c necessity, however, for a fresh supply of water, he proceeded to the island of *Quibo*, where
all the squadron, except two prizes, which he scuttled and sunk in his voyage, arrived on the 6th of *December*. The *Gloucester* had likewise parted company; but they afterwards fell in with her on the 12th, as they steered for the coast of *Mexico*. She had sprung her top-mast, which disabled her from keeping to windward, and the commodore issued fresh instructions to the captains of the men of war, and commanders of the prizes, directing them to use all possible expedition in getting north of the harbour of *Acapulco*, where they were to endeavour to fall in with the land between the latitude of 18 and 19 degrees. Thence they were to beat up the coast, at the distance of eight or ten leagues from shore, till they fell in with *Cape Corientes*, off which they were to cruise till the 14th of *January*. Afterwards they were to shape their course for the middle island of the *Tres Marias*; and if then they did not join the commodore, they were, after wooding and watering, to proceed for *Macao* on the coast of *China*. They had little doubt of arriving soon at their station; but, by contrary
d winds, and a series of disappointments, they were prevented from obtaining this desirable end till the 28th of *January*. Their arrival now was too late to yield them any prospect of meeting with the galleon. This caused great uneasiness, especially as they remained in a state of suspense till the 19th of *February*. The *Centurion's* barge had been dispatched to discover the
e harbour of *Acapulco*; from whence she returned with some negroes the seamen had surprised. From those intelligence was received, that the galleon was arrived in port on the 9th of *January*; a circumstance that would have thrown the whole fleet into the greatest despondency, had not their hopes revived on hearing that, upon unloading and taking in fresh provisions and stores, she was to return; and that her departure was fixed by proclamation on the third of *March*. This last advice was received by the seamen with the utmost joy, as it was more eligible to seize her in her return than it would have been before her arrival. She was now freighted with treasure, before she was laden with merchandize; the greater part whereof could be of no use to them in their present circumstances. As they were now certain she must fall into their hands, all the crews were animated with the highest spirits and fluctuation of joy on so probable an event, which afterwards happily corresponded with their wishes, and repaid the fatigues and dangers they had undergone.

THE commodore's squadron now consisted of the *Centurion*, the *Gloucester*, the *Trial's*
prize, the *Camilla* and *Carmin*, all three taken from the *Spaniards*, and the whole fleet manned
with no more than 340 hands, boys included. Every necessary preparation for intercepting the galleon was made; signals and positions to be observed were regulated, the whole squadron lying in a sweep of 24 leagues, the cutters being within shore for closer observation, and the whole fleet impatient for a sight of this prize, which had so elated their hopes. At last the third of *March* arrived, and no appearance of the galleon. On the 15th the commodore began to suspect that he had been discovered, and consequently the ship detained in port.
f He therefore formed a project for possessing himself of the town of *Acapulco*, because he had no doubt but the treasure was lodged there till the ship was ready to put to sea. The place, he was sensible, was too well defended to afford any prospect of succeeding by open force. Besides the garrison and the crew of the galleon, the negroes had informed him that a thousand men well-armed had marched thither as guards to the treasure, when it was brought from the city of *Mexico*. Besides, had his force been equal to the attempt, yet a declared attack would frustrate the end of it, and give the enemy time to remove the treasure up the country, and beyond the reach of his power. The surprisal of the town was therefore the only means that could answer his purpose; and this was the plan he determined to act by. He proposed sailing in the evening, time enough to arrive at the port in the night; and as
g there was no danger on the coast, standing boldly for the mouth of the harbour, into which he might possibly enter before the *Spaniards* were apprized of his designs. As soon as he had entered the harbour, 200 men were immediately to be landed to attack the fort which defended

The commodore proceeds to Quibo.

He resolves to cruise for the Manila ship.

The strength of the squadron.

The commodore forms a plan for surprizing Acapulco, which he lays aside on further intelligence.

the entrance, while he with his ships were employed in battering the town with their cannon. ^a Such was the plan of operations, of which the commodore formed a general idea in his own mind; but when he came to inquire into particular circumstances, difficulties arose, which, being found insuperable, occasioned the attempt to be laid aside. On examining the prisoners concerning the winds which prevail near the shore, the commodore learnt, and their testimony was afterwards confirmed by the experience of the officers of the cutters, that near the land there was a perfect calm for the greater part of the night; and that towards morning, when a gale sprung up, it was constantly off land; so that sailing from their present station in the evening, and arriving at *Acapulco* before morning, was a thing impracticable. But as the whole project was formed upon an opinion unsupported by intelligence, that he had actually been discovered, the commodore determined to continue the cruize upon his present station, imagining ^b it possible that the galleon might still put to sea, and that she had hitherto been detained by other accidents than those he had suggested to himself. As the cutters had instructions to remain before *Acapulco* till the 13th of *March*, the squadron was ordered to keep the same position till that day; after which they were to make the best of their way for *Cbina*. This prolongation was a very prudent measure, and the only remaining chance for seizing a treasure for which they had so long waited in irksome suspense. On the 24th the cutters returned, without any intelligence of the galleon; upon which a signal was made by the *Centurion* to speak with the commanders. Upon inquiry into the stock of water on board, it was found to be very slender; by which they were obliged to quit their station, and procure a fresh supply. For this purpose, the port of *Chequetan*, being the nearest, was thought the fittest; to which ^c it was resolved to make all the dispatch possible. But that they might not intirely abandon all hopes of the galleon, the cutter to the *Centurion* was ordered, under captain *Hughes* and six of the best seamen, to cruise off *Acapulco* for 24 days. It was imagined that as soon as it was known the *English* squadron was at *Chequetan*, the galleon might venture to slip out. In such an event the cutter was to return with immediate notice to the commodore. In pursuance of these resolutions, they plied to the westward, and, by the 5th of *April*, were so near *Chequetan*, that it was thought expedient to send out boats to discover the watering place. They soon returned with advice of a place proper for the purpose, about six miles west of the rocks of *Sequatancio*; for which the whole squadron stood on the seventh. That evening the *Centurion* and *Gloucester* came to an anchor, though the other ships, having fallen to leeward, ^d did not arrive till two days after. Thus the squadron remaining at sea four months from the time they had left *Quibo*, arrived very seasonably at *Chequetan*, having only six days water on board. This port, situated about 30 leagues to the westward of *Acapulco*, lay at a convenient distance for favouring his designs on the galleon, and was secure against the incursions of the *Spaniards*, there being but one narrow path from the country to it. This he blocked up by a sufficient guard; so that his men wooded and watered with the utmost safety. As the country along the coast, extending to *Acapulco*, had the appearance of being populous, Mr. *Anson* was in hopes of being able to procure some fresh provisions, and other refreshments, of which the squadron was in great want. To facilitate this view, he detached a party of ninety men, well-armed, on shore. Fifty of these were employed in securing the watering-place. The ^e rest were ordered to march into the country, to discover some village, with which they were to set on foot a correspondence, if possible. They were directed to proceed with the utmost caution and circumspection, making as little ostentation of hostility as might be. He was sensible that no wealth was to be expected in these parts; and as to necessaries, they would be more readily supplied by an honest open traffick, than by violence and force of arms. But all his endeavours to gain this end proved ineffectual. The party, after penetrating ten miles into the country, returned wearied and jaded, without being able to discover one village.

He goes to the
port of Che-
quetan to
water.

The transac-
tions during his
stay there.

THE seamen found great difficulty in filling their water, owing to the smallness of the stream. This necessarily prolonged the time employed in this business. For their greater security, the commodore ordered trees to be cut down, and a barricado formed across the path leading from ^f the harbour through the woods into the country, as it was apparent from this pathway's being beaten, that it was not unfrequented. As soon as this defence was formed, the principal intention of which was to guard against any sudden attack, and prevent the sailors from straggling singly from their posts, proper centinels were placed upon it, and the strictest orders given them to suffer no person whatsoever to pass it. Notwithstanding this precaution, some of the men rambled into the woods, and one *Leger* in particular, a *Frenchman*, was kidnapped by the *Spaniards*. The *Spaniards* afterwards assembled in a considerable body, forming a circular line round the watering-place; but never ventured to attack the seamen. Soon after the captivity of *Leger*, lieutenant *Brett* was sent with two boats, and a detachment of 16 men, to examine the coast eastward, and particularly to observe the watering-place at *Pataptan*. As he was ^g preparing to land, he perceived, on the opposite side of the bay, three squadrons of horse parading it in a hostile manner upon the beach. Upon this he put off, and stood over the

a the bay against the *Spaniards*, who at first made some motions as if they would oppose his landing; but, on seeing him determined, changed their resolution, and retreated without firing a gun.

b THE commodore having thus unsuccessfully attempted to engage the inhabitants in an amicable traffick, contented himself with what his men could procure in the neighbourhood of the port, where they caught fish and tortoises in great plenty. Birds they likewise had in abundance, particularly pheasants; some of them uncommonly large, but dry and tasteless food: and the fruits and vegetable refreshments were neither plentiful nor excellent in their kinds. During his stay here, he unloaded two of the prizes of their most valuable effects, and then destroyed them. Soon after the *Trial's* prize was also condemned, which was indeed in good repair, but as the number of hands on board the whole Squadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth-rate ship of war, it was found impossible to divide them in three ships, without rendering them all incapable either of navigating or fighting with safety. The *Gloucester* was reinforced with the best part of her crew, and the *Centurion* with the remainder. After this the commodore and *Gloucester* weighed anchor, and, on reaching the offing, a canoe was left fixed to a grapple in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it well-corked, containing a letter for captain *Hughes* of the cutter. As the time limited for his return was considerably elapsed, he was directed to go immediately to his former station before *Acapulco*, where he would find the commodore, who would cruise for him there for some days; after which he would return to the southward to rejoin the rest of the Squadron. This last paragraph was added to deceive the *Spaniards*, if the letter, as happened, should fall into their hands.

c As now there was a vast tract of ocean to be crossed, without a single port to touch at, Mr. *Anson* was desirous of running off the coast as soon as possible. He had no further views in the *American* seas, and he expected to have met with no disappointments from steering to the westward the moment he had quitted the harbour of *Chequetan*. His greatest uneasiness arose from the long stay of captain *Hughes*, as he suspected the cutter had been discovered, and taken by the *Spaniards*; however, as this was no more than mere conjecture, he stood to the eastward, along the coast, in search of her. On the 2d of *May* he advanced within three leagues of the harbour of *Acapulco*; and then, seeing nothing of her, she was given over for lost. It was still the general opinion, that she had been seized; the commodore therefore sent

d a letter to the governor, acquainting him, that he would release all the prisoners on board, in exchange for the cutter and her crew. The letter was dispatched by a *Spanish* officer with a launch, and a crew of six other prisoners, who gave their parole of honour for their return. The wind being unfavourable, the ships were happily driven a great way from shore till the 5th, when they discovered the cutter. She had kept the sea for above six weeks, having been forced by a strong adverse current to the eastward, in spite of all their endeavours to the contrary. The crew had suffered incredible hardships, being so feeble, when taken up by the ship, as to be unable to stand (A). As the commodore now wanted no answer from the governor, he resolved to run off the coast with all expedition; but, not to deprive his prisoners of the liberty they were made to expect, he embarked them, being 57 in number, on board

e two launches belonging to the prizes. He then, in company with the *Gloucester*, made sail to the south-west, proposing to get a good offing from the land, where he hoped in a few days to fall in with the regular trade winds.

He sails from Chequetan.

The deplorable situation of the cutters, left to cruise off the harbour of Acapulco.

f FORMER navigators had always esteemed these winds more steady and brisk in this sea than in any other part of the globe, it being deemed no extraordinary passage to run in two months from *Mexico* to the easternmost of the *Asiatic* islands. It was not without reason, therefore, that the commodore flattered himself with a short voyage, his ships being as capable of sailing as any that had ever made that course before him. On the 6th of *May* he for the last time lost sight of the coast of *Mexico*, with a full assurance that in a few weeks he should reach *Canton* in *China*, where he hoped not only to meet with *Englishmen*, but to enjoy the pleasures of a well-frequented port, inhabited by a polished people, and abounding with the conveniences and luxuries of a civilized life; blessings to which, near twenty months, he had been a stranger. He stood far to the southward, in order to fall in with the trade wind, that being a point of the utmost consequence; but all his efforts, after repeated experiments, were for a long time unsuccessful, it being seven weeks from their departure from the coast of *Mexico*, before he came within its influence. But, besides this delay, there were other mortifying circumstances which rendered the situation of this unhappy crew as terrible as it had been in any

The commodore abandons his design upon the galleon, and resolves to steer for Canton.

(A) The crew were driven to the last extremity for want of water, being forced for the space of twelve days to drink turtles blood to quench their thirst. They never again expected to fall in with the commodore, and had given themselves over for lost, knowing they must in a day or two perish for hunger, or

fall into the hands of the enemy; an alternative no less dreadful to them than death itself; so injurious notions had they entertained of the pride and cruelty of the *Spaniards*; notions refuted by facts, to which they however were strangers.

of their former calamities. Both ships were extremely foul, crazy, and leaky, to a degree of a fatigue to the poor men, whose number and strength were unequal to eternal pumping. Besides this, the foretopmast of the *Gloucester* rolled to the board, and the cap broke in two. The foretopmast sprung in several places by the weight of the fall, breaking the foreyard in the flings; upon which she made a signal of distress, and was taken in tow by the *Centurion*. Before this accident, the commodore had got into the trade wind, which continued, without fluctation, to favour him from the latter end of *June* almost to the end of *July*. By the 26th of this month, it was concluded he had run above two thousand leagues, so that by calculation, he could not be above three hundred leagues from the *Ladrones*. A westerly wind now sprung up, which continued for four days; a dispiriting incident, that greatly increased their chagrin from the late accident: but, however mortifying these circumstances were, b they were only a prelude to greater misfortunes. The *Gloucester* was scarcely refitted, before a most violent storm arose from the west, which forced them to lie-to. At the very beginning of this tempest the *Centurion* sprung a leak, and received so much water, that all the hands, officers and others, indiscriminately, were employed constantly at the pumps. Nor was the condition of the *Gloucester* a whit more desirable, having her foretopmast again by the board, and seven feet water in the hold. This obliged her to make signals of distress, which the violence of the storm rendered the commodore unable to answer. As soon, however, as it was subsided, he sent his boat on board to inquire of captain *Mitchell* into the circumstances of his distress. The boat returned with a representation of her several defects, signed by the captain, and all his officers. From hence it appeared, that she had sprung a leak, which, c according to the report of the carpenters, it was impossible to repair at sea. The crew was greatly reduced, and of the survivors, who, officers included, were but 77 men, 18 boys, and two prisoners, only 16 men and 11 boys were capable of keeping the deck, many of these too being infirm. On perusal of this melancholy remonstrance, the commodore ordered captain *Mitchell* to put his men, and all the stores he could get while the ship could swim, on board the *Centurion*, with all possible dispatch. The removal of the stores and provisions gave full employment for two days; and she rolled so much, that it was with the utmost difficulty the prize-money could be got into the boats. Such prize goods as were on board, amounting to several thousand pounds in value, were given up as lost in the ship; nor could any more provisions be got out than five casks of flour, three of them damaged by the salt-water. The sick d were conveyed with all possible tenderness into the boats, yet three or four of them expired before they could reach the *Centurion*. In the evening of the 16th of *August*, every thing was got ready for destroying the *Gloucester*, and at eight the captain laid the train, but it was fix the following morning before she blew up. The scurvy was now so malignant on board the *Centurion*, that scarce a day passed but eight or ten of the crew were carried off by it, and those who till now had enjoyed a perfect health, began to feel the sad effects of this dreadful disease. On the 17th the *Centurion* sprung a leak, although it continued calm ever since the late storm. The carpenters at last discovered, that it was in the forehold on each side the stern, under the breast-hook; but, though the leak was discovered, the artists agreed, that it was impossible to stop it without coming at it on the outside, which was a matter not to be attempted till they arrived in port. All that was possible to be done within board was tried; and e so far succeeded, as greatly to reduce the leak. The *Centurion* was now in very great distress, her rigging worn and rotten, her hull crazy and leaky, her crew sickly, and diminished to one third of her complement; water so scarce, that the men were reduced to half a pint a day, and nothing to give them relief but their resignation, and the generosity and courage of the commodore, who animated them both by his discourse and practice, having given each man a pint of *Madeira* a day out of his own stores, to mix with their water.

He was now endeavouring to gain some of the *Ladrones*, in which he met with numberless disappointments from the adverse currents. This occasioned great dejection of spirits among the crew, who began to despair of ever again seeing land; however, a brisk wind springing f up on the 23d of *August*, soon cheered them with the discovery of two of the islands they sought for; a discovery attended with ineffable joy to all on board. *Anatacan* was the nearest of these islands, distant from them about fifteen leagues. With this they were extremely impatient to get in, hoping they should meet with anchorage, and the refreshments at least of water and vegetables; but the wind was so variable, that they could not reach within four miles of it till noon the following day, when boats were sent off to examine it. The return of the boats spread a general melancholy on board, by reporting that there was no possibility of anchoring at this island. The commodore, therefore, bore away, and lost sight of it on the 26th, the whole crew dreading that it was the last land on which they should ever fix their eyes. However, the following morning three other islands were descried to the eastward, at g the distance of ten or twelve leagues from them. These were the islands of *Saypan*, *Tinian*, and *Aguigan*. Their hopes began again to cheer up, and their former gloom to brighten into joy.

The *Gloucester* was damaged and burnt.

The deplorable condition of the *Centurion*.

Mr. Anson arrives at one of the Marian Islands.

- a joy. Steering their course to *Tinian*, the middle island, they discovered a proe under sail to *He arrives at Tinian.* the southward, between *Tinian* and *Aguigan*. Thence it was conjectured the islands were inhabited; and, knowing that the *Spaniards* kept a garrison at *Guam*, the necessary measures for their own defence were taken. That intelligence might the more easily be obtained, the commodore shewed *Spanish* colours, and hoisted a red flag at the foretopmasthead. By this stratagem, he hoped to give the *Centurion* the appearance of the *Manila* galleon, and to decoy some of the inhabitants on board. The scheme answered his expectation; for, in the afternoon, the ship being near enough to send the cutter on shore to find a proper anchorage, a proe, with one *Spaniard* and four *Indians*, put off to meet her. These were easily made prisoners by the cutter, and conveyed on board by the pinnace, while the cutter proceeded to
- b examine the soundings. The *Spaniard* being interrogated concerning the produce and circumstances of *Tinian*, his account surpassed their most sanguine hopes. He related, that though it was uninhabited, it abounded in all the conveniences to be found in the best cultivated countries; assuring them, in particular, that it afforded plenty of good water; that cattle, hogs, and poultry, ran wild in such numbers as were incredible, all of them excellent in their kind: that the woods afforded oranges of all sorts, limes, lemons, cocoa-nuts, besides delicious fruits, peculiar to the island: that, from the quantity and excellency of the foods produced here, the *Spaniards* from *Guam* used it as a store to supply their garrison; and that he himself was a serjeant of that garrison, who, with 22 *Indians*, had been sent to *Tinian* to jerk beef for *Guam*, which he was to load on board a small bark of 15 tons lying at anchor close by the shore.
- c Nothing could be more satisfactory and joyful than this account of the *Spanish* serjeant. They now found themselves at a delightful island, where all their wants could be supplied in the most abundant manner, their sick recovered, and their enfeebled crew be once more refreshed, and enabled to put to sea. The pinnace was immediately dispatched to seize the bark, and prevent the escape of the *Indians*, lest intelligence of their arrival might be had at *Guam*; and then, about eight in the evening, the *Centurion* let go her anchor in twenty fathom. The bark proved an acceptable prize, being laden with pork, beef, fowls, and fruits. Immediately preparations were made for landing the sick, and every hand employed in unshipping materials for tents and other conveniencies for them. At this juncture all the men capable of duty the commodore could muster, including those absent with the boats, and some negroes
- d and *Indian* prisoners, amounted to no more than seventy-one persons, most of these weak and feeble, unfit for any of the harder exercises of the ship, except on very extraordinary emergencies. Such was the reduction in the crews of the *Centurion*, *Gloucester*, and *Trial*, which, on leaving *England*, exceeded 1000 men, soldiers and sailors.

AFTER the *Centurion* had been moored in *Tinian* road, a party well armed was sent on shore to secure the landing-place. They found a number of huts which the *Indians*, employed in jerking beef, had abandoned on their approach, betaking themselves to the woods for protection. These huts were marked out for hospitals for the sick, who were immediately removed, to the number of 224 persons, wrapped up in their hammocks, eight of them dying in the boats before they reached the shore. The greater part were so feeble and

e exhausted, that they were carried from the boats to the huts on the shoulders of their companions, at which humane employment the commodore and all his officers assisted without distinction. The healthfulness of the situation, and the abundance of wholesome and delicate provisions of cattle, fowl, and vegetables, most exquisite in their several kinds, soon recovered the sick. Notwithstanding their extreme debility, they soon felt the salutary influence of the land. On the two first days they buried 21 men; but not above 10 more during the remainder of their stay, which was about two months. The diseased in general were able to walk without assistance round their tents in the space of a week, and such as had been less reduced were restored to their pristine health and vigour; nay, even the most healthy of the crew found an additional strength and stability of body from the freedom of air and exercise.

- f No sooner were the sick removed, than the carpenters were set to work upon the leak, which, after all their endeavours, they could not remedy till an opportunity offered of heaving down the ship. This could not possibly be done in *Tinian*, nor indeed was there one convenient port for the purpose in that part of the world. All that could be done, was, to reduce the leak, and patch it up in the best manner the circumstances would permit. By the 12th of *September*, several of the sick were so well recovered as to be fit for duty. These were therefore sent on board, and others landed in their room, to taste of the pleasures of this happy isle. The commodore, who was ill of the scurvy, had a tent pitched for him on shore, where he went with a view of establishing his health, being convinced by experience, that no other method but living on land, exercise, and fresh air and provisions, was a radical cure for
- g this malignant disease. As the new moons were approaching, when they apprehended violent gales, every precaution for the security of the ship was taken: provisions and water were every day carrying on board, the ship washed and scrubbed, and every thing by the 19th was prepared for their departure, which an unlooked-for and almost fatal accident retarded. The

The *Centurion*
drove to sea
from her moor-
ings at
Tinian, while
the commodore
is on shore.

The despon-
dency of the
crew left with
Mr. Anson in
Tinian.

The *Centurion*
discovered at
sea, and the
joy of the com-
modore.

new moon entered on the 18th of *September*, when, the *Centurion* riding safe that and the three a following days, the officers began to imagine themselves fully provided against all hazard by the measures they had taken. All three days they had hard gales; but on the 22d the wind blew with such fury from the east, that they soon despaired of riding out the storm. At this time the commodore, some of the officers, and 113 men, were on shore, so that in this dreadful extremity, they could muster no more than 108 persons on board, negroes and *Indians* included. All communication with the shore was cut off, there being no possibility of a boat's withstanding so violent a tempest. Thus the *Centurion* was obliged to ride it out till her cables parted. The sea broke with a terrifying noise round her, and, as the night came on, the violence of the storm increased. The ship was greatly damaged, and the crew thrown into the deepest affliction, from a consideration of the unhappy circumstances of themselves, and b companions on the island, if they should be driven out to sea. They despaired of being able to navigate her back to *Tinian*, should she even outlive the hurricane, which they thought by no means probable. In this distress lieutenant *Saumarez*, who commanded on board, ordered guns to be fired, and lights to be shewn, as signals to the commodore of his condition. At last, about one o'clock, the night exceeding dark, a strong gulf, attended with lightning and rain, drove the ship to sea, leaving the commodore, and others on shore, under the most dreadful apprehensions of spending the remainder of their days on this uninhabited island; whilst the crew on board, utterly unprepared to combat with the rage of seas and storms, expected each moment to be their last. The first bid adieu for ever to their country, their friends, their families, and all their domestic endearments: the latter had every other reflection c absorbed in that of their immediate danger. The former might be thought to receive some consolation from the plenty, beauty, and convenience, of this little *Indian* paradise; but the supposed loss of liberty threw a gloom over the whole scene which they lately admired with rapture, and every object appeared with a different aspect. Besides, they could not doubt but the governor of *Guam* must soon receive intelligence of their circumstances, in which case they could expect nothing more favourable than being made prisoners for life, and lose their freedom, without one circumstance of situation to alleviate the loss. From the known policy, and the imagined cruelty, of the *Spaniards*, it was to be supposed that the governor would make their want of commissions, which were on board the *Centurion*, a pretext for treating them as pirates, and hence for depriving them of their lives with ignominy. With these d melancholy thoughts the commodore, though apparently he ever preserved his usual composure and firmness, passed many bitter moments. He was fully persuaded, that either the ship would perish in the storm, or be unable to return; and that now all his views of distressing the enemy, and of still signaling his expedition by some important exploit, were at an end. To convey, however, some comfort to his company, the commodore, after consulting with the most intelligent persons about him, proposed to hale the *Spanish* bark on shore, to saw her asunder, and to lengthen her 12 feet, by which means she would be enlarged to 40 tons burthen, and able to carry the whole crew to *China*. Here he persuaded the crew, that they might probably meet with the *Centurion*; a hope that made them enter upon the project with the utmost alacrity. But their situation was in some respects still more distressful than that e of the *Wager's* crew, had not the imprudence of the latter heightened their misery. The *Centurion's* people had not the benefit of a wreck, from whence sea stores and materials might be drawn at pleasure; all was gone with the ship, and, in her, the best seamen and ablest hands.

As soon as the commodore had once banished despair, he entered into a regular deduction of whatever would be requisite for the accomplishment of his design. He assigned to every man his proper department, and took upon himself not only the business of a general supervisor, but of a workman too, supporting all the fatigue of even the meanest offices. His example was equivalent to the addition of a considerable number of hands; for, seeing their superior always busy, no man else had an inclination to be idle. This universal industry f attended with the happiest consequences; at the same time that it kept them employed in the main pursuit, it diverted their thoughts, preserved their spirits in a regular motion, inured them to action, and confirmed their health. This too was greatly forwarded by the behaviour of Mr. *Anson*, who was always serene, always easy, delivering his orders cheerfully, pursuing his plans steadily, so as to be in a condition either of supplying the ship with what was wanting to complete her stores in case she returned, or to finish in a few days the scheme in hand.

EIGHTEEN days were now elapsed since the *Centurion* had been driven out to sea, in which time the commodore's labours and projects were coming to a crisis. On the 12th of *October*, in the morning, lieutenant *Gordon*, of the marines, having accidentally walked up a hill, discovered the ship at sea, and running down hastily to the commodore, halloed in an ecstasy, g "The ship! The ship!" Mr. *Anson*, on hearing such pleasing and unexpected news, threw down

- a down his ax with which he was then at work, and, by his joy, broke through for the first time the equable and unvaried courage and steadiness he had hitherto preserved. As to the rest of the crew, they ran down to the sea-side in a kind of frenzy not to be described, or even conceived by such as were not partakers of it. Here they feasted their eyes with a sight they had so ardently longed after, and which for some days past they had despaired of ever obtaining. By five in the evening they could plainly distinguish the ship in the offing to be the *Centurion*; upon which the commodore sent off a boat with eighteen men to reinforce her, and comfort the crew with fresh water, fruits, and provisions. On the following morning she happily got to an anchor in the road, where Mr. Anson immediately went on board, and was received with the most sincere and hearty acclamations of the crew. Although, in encounter-
- b ing the difficulties and hazards to which the *Centurion* had been for 18 days exposed, she had lost but one man, yet were the whole crew excessively fatigued with the laborious employment of working a large ship without intermission, since the rise of this disastrous incident; for the day after leaving *Tinian*, the wind continued to blow a perfect hurricane, so that a fore-shroud and strap of the bobstay broke. A number of other accidents, only intelligible to seamen, succeeded this. On the 28th, the leak, which had been imperfectly patched up, broke open; the ship was filled with water, and both pumps kept in continual employment, till, on the 10th of *October*, she got into the road of *Tinian*.
- c THE commodore now resolved to continue no longer on this island than was absolutely necessary to complete his stock of water, which was immediately set about with the utmost diligence. However, on the 14th the ship was by a sudden gust of wind driven out to sea a second time, forty of the men, employed in killing cattle in the woods, being left behind. But as the weather was favourable, and the ship now better manned than before, they in about five days returned to the road, and relieved those that had been left behind from their fears of being again deserted by their ship. Indefatigable pains were now taken in securing the *Centurion* against a farther accident, and getting on board the stores. By the twentieth of *October*, she had fifty tons of water, which was judged sufficient for a passage to *Macao*. Having gathered a great quantity of oranges, limes, lemons, cocoa-nuts, and other fruits of the island, the commodore set fire to the *Spanish* bark and proe, and got under sail, steering directly for *Macao*, not without some regret at leaving this beautiful and enchanting island.
- d As the wind proved very favourable, the *Centurion* ran near fifty leagues a day; but, a high hollow sea pursuing her, the leak was increased, and great damage ensued to the rigging, which was now entirely rotten. However, as the crew were happily in full health, and strength, they were able to support the fatigue consequent on such circumstances with cheerfulness. All went through their several parts without murmuring or complaint. On the 4th of *November*, they were off the south-east end of the island of *Formosa*, which they could just discover, being 476 leagues to the westward of *Tinian*, and 33 leagues to the eastward of *Canton* in *China*. On the 5th they made the coast of *China*, but did not arrive at *Macao* before the 12th, when they happily anchored in the road of that city. The day before their arrival, the ship ran aground, through the ignorance of the *Chinese* pilots on board, who were unacquainted with the soundings, and the depth of water the ship required. We shall pass over the description of this city and island in the mouth of the river *Ta*, as the reader will find it in another part of this work. As soon as the commodore was arrived in an amicable port, after a tedious and unfortunate voyage of near two years duration, the whole crew resumed their wonted spirits, joy was spread over every countenance, and mirth and jollity now prevailed where but lately despair and sorrow reigned. Here they found a civilized people, a place abounding with all the conveniencies and luxuries of life; and what above all contributed to their satisfaction was, that they were in a well-frequented sea-port, where they imagined their rigging might be repaired, their ship refitted, and rendered capable of prosecuting her voyage to *Europe*. The river *Ta* is the only *Chinese* port universally frequented by *Europeans*, and on many accounts, a more commodious harbour than *Macao*; but the peculiar customs of the *Chinese*, solely adapted to commercial affairs, made the commodore apprehensive lest he should embroil the *East India* company in disputes with the natives, if he insisted upon being treated on a different footing than the merchantmen. This made him determine rather to go to *Macao* than proceed up the river *Ta*. It is certain that he could have nothing to fear besides laying the *British* trade under some inconvenience, as the *Centurion* might have entered the river, and even the port of *Canton*, in defiance of the naval power of the whole *Chinese* empire. It was well known that the *Chinese* exacted a duty from all ships entering the river *Ta*, in proportion to their tonnage. As they were strangers to the privileges due to kings ships, who are exempted in all foreign harbours from every kind of port-charge, Mr. Anson thought it would derogate from the dignity of the *British* flag, to submit to this duty in *China*. On his coming, therefore, to an anchor before *Macao*, he dispatched an officer, with his compliments to the *Portuguese* governor, requesting his advice in what manner it would be proper to

The distressed circumstances of the Centurion.

The Centurion driven to sea a second time. Her return, and the commodore's resolution to depart from Tinian.

Mr. Anson arrives at Macao.

His resolution not to pay the customs exacted from merchant ships.

ast to avoid giving offence. In the evening, the governor sent two officers to the commo- a
dore, to acquaint him, that if the *Centurion* entered the river, it was his opinion the duty
would be expected; and therefore, if the commodore approved of it, he would send him a
pilot who should conduct him into another safe harbour called *Tyfa*, about two leagues from
Macao, and every way commodious for refitting the ship: here, he said, in all probability,
the duty would not be demanded. Mr. *Anson* acceded to this proposal, and weighed anchor
under the auspices of the *Portuguese* pilot, steering for the harbour of *Tyfa*. On his arrival
here, he paid a visit to the *Portuguese* governor, soliciting him to grant a supply of provisions,

He received ci-
vilities from
the Portu-
guese gover-
nor.

and such naval stores as were wanted for refitting the ship. He was assured in a friendly
manner by the governor, that he would clandestinely afford him all the assistance in his power;
but frankly acknowledged, that, to serve him effectually, an order from the viceroy was neces- b
sary, since the *Portuguese* authority was but subordinate, and subject to controul. Upon this
declaration, Mr. *Anson* repaired immediately to *Canton*, to visit the viceroy in person. Here
he found four *English* *Indiamen*, and seven other *European* ships. Upon consulting the *English*
supercargoes and officers concerning the manner of procuring the order he wanted, they
recommended to him their own method of transacting all matters relating to the government,
which was, by the mediation of the chief *Chinese* merchants. Upon application to them, they
seemed willing to negotiate the business, and confident of success; but, after keeping the
commodore in suspense for near a month, with ingenious and well feigned excuses, they at last
avowed their perfidy, and acknowledged that they neither had nor could apply to the viceroy.

He goes to
Canton, to
solicit the
viceroy for
stores and pro-
visions.

Mr. *Anson*, now assured that nothing could be effected by the interposition of the merchants, c
returned on board his ship, which he found in a condition totally unfit for the sea, before she
was thoroughly refitted. Determining, therefore, at all events, to have this brought about,
he wrote a letter to the viceroy, acquainting him, that he was the king of *Great Britain's*
admiral, with the circumstances which had brought him into *China*, the condition of his ship,
and his want of provisions. He desired immediate orders for refitting his ship, and for stores
and provisions, that he might be enabled to pursue his voyage homeward. Two days after,

The chief man-
darin comes on
board.

three mandarins, attended by a considerable retinue of servants and officers, on board eighteen
half galleys, finely ornamented, and accompanied with music, came on board the *Centurion* by
order of the viceroy, to examine into the condition of the ship. After inquiry, the chief
mandarin, perceiving that the commodore had given a faithful account of his situation, told d
him, that he should that night proceed for *Canton*, where, on his arrival, a council of man-
darins would be assembled, who, he doubted not, would speedily and effectually supply all
his wants. The commodore then acquainted him, that the custom-house officers at *Macao*
had forbid any provisions to be carried on board him, by which means the crew were deprived
of those refreshments, of the utmost consequence to the establishment, and even preservation
of their health, after a long and sickly voyage. This the chief mandarin undertook to
remedy by his own authority (B), desiring, at the same time, a list to be given him of the
quantity of provision necessary for the daily consumption of the ship. Under this he wrote a
permit, delivering it to one of his attendants, and directing him to see that quantity sent early
every morning on board; which order was punctually observed. e

An account of
the treasure of
the Gloucester.

On the 5th of *December*, the following account was taken of the treasure removed from
the *Gloucester* before she was destroyed; viz. a box of gold; a box with 1000 dollars; a box
with 3000 dollars; another box with an equal number of dollars, several jewels, and a bag of
bits; a box with 1225 dollars, forty-nine pounds of loose plate; and, lastly, a box with 17
pounds averdupoise of loose plate. Such was the equivalent the nation received for the loss
of a fine fifty gun ship, and near 300 men. After the mandarin's departure, the commodore
with great impatience, expected the resolution of the council, and the proper authorities for
refitting his ship.

The intrigues
of the French
at Canton.

The intrigues and address of the *French* at *Canton* for a long time delayed f
any determination, occasioned warm debates, and at length had nearly foiled all the interest
of the commodore, the chief mandarin, and equity itself, as well as the laws of hospitality.
The *French* had always declared their merchantmen to be ships of war, and their officers were
apprehensive lest any distinction paid to the *English* commodore should diminish the import-
ance they assumed, render them less considerable in the eyes of the *Chinese*, and establish a
prepossession at *Canton* in favour of ships of war, by which they, as trading vessels, would

(B) It was not till the viceroy had received Mr. *Anson's* letter that the *Chinese* had formed just notions of
the commodore's quality and commission. They had
never seen an *European* man of war, and were conse-
quently ignorant of the privileges granted to kings ships.
He was taken by the common people for a pirate, treat-
ed with a cold indifference, on his arrival at *Canton*, by
the better sort of people, while the lower class dreaded
and viewed him with fear, and even horror, calling

him thief and robber, both in *Chinese* and broken *Por-
tuguese*. The day after his departure from *Canton*, a
Chiampan, or guard-boat, anchored close by the *Gen-
turion*, to observe her motions. Had not the *English*
merchants belonging to the *India* company supplied
him secretly with provisions, his crew must have starved
in the midst of plenty; and the *Chinese* jealousy of all
dishonest and illicit practices in trade would have se-
duced them into a fatal barbarity.

suffer

- a suffer in their dignity. As they had a *French* jesuit, who perfectly understood and spoke the language of the country, residing on the spot, a man well acquainted with the venality of the people, with the persons of the magistrates, of great address, and unfathomable cunning, they were at no loss for traversing the assistance desired by the commodore. At length justice prevailed; the *French* were baffled, and an order issued by the viceroy for refitting the *Centurion*, and supplying the crew with all they wanted; though perhaps the force of the ship was an argument of no small weight with his excellency. For it was observed, that the mandarins had surveyed every part of the vessel with extraordinary attention, and proportionable astonishment at the size and number of the guns. Besides, they had been indirectly acquainted by the commodore with what facility he could do himself justice by force of arms, should it be
- b denied by the law of nations. They were soon made sensible that the *Centurion* alone was far superior to the whole maritime power of the vast *Chinese* empire; and that he could sink, burn, and destroy, all their shipping, without the smallest hazard or risque to himself. After this order was issued, the chief mandarin, either from curiosity or design, paid another visit to the *Centurion*. He examined and surveyed her with greater attention and admiration than before, expressed extraordinary satisfaction at the skill of the *English* workmen, the progress that nation had made in the art of war, and at the prodigious naval power of the king of *Great Britain*. Having gratified to the full his curiosity, he was elegantly entertained by the commodore, and saluted at his departure with eleven guns.

- c ON the 9th of *January* came the order for heaving down the *Centurion*, when the hands immediately began to unmoor, weighed anchor, and warped out to the northward for that purpose. The commodore contracted for 100 workmen, smiths and carpenters, all *Chinese*, to assist in careening the ship, and two junks to hold the stores, and other goods taken out of the *Centurion*. He likewise caused a tent to be erected on an adjacent island, and placed a guard there for the security of the effects that were put on shore. As the workmen refused to be employed by the day, it was agreed the carpenters should have 600 *l.* for their share, and a proportionable reward to the smiths and other tradesmen. This being regulated, and the *Centurion* heaved down, the state of her bottom was examined, and all imaginable care taken to have the leak effectually repaired. An hundred *Chinese* caulkers were set to work on her decks and sides, who went through their employment with an address that greatly surprised
- d the *English*, considering their ignorance in ship-building. As Mr. *Anson* had given the greatest encouragement for expediting the repairs, every thing went on with such alacrity, that by the end of *March* the ship was made perfectly tight and strong; by the 6th of *April* she was rigged, and the same day they began to unmoor. The commodore, instead of being discouraged by his former disasters, was now resolved again to risque the casualties of the *Pacific Ocean*, for intercepting the *Manila* galleon. The greatest mortification which he received from the delays of the council, was, lest thereby he should so long be retarded as to let so rich a treasure escape him. From the 12th of *November* to the 6th of *January*, was consumed in procuring the viceroy's order; and now the utmost diligence could not render the *Centurion* in a condition to put to sea before the third of *March*, when, to the great joy of the
- e commodore and crew, she again appeared completely equipped. Mr. *Anson* was not without apprehension of being attacked by the *Spaniards* in this defenceless situation; nor were his fears altogether groundless, as he afterwards learnt by a *Portuguese* ship, that the governor of *Manila*, having received advice of the commodore's intention to careen in *Tupa*, had summoned a council, in which it was resolved to attempt burning the *Centurion* in the harbour; an enterprise that, if properly conducted, might have greatly distressed the commodore, and frustrated all his future designs. He was farther told, that a sea captain had actually engaged for 40,000 dollars to accomplish the design, and bring the resolution of the council into execution, however dangerous it might appear. The governor's avarice proved the security of Mr. *Anson*; for, pretending there was no money in the royal treasury, he insisted on the
- f merchants advancing the sum, and their scruples to comply with the demand disconcerted the whole project.

The commodore obtains an order for refitting his ship.

He employs a great number of Chinese artificers.

He receives advice of a design formed by the Spaniards to burn the *Centurion*.

- g BEFORE the commodore had fully completed his stores, the *Chinese* expressed great uneasiness, and a strong desire that he would leave their coast, being either ignorant, or pretending that they did not know, this was a point he was as eagerly set upon as they could be. On the 3d of *April*, two mandarin yachts came on board to press his departure; a request that had often been repeated before, although they had no reason to suspect the commodore of affected delays. In answer to this last message, Mr. *Anson* told the mandarins in a determined tone, that he desired they would give him no farther trouble on this head, for he would go when he thought proper: "A noble instance," says our author, "of the resolution of this truly
- " *British* commander, who thus honourably supported the dignity of his king and country, and challenged a respect for the *British* flag in an empire till then too arbitrary to pay the least deference to any *European*." This resolute reply of the commodore was attended with

*The viceroy
revokes the
order.*

some inconveniences to the crew, for from that time it was strictly prohibited that no provisions should be carried on board. The greatest care was taken to enforce those injunctions, so that from that time nothing could be purchased at any price, and all the supplies the ship could receive were secretly conveyed by means of the *English* supercargoes. By their assistance the stores were at last completed, and the crew somewhat augmented by a number of *Lascars* and *Dutch* taken on board; upon which the commodore determined to proceed on his voyage, and cruise for the *Manila* galleon.

S E C T. XI.

Containing an account of the Manila trade; Mr. Anson's departure from Typa; his cruise in search of the Manila ship; his engagement with her, and return to Canton; his transactions in that port; his voyage to Java, thence to the Cape of Good Hope, and his arrival in England in June, A. 1744; with reflections on the voyage.

AS the possession of the *Manila* ship, so celebrated for its immense wealth, was now the principal object of Mr. *Anson's* future designs; and since the trade carried on by the galleons between the city of *Manila* and the port of *Acapulco* is the most valuable of any in the universe, it may not be disagreeable to the reader, that we here give an abstract of that trade, notwithstanding we have treated of it more largely in another part of this work.

*An account of
the Manila
trade.*

WHEN *Charles V.* was emperor of *Germany*, Don *Ferdinand Maglianes*, or *Magellan*, a disgusted *Portuguese*, had been sent by that politic prince, with a squadron to make discoveries to the westward of *America*. *Magellan* sailed from the port of *Seville* in *Old Spain*, in *August* 1519, and soon had the good fortune to discover that passage into the *South Seas*, which has since been called after his name, and laid the foundation of that immense commerce and wealth the *Spaniards* draw from the Southern Continent of *America*. Having happily accomplished the first part of his scheme, after some continuance on the coast of *Peru*, he set sail again to the westward, with a view of falling in with the *Spice* islands. In this long run across the *Pacific Ocean*, he first discovered the *Marian* or *Ladrones* islands, about 2,280 leagues west of *Acapulco*. Pursuing his course, he at length reached the *Philippine* islands, situated in the most eastern parts of all *Asia*. The happy situation of these islands induced the *Spaniards* carefully to establish and maintain a correspondence between them and their colonies on the coast of *Peru*. They soon dispossessed the *Indians*, and became themselves proprietors of the most valuable of the *Philippines*. The chief residence was fixed in the city of *Manila*, in the large island of *Luconia*, which speedily became the mart of all *Indian* commodities, as spices, silks, calicoes, chints, and gold-work, bought up by the inhabitants, and annually exported to the southern coast of *America*. Formerly they were carried to *Callao* in *Lima*; but at present the trade is confined wholly to *Acapulco*. This commerce between *Manila* and *Acapulco* is usually carried on by one, or at most by two, annual ships, which sail from the *Philippines* in *July*, and arrive at the continent in *December*, *January*, or *February* following. Having there unloaded, they return commonly in *March*, and arrive at *Manila* in *June*, *July*, or *August*; so that the voyage is seldom completed in less than one whole year. The *Manila* galleons are stout ships, seldom less than 1200 tons burthen, mounted with fifty guns, and manned with 400 sailors, frequently 600, passengers included. As these ships are commissioned and paid by the king, one of the captains is usually stiled the *General*, and he carries the royal standard of *Spain* at the main-top-gallant-mast head. The trade is not laid open to all the inhabitants of *Manila*; but is limited by very particular restrictions, analogous to those of the register-ships from *Cadiz* to the *West Indies*. They are confined to a certain value, which the annual cargo ought not to exceed, though it commonly does. The sum specified is 600,000 dollars; but few of these ships are worth less than double that sum; and the return from *Acapulco* is generally computed at 3,000,000 of dollars.

THE feeble condition of the *Spanish* provinces, bordering on the *South Seas*, was the most favourable conjuncture *Great Britain* could have seized for reducing that crown to the necessity of suing for peace; but the misfortunes sustained by Mr. *Anson's* squadron rendered his force unequal to any considerable enterprize. He therefore confined his views wholly to the intercepting the *Manila* galleon, well knowing what damages the *Spaniards* would receive from such a capture, and how just a reward this good fortune would be of all the toils and dangers his crew had undergone. To execute this purpose, every thing being in readiness, the *Centurion* weighed from *Typa* on the 6th of *April*, and warped to the southward. By the 15th the commodore got into the road of *Macao*, and, on the 19th, he made sail, and stood to sea, after giving out, that he was bound for *Batavia*, and thence to *England*. It is true, the westerly

- a westerly monsoon was then set in, at which time the passage to *Batavia* was deemed impracticable; yet the confidence he had expressed in the strength of his ship, and the experience of his hands, persuaded not only the *Chinese*, but his own crew likewise, that this was really his intention. So strongly was this report believed, that several packets of letters for *Batavia* were sent on board the *Centurion* by the inhabitants of *Canton* and *Macao* (A). The commodore thought it probable, that this year there would be two *Manila* ships, since his cruise before *Acapulco* might possibly have prevented one of them from putting to sea the preceding year. He thought now of fixing his station off *Cape Espiritu Santo*, on the island of *Samal*, which is the first land the galleons always make on their return to the *Philippines*. The month of *June* is commonly the time of their arrival there; he doubted not therefore of getting
- b soon enough to his station to meet with them. The inferiority of his strength by no means discouraged him, as he had the utmost confidence in the courage and skill of his men, who amounted to no more than 227 hands; a force greatly disproportioned even to one galleon. As there was a continual intercourse between *Manila* and *Macao*, it was intirely necessary to the success of his project, that his designs should be kept with the most profound secrecy, while he continued at *Macao*; but, being now at sea, he resolved to communicate his intention to the crew. Summoning, for this purpose, all the men upon the quarter-deck, he acquainted them with his intention of cruising for the *Manila* ships, of whose wealth they were not ignorant. He told them he should chuse a station where he could not fail of meeting with them; that, notwithstanding their strength, he doubted not but the vigour of his
- c men, and the exertion of their usual spirit, would surmount every difficulty, and bring into their hands a prize that would sufficiently reward all their toils, and make them easy and happy for the remainder of their lives. He said, that many ridiculous stories had been propagated concerning the strength of the sides of these ships, which, it was said, were impenetrable to cannon-shot; but these were fictions contrived to palliate the cowardice of those who had formerly engaged the galleons. He hoped that none of his men were weak enough to

The commodore
leaves Macao.
His speech to
his crew.

(A) So firmly were the *Chinese* persuaded of the truth of the report the commodore had propagated, in order to keep secret his real design, that his friend the chief mandarin used all methods to dissuade him from the enterprize, by explaining to him the nature and danger of the monsoons. As our readers may not perhaps have a clear idea of this term, we shall endeavour to explain it to his satisfaction. *Monsoon* is an *Indian* word, which, in its strict meaning, signifies no more than a strong wind. It is applied to the stated trade-winds no otherwise than because they blow remarkably steady and violent. They are distinguished into the *East* and *West Monsoons*, the former setting to the north of the equator in *September*, and blowing till *April*, attended usually with fine, fair, and pleasant weather; and the latter continuing from *April* to *September*, accompanied for the most part with heavy rains and dreadful tempests. Thus the months of *April* and *September* are the shifting months; and, previous to the fixed monsoons, there is a various and unsteady wind that blows for some days. Yet, upon the whole, the general alteration of these winds is no less steady than the seasons of the year in our hemisphere. Upon them depends the whole navigation to *India*; all who trade thither embracing these changes either for their going or returning. Hence they came by the name of *Trade Winds*. At the change of these *Trade Winds*, there are constantly high storms, which they particularly call *Monsoons*, or still more particularly *Tyfoons*, a *Chinese* term, perhaps of *Greek* origin, except it be more probable that the *Greeks* borrowed the noun *τύφος*, or the verb *τύφω*, from the *Chinese*. But without entering upon this equally dry and useless disquisition, sufficient it is that those *Tyfoons*, *Typhons*, or violent gusts of winds and storms, happen near the full or change of the moon, preceded usually by fair weather, gentle breezes, and a serene and clear sky. They veer about from the true trade-wind, and usually shift almost quite round the compass. Immediately before the storm a black cloud appears in that quarter from whence it may be expected, always suspended near the horizon; the upper edge of a bright flame-colour, which increases in beauty and lustre, till at last it fades away to a whitish glaring cloud. It is a very awful and terrifying spectacle, continuing frequently for

twelve hours before the storm. As soon as the cloud begins to move, immediately the wind follows it, and blows with incredible fury at north-east for about the space of twelve hours, accompanied with horrible and astonishing claps of thunder, large flying sheets of lightning, and a deluge of rain. Nor does this storm abate gradually of its violence; it subsides all at once, and, in less than an hour after, a perfect calm takes place. Then the wind rises at the opposite point, and blows at south-west, with rain, hail, and storms of thunder and lightning, for about the same time as it did before.

Varenius, a geographer in some esteem, has given us a large description of this tempest, which deserves the reader's perusal. "A *Typhon*," says he, "is a strong swift wind blowing from all points, wandering about all quarters, and generally coming from above, and considerably higher than the horizon. It is frequent in the oriental seas, especially those of *Siam*, *China*, and *Japan*, and between *Molucca* and *Japan*. It breaks out violently almost from the western point, and, turning with a rapid force round the horizon, performs the revolution in 24 hours, till, increasing in strength, it raises those seas with its strong gyrations to a prodigious height, every tenth wave higher than the rest, and clashing against each other with such impetuosity as deprives the seamen of all hopes of life. On account of these storms, sailing from *India* to *Japan* is extremely dangerous; insomuch that if one ship in three gets safe there, it is reckoned extraordinary;"—which might have been true at the time when *Varenius* wrote, as the seasons, and this navigation, were not then well ascertained. "The *Typhon*," says he, "rages most in summer, and more than can be conceived by those who have not seen it; so that it is no wonder that the ribs of the strongest ships should be loosened; you would think the heavens and earth were falling into their original chaos, overturning houses, rooting up trees, and conveying large ships a quarter of a mile from the sea." The cause of it is, without doubt, that the wind pushing to a certain point is obstructed, and reflected back on itself. Hence this whirling, this gyration of the sea, and vortices, it occasions.

credit

credit such tales; for his own part, he assured them, he would fight so close that they would find his bullets, instead of being stopped by one side, would penetrate through both. This speech was received with universal joy, the sailors expressing their applause and satisfaction by three strenuous cheers, declaring at the same time their resolution to succeed or perish in the attempt, whenever the opportunity offered. As they firmly relied on the assurances of the commodore, that they should certainly meet with the galleons, so they were too sanguine to harbour the smallest doubts of mastering them. In fact they considered themselves as already in possession of those invaluable prizes.

He arrives at
his station,
where they
impatiently ex-
pect the gal-
leon.

Mr. *Anson* departing from *Macao*, stood for some days to the westward, and, by the 3d of *May*, fell in with the southernmost part of the island of *Formosa*, lying east-by-south at the distance of ten leagues, and affording a delightful prospect. Hence he steered to the southward, and two days after was in the latitude of the *Bashee* islands, in $21^{\circ} 4'$ north. After leaving *Botet Tobago Xima*, he steered between S. and S. W. for *Cabo Espiritu Santo*, and, on the 20th of *May* at noon, first discovered that *Cape*, bearing S. S. W. at about the distance of eleven leagues. The commodore knowing that there were centinels placed on this *Cape* to make signals to the *Manila* ship, when she fell in with land, ordered the helm to lee, the ship to tack, and the top-gallant sails to be taken in, to prevent his being discovered. This being the station where he resolved to cruise for the galleons, he kept the *Cape* between south and west, endeavouring to confine himself within the latitude of $12^{\circ} 50'$, and $13^{\circ} 5'$. The month of *June* now approaching, the crew of the *Centurion* passed each hour with the utmost impatience and expectation of the happy crisis that was to balance the account of all their former calamities. Nor was the commodore's anxiety a bit inferior to theirs, though his prudence suppressed those emotions the other officers could not avoid discovering. Every necessary preparation was made for the reception of the galleon; the long-boat was hoisted out, and lashed along-side the *Centurion*, that the ship might be ready for engaging, if they should happen to fall in with the enemy at night. There now being but little employment for the crew, to preserve their health, keep up their spirits, and amuse their minds, the commodore ordered them every day to be exercised in working the great guns, and in the use of the small arms; a practice he had maintained more or less, in all convenient seasons, during the course of the voyage. An excellent method, which deserves the imitation of all our sea-officers, the advantage of it being fully proved by the effects it had upon the men, and the labour of it recompensed by the success of his engagement with the galleon. All this while Mr. *Anson* was solicitous to keep at such a distance from the *Cape* as to avoid discovering himself; lying commonly from ten to fifteen leagues distance, though, by means of the current, he was once within seven leagues of land. It was afterwards, however, known, that, in spite of all his care, he was frequently seen, and intelligence of him sent to *Manila*, where it was at first disbelieved, till repeated advices alarmed the merchants, who applied to the governor. Upon this, his excellency undertook, at the expence of the merchants, to equip a force, consisting of two ships of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two sloops of ten guns each, to attack the *Centurion* on her station. Some of the vessels actually weighed with this intention; but the capital ship not being ready, and the monsoon being against them, the merchants and governor quarreled; by which the enterprize was defeated.

THE month of *June* being pretty far advanced, the *English* seamen on board the *Centurion* began to lose all patience, and to fear that the galleon had been detained as the former year, or escaped them unobserved. However, the 20th, precisely a month after gaining his station, the commodore was relieved from his disagreeable suspense, one of the men having at sun-rise discovered a sail from the mast-head. The news was immediately spread through the ship, and a joy equal to what might be expected after victory took place in every breast. They had no doubt but this was one of the galleons, and they every moment expected to see the other. The first part of their suggestion was soon confirmed by the near approach of the ship. As to the galleon which their cruise had detained the preceding year in the port of *Acapulco*, instead of returning in company with the other galleon, as was expected, she sailed alone from *Acapulco* much earlier than the usual time, and got into the port of *Manila* long before the *Centurion* had reached her station at *Cape Espiritu Santo*.

THE galleon now in sight was called the *Nostra Signora del Cabo Dongo*, commanded by General Don *Feronimo de Montero*, mounted 42 guns, 17 of which were brass, but was pierced for 64, and manned with 550 stout seamen and marines. She had besides 28 swivel guns and pateraroes in her gunwale, quarters, and tops; each of which carried a four-pound shot. She was well-furnished with small arms, and secured against boarding by close quarters and a strong net-work of two inch rope laced over her waist, and defended by half-spikes. Under the conduct of Don *Feronimo de Montero*, reputed the most expert and valiant officer in the *Manila* service, she was in force, in bulk, and every particular but the weight of metal, superior to the *Centurion*. Mr. *Anson* was first discovered by the galleon, who might possibly have escaped

a escaped, had she attempted it. But such was the account the *Spaniards* had received at *Guam* of the condition of the *Centurion*, that they despised her weakness, and proposed nothing less than carrying her a prize to *Manila*. As soon as she approached near enough to distinguish with certainty it was the *Centurion*, *Montero*, elated by the confidence of his superiority, told his officers that he did not doubt of having the honour of entertaining the *British* commodore that day at his table. Such were the hopes of the *Spaniard*; but *British* courage, supported by fortune, determined otherwise. Mr. *Anson* instantly bore down on the galleon with all the fail he could carry; and, by half an hour after seven, she became visible from the deck of the *Centurion*. Now the galleon fired a gun, took in her top-sails, and continued to bear down on the commodore, who hardly believed what afterwards appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the *Centurion*, and as such determined to fight her. When the commodore first spied her through his glass, the first glimpse appeared like two ships; upon which he said with the utmost composure, "My lads, we will fight them both." As she approached nearer, he discovered his mistake, and seemed disappointed. About noon he was little more than a league distant from the galleon, and could fetch her wake; so that there was no danger of her escaping. Soon after the galleon haled up her fore-sail, and brought to under top-sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting *Spanish* colours, a red flag, and the royal standard of *Spain*, at the main-top-mast-head. Mr. *Anson* had in the mean while prepared all things for engaging on board the *Centurion*; he had taken every possible measure for the full exertion of his small strength, and for avoiding the confusion too frequent in actions at sea. He picked thirty of the choicest men, and best marksmen, whom he distributed in his tops; a precaution which fully answered his expectation, by the signal services they performed. As his hands were too few to quarter a sufficient number to each gun, in the usual manner, he therefore appointed on his lower tier only two men to each great gun, who were to be wholly employed in loading it, while the rest of his crew were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, continually moving round the decks to fire such guns as were loaded. By this wise management and skillful finesse, he was able to keep up a constant fire without intermission, instead of a whole broadside with intervals between them; a conduct that greatly disconcerted the *Spaniards*, and procured him very important advantages. It is customary with the *Spanish* seamen to fall down upon the decks when they see a broadside preparing, and to continue in that posture till it is given; after which they rise, presuming the danger to be over for some time, work their guns, and fire with great vigour till another broadside is expected; a precaution rendered wholly useless by the commodore's new plan of engaging. All things being thus in readiness, and the two ships drawing nearer, there happened several squalls of wind and rain, which often obscured the galleon, and made the commodore apprehensive that she might find some means of escape; but, whenever the weather cleared up, he observed her resolutely lying-to. About one o'clock, being within gunshot of the enemy, he hoisted his broad-pendant and colours; and perceiving that they had neglected clearing their ship till then, as they were observed busy in throwing cattle and other lumber over-board, the commodore ordered the chace-guns to be fired upon them, in order to disturb their present employment; though his general directions had been to hold their fire till they came within pistol shot. The galleon returned the discharge with two of her stern-chace; and now the ships running along-side yard-arm and yard-arm, began the fight with all the fury imaginable. The commodore took place on the quarter-deck, with his sword drawn, and giving his orders with a surprising calmness and composure, while the hon. Mr. *Van Kepple*, son to the late lord *Albemarle*, and now commodore *Kepple*, gave his directions between decks. As soon as the *Centurion* came within the proposed distance of the galleon, she began a constant, quick, and even fire, which for a while was answered by *Montero* with abundance of skill and courage. Mr. *Anson* took great pains to keep a-breast and to the leeward of the enemy, to prevent their putting before the wind, and gaining the port of *Jalapay*, from which she was about seven leagues distant. He now made use of a feint, by lashing his sprit-sail fore-and-aft; that being the usual sign to board; a stroke of military art that persuaded the *Spaniards* he had his full complement of men. What confirmed them in this opinion, was his shewing his whole force, consisting of 227 men, all on one side, which he had an opportunity of doing by their fighting so close. The enemy were greatly amazed and intimidated to find his condition so different from what it had been represented at *Guam*; however, *Montero* continued the action undismayed. For the first half-hour, the *Centurion* over-reached the galleon, and lay on her bow. In this situation, by the great width of his ports, Mr. *Anson* could traverse almost all his guns upon the enemy, whilst only a few of theirs could be brought to bear. Soon after they came to a close engagement, the mats of the galleon, with which her netting had been stuffed, took fire, and burnt with violence, blazing up as high as the mizen-top. This accident was occasioned by the wads of the *Centurion*, and threw the *Spaniards* into the utmost consternation; nor was the commodore without apprehension that the galleon might be burnt, and his men not only deprived of the treasure, but the *Centurion* might

might be endangered by her driving on board. At length, however, the *Spaniards* suppressed a the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole mats all in flames into the sea. During this interval, the *Centurion* kept her advantageous position, firing with great order and vigour with her cannon, while the men in her tops made prodigious havock of the enemy exposed on the deck to their fire, killing every officer, but one, that appeared, and wounding in particular the *Spanish* general himself. After the action had continued in this manner for half an hour, the *Centurion* lost the superiority arising from her station; for now she was close along-side the galleon, without bearing on her bow as before. In this condition the *Spaniards* continued to fire near an hour longer, but with great inferiority, as their decks were constantly swept by the *Centurion's* grape-shot. The number of their slain was now so considerable, that they began to fall into disorder, and abandon the guns; and the more, as *Montero*, who b was the soul of the action, was no longer able to exert himself. This confusion was distinctly seen from the *Centurion*; for the ships were so near, that some of the *Spanish* officers were seen running about with great diligence to prevent the men quitting their quarters. Of this Mr. *Anson* made his advantage, charging now with more vigour than ever. At first he was sparing of his ammunition, having but a small quantity on board; but now resolving to push the advantage, and prevent the enemies recovering their spirits, his shot was poured into the galleon in such a manner, as rendered ineffectual all the endeavours of her officers to keep the hands to the guns. The galleon having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than any of the former, at length yielded up the contest; and the colours being burnt off the ensign staff, she struck the royal standard at her main-top-gallant-mast-head. c This, however, was not done till the ship was rendered incapable of continuing the fight; and a *Spanish* officer, who stood near the colours, refused to strike them till he perceived the impossibility of longer defending themselves.

The loss on
both sides.

THUS, after a warm action of about an hour and three quarters, the *Centurion's* crew got possession of a treasure, which they thought an ample equivalent for all the unfortunate incidents they had run through. The acquisition was still the more valuable, as it was obtained with the loss only of two men killed, lieutenant *Brett* and fifteen men wounded, fifteen shot in the hull of the *Centurion*, her fore-mast, main-mast, and bowsprit, wounded, and some damage, but less than might be expected, done to her rigging. Whereas the enemy received fifteen shot in her hull, many of which were between wind and water; her masts were d grievously wounded, and her rigging totally destroyed; so that the commodore, as soon as she struck, was forced to send ropes and blocks on board to refit her. She had 67 men killed in the action, and 84 wounded, three of which expired the same night they were taken; and the survivors, except such as were left for navigating her, were removed on board the *Centurion*. Mr. *Anson* expended fifty hundred weight of round shot, four rounds of grape, four of double-headed shot, and twenty-four barrels of powder. The *Spaniards* loaded their swivels with seventy musquet-balls, often with rusty nails, flints, and slugs. They likewise fired a great number of chain-shot, some double-headed with barbed points; a cruelty seldom practised among civilized nations. To prevent their being intimidated by the number of the slain, *Montero*, during the whole action, had twenty men employed in throwing the dead e over-board, and cleaning the decks, that the rivers of blood might not strike terror in those who performed the duties of the ship. From which circumstances it may be perceived how hotly the galleon was plied by the *Centurion*.

Value of the
prize.

WHEN the *Spaniard* lowered her royal standard, the commodore ordered his cutter to be hoisted out, the rest of the boats being rendered unserviceable in the action, and sent on board lieutenant *Saumarez* to take possession of her. The cutter soon returned with the governor of *Guam*, the *Spanish* pilot, and some of the chief officers and passengers. As for the general, his wounds being dangerous, it was thought advisable not to remove him, Mr. *Anson* ordering him to be attended with all imaginable care on board his own ship. Four days were employed in removing the treasure on board the *Centurion*; it consisting of 1,313,843 pieces of eight, f 35,684 ounces of virgin silver, several bags of cochineal, and some other commodities, the whole amounting to 313,000 *l.* sterling. Mr. *Anson* appointed his first lieutenant, Mr. *Saumarez*, to command the prize, giving him fifty *English*, with some *Spaniards*, to navigate her; after which he resolved to make the best of his way with both ships for *China*. The greatest caution was used to secure the prisoners in such a manner as to render himself safe, and yet preserve that tenderness which noble minds ever shew to the unfortunate and vanquished. Their number, however, gave the commodore great disturbance, it being no easy matter, with the few hands he had, to preserve that medium between safety and humanity. The prisoners were near double the number of his men; and some of them, when they were brought g on board, observing how weakly the *Centurion* was manned, and the large proportion which the boys bore to the able hands, could not help expressing themselves with great indignation at being thus defeated by an handful of children; at the same time that they did justice to the conduct

a conduct of the commodore, to whose prudence they ascribed their disgrace. They soon had no less reason to applaud his humanity, than before they had done his courage and skill; for the sick in particular, and indeed the whole prisoners, were treated with such tenderness, that, after the 25th, not a single man died.

STANDING with his prize for the river *Canton*, he got sight of the *Cape Delangano*, and on the next day made the *Bashee Islands*. On the 28th he discovered *Sapata*, and three days afterwards taking on board two *Chinese* pilots, both ships came to an anchor off the city of *Macao*. On the 15th of *July*, both ships were conducted through the narrow passage of *Bocca Tigris*; the commodore, on the following day, sending his lieutenant to *Canton*, with a letter for the viceroy. In this he acquainted him, that he had taken shelter in this port against the approaching hurricanes; but, as soon as the monsoon shifted, he would sail for *England*; that he proposed repairing to *Canton*, to visit his excellency, as soon as the circumstances of affairs would admit of his absence; and that, in the mean time, a supply of provisions and stores would oblige his *Britannic* majesty, whose servant he was. The lieutenant was civilly received, and a promise given him that the commodore should have an answer to his message the next day. Next morning the lieutenant returned in his barge, bringing with him a supply of fresh provisions, but no licence for proceeding up the river, as was desired and expected. He acquainted the commodore, that a mandarin of rank would speedily be sent from the viceroy to inform him of the resolution taken in reference to his letter. Upon this notice great preparations were made on board for the reception of this *Chinese* officer, who arrived on the 20th, attended by twelve *Chiampons*. He desired that the commodore would pass over the ceremony of saluting him, because his guns being large, the noise would disturb him extremely. He assured him, that the viceroy would be glad of a visit from him and the captain of the other ship. He then presented him with an order for a daily supply of fresh provisions; but, intimated, at the same time, that the usual duties would be expected from him, as in *China* no distinction between men of war and merchantmen was ever made. To this Mr. *Anson* replied with thanks for the viceroy's obliging invitation and order; but said, that the king of *England's* ships were never treated upon a footing with merchant-ships in any port; and that he was absolutely restrained by his instructions from paying any acknowledgement for anchoring in the harbour of any prince whatever. The mandarin behaved with great politeness, and shewed the utmost satisfaction at the reception he had met with; promising, at his departure, to expedite the licence for proceeding up the river; for want of which they had not yet been able to pass the bar.

IN the mean while the commodore permitted several of the *Spanish* officers to repair on their parole to *Canton*. No sooner had the prisoners arrived there, than they were sent for by the regency, who examined them minutely by what means they came into the hands of an enemy so inferior in power. On this occasion the prisoners were honest enough to declare, that as the kings of *England* and *Spain* were at war, they intended to take the *Centurion*; but that the event had been contrary to their hopes. When they were questioned concerning the usage they met with in their confinement, they frankly acknowledged, that it was much better than they believed the *English* would have received from them, had the issue of the engagement been reversed. Such a confession from an enemy had great weight with the *Chinese*, and proportionably raised the reputation of the commodore. Till then they had only revered his military force, at the same time that they considered him as a lawless freebooter, uncommissioned by his king and country for the revenge of public injuries. But now their opinion was wholly altered, and they esteemed him a prodigy of valour, virtue, and humanity; to which perhaps the vast treasure of his prize might not a little contribute; the acquisition of wealth being a matter greatly adapted to the esteem and reverence of the *Chinese*, as well as *European* nations.

FOUR days after the mandarin came on board, two *French* ships entered the road; upon which the commodore put the *Centurion* and her prize in a post to receive them, in case they might act as enemies. However, upon sending his pinnace on board, the captains assured the *English* officer that no war had been declared between the crowns of *France* and *Great Britain*. Next day the *Harrington East Indiaman* entered the road, and, in passing the commodore, saluted him with twenty-one guns, which was returned by nineteen. On the 24th, three *Dutch* ships came in, and honoured Mr. *Anson* with the compliment usually paid to the king's ships; and, on the 27th, the licence for proceeding up the river arrived, with pilots to conduct the ship up to the second bar, within thirty miles of the city of *Canton*. Three mandarins had been sent upon this message, and also to excuse the viceroy from receiving the commodore's visit, during the then extreme heat of the weather, because assembling the mandarins and soldiers necessary to that ceremony would occasion great inconvenience and fatigue. In *September*, the mandarins said, his excellency would be happy to be honoured with a visit from the commodore and the *English* captain of the prize. As Mr. *Anson* was informed that an express had been sent to *Pekin*, with an account of the arrival of the *Centurion* and her prize,

*the subter-
fuge of the
Chinese to de-
cline it.*

*Mr. Anson
releases the
Spanish pri-
soners.*

prize, he had no doubt but the chief motive for postponing this visit was to give time to receive instructions, the regency not caring to do it by their own authority in this unusual affair. After the mandarins had delivered their message, they began to mention the business of the customs to be paid by his ships; but the commodore immediately told them, that he could never submit to any demand of that nature. The mandarins being cut short on the subject of the duties, said they had another matter to mention, the only one with which they would then trouble him; this was a request to the commodore to release the prisoners he had taken on board the galleon, as the viceroy apprehended that the emperor might be displeased, if he should be informed that the subjects of a king, his ally, and carrying on an extensive commerce with his dominions, were under confinement in a *Chinese* port. This was a request no way disagreeable to the commodore, although he raised scruples, in order to inance the obligation. He was no less desirous than either the *Chinese* or *Spaniards* of being disburthened of such an incumbrance. On his first coming to *Macao*, he had released a great number upon their parole, and yet 400 remained with him. He therefore suffered himself to be prevailed on, at length agreeing to put them on shore, if his excellency would appoint boats for that purpose. This important affair being adjusted, the mandarins departed, pleased with their influence over the *British* commodore, and the address with which they brought this affair about. On the 28th of *July*, two junks were sent from *Canton*, to carry the prisoners to *Macao*; the *Centurion* furnishing them with provisions for eight days to serve them during their passage down the river. On the 29th, the commodore made the signal to weigh, and each ship advanced up the river as far as the second bar, anchoring before the custom-house. Soon after this, the commodore received advice that a ship belonging to the *English East India* company was arrived on the coast of *China*, in a very distressed condition, from a storm she had met with at sea, he immediately sent the pinnace, with an officer and thirty men, stores, ropes, anchors, and fire-arms, to her assistance. The reasons for sending the latter were, to secure her against any attempts from the *Spaniards* at *Macao*, who, chagrined with their loss, might embrace this opportunity of revenging themselves. Although Mr. *Anson's* fears upon this occasion were without foundation, yet were they the suggestions of prudence and attention to the interest of his country. A conduct that gained him the esteem of every man in the service of the *East India* company, and indeed of all the *Europeans* at *Canton*, who could not help admiring the fidelity with which he discharged his commission, and the signal protection he afforded to commerce. Of this he gave testimonies as often as the opportunity offered; and he soon had occasion to exert all his prudence, address, and presence of mind, in a nice and delicate conjuncture that occurred.

*Mr. Anson's
public spirit
and prudence.*

*He goes to
Canton.*

ALTHOUGH the commodore, in consequence of the viceroy's order, found no difficulty in purchasing provisions for the daily consumption of the ships, yet it was impossible he could proceed to *England* without laying in both a large quantity of provisions and naval stores, for his performing the voyage, as well as for the immediate occasions and repairs of his ships. The procuring this supply he foresaw from the scruples about the customs, and the intrigues of the *French*, which he had experienced when he lay in the *Tupa*, would be attended with some trouble. In fact it proved so, the contractors having never taken the least step to comply with their agreement. Towards the end of *September*, perceiving that the viceroy had not, according to promise, invited him to an interview, he determined to proceed to *Canton*, and notify to the governor that he waited for his appointing a day for the audience. He was determined not to comply with any demands that might be made for the duties, not chusing to establish so dishonourable a precedent, and took all possible precautions to prevent the *Chinese* from insisting upon it. However, to secure the ships, and the great treasure on board, against any designs that might be formed, he appointed lieutenant *Brett* to command in his absence, and particularly directed him, if he should be detained at *Canton* for the duties in dispute, to set fire to the galleon, and fall down the river with the *Centurion*, and to remain at the entrance of the *Bocca Tigris*, till further orders from him. These precautions taken, he acquainted all the supercargoes of the *English*, *Danish*, and *Swedish* ships, of his intention; and that he would be glad of their attendance at his audience of the viceroy. They accordingly came on board the 13th of *October*, at nine in the morning, and the same afternoon the commodore, lieutenant *Saumarez*, lieutenant *Van Kepple*, the captains and supercargoes of the *East India* ships, put off in the barge, rowed by eighteen chosen men in new jackets of scarlet, and blue silk waistcoats, the whole trimmed with silver buttons, besides badges on their jackets and caps. The barge was immediately joined by the boats of all the *India* ships in the river, the crew of the *Centurion* giving three cheers as they went off, and saluting the commodore with 19 guns. As he passed by *Wamps*, he was complimented by all the *European* ships except the *French*; and in the evening he arrived at *Canton*. On his landing, his officers and attendants marched in a slow and solemn procession towards the viceroy's palace, the commodore himself being carried in a chair. The retinue was marshalled in the greatest order, and the whole ceremony conducted with more decorum, and even magnificence, than could be expected

- a expected in his circumstances. As the *Chinese*, like all other eastern nations, are extravagantly fond of shew and pomp, this procession had a very proper effect, it being regarded with profound silence and respect. On approaching the palace, he was met by some mandarins, who acquainted him, that his excellency would appoint a day for the interview, and now desired leave to conduct him to the lodgings provided for him. Here he was visited by the principal *Chinese* merchants, by whose artifices, and the chimerical fears that had seized the *English* supercargoes, the day of audience was postponed; however, this time the commodore employed in making farther inquiries into the manner in which he was to contract for provisions and stores. When he had finished his contracts, and all to shipping the stores was completed, he resolved to demand an interview, as he was persuaded that, without this ceremony, the
- b grant of an order to take them on board would meet with numberless obstructions. With this intention he sent one of his officers, on the 24th of *November*, to the mandarin who commanded the principal gate of the city, with a letter to the viceroy. When the officer delivered this letter, the mandarin received him with great civility, taking down the contents of it in *Chinese*; and promising that the viceroy should be immediately made acquainted with it; but that it was not necessary for the officer to wait for an answer, because a message would be sent to the commodore himself.

- ABOUT two days after a fire broke out in the suburbs of *Canton*, which consumed an hundred shops, and eleven streets full of warehouses, threatening destruction to the whole city. In this general confusion the viceroy came thither, and sent to the commodore, requesting his
- c advice and assistance, with assurances that he might take any measures he thought most conducive to the public safety. Upon this notice, Mr. *Anson*, attended with about forty *English*, part of his own crew, and part of the *English East India* ships, flew to that quarter of the city that was in flames, where the seamen, in sight of the viceroy, and all the inhabitants of *Canton*, exerted themselves in so extraordinary a manner as in that country was altogether without example. Rather animated than deterred by the flames and falling buildings among which they worked, they behaved with a boldness and activity peculiar to *British* sailors, extinguishing by their address a fire that otherwise must have soon laid the whole city in ashes. Many thousand *Chinese* stood astonished, terrified, and unactive spectators, admiring the intrepidity which they had not the courage to imitate. The conduct of the *English* became the
- d general topic of conversation, every one striving who should the most loudly extol their unparalleled vigour and spirit. Next morning a number of the principal inhabitants waited on the commodore, to acknowledge the high obligations they lay under to him; frankly owning, that he had preserved their city from a conflagration, as they could of themselves never have extinguished the fire. Immediately after a message from the viceroy arrived, appointing the 30th of *November* for an audience; which sudden resolution, in a matter so long in agitation, was intirely owing to the extraordinary services performed by the *English*, of which the viceroy retained the deepest sense of obligation. All the necessary preparations were made by the commodore against the day appointed for the audience; and Mr. *Finch*, an *English* gentleman belonging to the *English* company, who spoke *Chinese* fluently, was engaged for his interpreter.
- e Nor could a better be chosen, Mr. *Finch* repeating with great boldness and exactness whatever was delivered him in charge; a part which no *Chinese* linguist either would or could do with exactness and spirit. When the day arrived, a mandarin waited on the commodore, to acquaint him, that the viceroy was prepared; upon which, with his retinue, he immediately set out, in much the same order as in the former procession.

A terrible fire in Canton extinguished by the English sailors.

The commodore has an audience of the viceroy.

- As soon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard of 200 soldiers ready to receive him, who attended him to the great parade before the imperial palace, where the viceroy resided. Here a body of ten thousand men was drawn up under arms, making a fine appearance, but rather splendid than warlike. They were all new clothed for the ceremony, their arms bright, and every thing adapted to strike the *Europeans* with high ideas of the vast
- f power and opulence of the *Chinese* empire. The commodore and his retinue, having passed through the center of the troops, who opened to the right and left, were led to the great hall of audience, where the viceroy was seated under a rich canopy, in the imperial chair of state, incircled by his council of mandarins. A vacant seat was placed for the commodore, in which he was seated on his arrival, ranked the third in order from the viceroy, the chiefs of the law and treasury, who in *China* have the precedence of all military officers, being placed above him. As soon as he was seated, he addressed himself to his excellency by his interpreter, reciting the various methods he had formerly taken to procure the present honour; and adding, that he attributed the delays he had met with to the insincerity of those persons he had employed: that at length he had no other means left than sending, as he had done, his own officer with a
- g letter to the gate. Here the viceroy interrupted the interpreter, bidding him assure the commodore, that the first knowledge he had of his being at *Canton* was from that letter; an assurance, however, in which there was less truth than politeness. Upon this, the commodore proceeded

ceeded to acquaint his excellency, that the subjects of the king of *Great Britain*, his master, ^a had complained to him, the commodore, of the vexatious impositions of the merchants and inferior custom-house officers, to which they were often obliged to submit, on account of the difficulty of access to the mandarins, who alone could grant them redress : that it was his duty, as the servant of the king of *Great Britain*, to lay before his excellency all grievances of the *British* subjects, which he hoped he would take into consideration, giving orders that they should be removed, and all cause of future complaint be obviated. Here the commodore paused, waiting some time for an answer ; but nothing being replied, he asked Mr. *Finch* if he was certain the viceroy understood what was urged ? Mr. *Finch* told him, that it was certainly well enough apprehended, but that he imagined no answer would be made. After dispatching this and some other business regarding the ship *Hastingsfield*, with which the *East India* supercargoes ^b had intrusted him, he entered upon the affairs of his own squadron, telling the viceroy, that the proper season for returning to *Europe* was already set in, and that he wanted an order for shipping his provisions and stores, which were all ready : that as soon as this was granted, and he had got his necessaries on board, he proposed leaving the river *Canton*, and making the best of his way to *England*. To this the viceroy immediately replied, that the licence should be issued without delay, and proper assistance afforded him in shipping his stores, and repairing the ship. Perceiving that the commodore's business was ended, his excellency continued the conversation for some time upon indifferent matters, acknowledging in polite terms how greatly the *Chinese* were obliged to him for the courage and conduct exerted by his men in the late dreadful fire. Then observing that the *Centurion* had been a long time on their coast, he concluded his dis- ^c course by wishing the commodore a prosperous voyage. Mr. *Anson*, after thanking him for his civility and assistance, took his leave, highly satisfied with his reception, and his success in establishing an authentic precedent, by which all *British* ships of war should for the future be exempted from all demands of customs in any *Chinese* ports. Upon his leaving the hall of audience, he was conducted into another apartment, where was provided a magnificent enter- ^d tainment. Finding, however, that the viceroy was not to be present, he declined it, leaving the retinue to do honour to this politeness of his excellency. The entertainment consisted, after the manner of the country, of a multitude of small dishes filled with a variety of minced meats ; after which, at a proper interval, there followed a rich desert of dried fruits and sweet- meats ; the whole concluding with tea of a most delicate flavour. On the commodore's leav- ing the city he was saluted with three guns, which are as many as they ever discharge upon any occasion, excepting an imperial salute.

An entertain-
ment given by
the viceroy.

The commodore
leaves the ri-
ver Canton.

THE viceroy punctually executed his promise, sending the order for shipping the stores, and with it, some presents to the commodore ; four days after which the commodore embarked at *Canton*, for the *Centurion*. With such diligence did he pursue the preparations for putting to sea, that he was ready to sail on the 7th of *December*. That day the *Centurion* and her prize unmoored and stood down the river. They passed *Bocca Tigris* on the 10th, and two days after anchored before *Macao*. The 13th both ships anchored in the road of that place in five fathom water, where the prize was cleared of her powder, dry provisions and water, after which she was sold to the *Portuguese* for no more than 6000 dollars, they taking advantage of the necessity the commodore was under of parting with her. Mr. *Anson* had been sufficiently ^e informed by the *English* at *Canton*, to judge that the war with *Spain* had not been yet terminated, and that probably the *French* might join the *Spaniards* before he could reach *Europe*. Knowing likewise that no advice could be received in *Europe* of the prize he had taken, and the treasure he had on board, before the return of the merchantmen from *Canton*, or at least intelligence from *Manila* to *Spain*, which, on account of the monsoons, could not be much sooner, he determined to make all possible dispatch. This, among other reasons, induced him so cheaply to part with her, not caring to raise her price at the hazard of losing the whole. Having delivered the galleon to the *Portuguese* merchant, on the 15th of *Decem- ber*, he the same day got under sail. On the 16th in the afternoon he was out of sight of *Macao*, ^f having brisk gales with rain aftern. The ship was found to be so leaky, that in two hours the waters rose seven inches in her pumps, which it was judged was owing to their not having caulked the gun-ports. On the 22d, being entered the sea between *Malacca* and the island of *Borneo*, they sounded, and found 53 fathom water. Two days after they got sight of the islands on the *Malacca* coast, persevering in their course through them with great danger, by reason of the narrow chanel, and the multiplicity of shoals on all sides. On the 29th, in the evening, the southernmost island of the *Seven Brothers*, on the coast of *Sumatra*, bore east-south-east, at the distance of six leagues. The same day the commodore passed the streights between *Sumatra* and *Banca*, which last is an island of considerable extent, under the latitude of three degrees south ; and so commodiously situated for trade, that the *Dutch* have often regretted ^g they had not fixed their head settlement there rather than at *Batavia*. Here they might have planted the whole island, and kept it in their own hands, which they cannot possibly think

Departs from
Macao.

- a think of in the large island of *Java*. On the 2d of *January* they anchored off the high land of *Bantam*, at the distance of about forty miles from *Batavia*. Two days afterwards he anchored in fifty-five fathom water, on the coast of *Princes Island*, and the same evening five homeward-bound *Dutch* ships anchored by him. Here they perceived the shock of an earthquake, which lasted about a minute, while they were taking in wood and water. On the 18th foul and blowy weather came on, by which the mainsail of the *Centurion* was split and blown down from the yard; from thence to the 22d continued squally, extremely dark, cloudy, and rainy. The 24th the *Centurion* had her mainsail and foresail split. On the 5th of *March* the continent of *Africa* appeared, bearing from north-east to north-north-west. On the 10th, having little wind, and fair weather, they saw the headland of the *Cape of Good Hope*, distant about ten leagues. Next day the *Centurion* anchored in *Table Bay*, at the distance of a mile from shore, where the commodore found the *Salisbury* and *Warwick English* East India men, each of which saluted him with eleven guns. Here he determined to repair his rigging, wood and water, for which purpose he warped into the harbour. At night the *Centurion's* best cable broke, with the halser that was bent to the stream anchor, so that she rode all night by the sheet cable; but this loss was next morning repaired by the purchase of an anchor weighing 3850 pounds, and a cable nineteen inches round. After cleaning, scrubbing, wooding, watering, and repairing the rigging, the *Centurion* was ready to prosecute her voyage by the 1st of *April*. On the 3d he left the bay, and was saluted by the *Dutch* commodore with nine guns, which the *Centurion* returned by seven (A). After this, without any remarkable accident, the commodore arrived safe at *St. Helen's*, on the 14th of *June*, to the great joy of the nation in general, and of the crew in particular, who could not fail of being happy at the sight of their native shore, after an absence of four years, in which they experienced such vicissitudes of good and ill fortune, as are scarcely to be paralleled in history. Nor was the commodore past all dangers before he anchored at *St. Helen's*; for it must be remembered, that he came through the channel just upon the eve of a *French* war, when every thing was in confusion, and the whole maritime force of that nation at sea, and even cruising on the *British* coasts.
- MR. *Anson* immediately acquainted his grace the duke of *Newcastle*, his majesty's principal secretary of state, with his arrival, and of the most material transactions of his circuit round the globe. His letter, which was immediately published in the *Gazette*, diffused as hearty and general a satisfaction through the nation, as can well be imagined; and, farther to indulge the pleasure of the people, the treasure taken in the *Acapulco* ship was conveyed in thirty-two waggon, in the most public manner to the *Tower of London*, in the same order as the silver formerly taken by admiral *Blake* had been when he burnt the *Spanish* galleons. The commodore was surrounded by the populace on his landing, with every joyful mark of distinction; he was graciously received by the monarch, the dignity of whose crown he had supported with such perseverance in the *East*, and had soon the honour of being promoted to the flag, and afterwards to the most illustrious and respectable rank in the kingdom, that of a peer of *Great Britain*. Thus terminated this memorable expedition, to the immortal honour of commodore *Anson*, whose whole conduct distinguished him the experienced seaman, the accomplished officer, and the firm patriot; the protector of the *British* commerce, the assertor of her dignity, in the person of a brave, prudent, and uniformly consistent commander.
- ALTHOUGH, upon the whole, this expedition was not attended with all the success that might reasonably be expected; yet must all the blame be for ever removed from the commodore, and wholly attributed to the imprudent and vexatious delays which so long prevented his sailing. On his arrival in the *Southern Ocean*, the *Spanish* ports were wretchedly provided with arms, stores, and ammunition; and the garrisons fallen into so total a neglect of military discipline, that had Mr. *Anson* happily accomplished his passage round *Cape Horn*, he would, without all dispute, have been able to have dispossessed the *Spaniards* of their strongest holds both in *Mexico* and *Peru*. There were only two places on the whole southern coast, from which any resistance could be apprehended; these were the cities of *Panama* and *Callao de Lima*. As to the first, the fortifications were so ruinous, and the garrison in such want of powder, that it appeared by an intercepted letter of the governor's, how little hopes he had of defending it in case of an attack. Nor was the condition of *Callao*, the key of the whole kingdom of *Peru*, much bet-

Commodore
Anson arrives
in England.

Reflections on
the voyage.

(A) As we have so frequently mentioned these salutes, it may not be improper that we describe in a few words the regulation of this ceremony. The commodore's instructions direct, that if merchant ships, whether foreigners, or belonging to his majesty's subjects, salute the admiral of a fleet, they shall be answered with six guns; when they salute any other flag ship, they shall be answered with four guns; and, if they salute men of war, they shall answer with two guns less. If several

merchant ships salute in company, no return is to be made before they have all finished, and then by such a number of guns as shall be thought proper; but if the merchant ships should answer, no second return is to be made. In all salutes the guns of the upper deck are to be fired, and the lower tier to be used upon no occasion of compliment whatever. These were in particular the commodore's instructions, and are the general rules observed by the navy.

ter. Thus the scheme appears to have been wisely laid, and, as far as lay in the power of the a
commodore, happily executed : that the ultimate intention was not answered, was intirely owing
to the improper means used in manning the fleet, and the unsteadiness of the councils at home.
Nothing could be more favourable than the present conjuncture for striking such a blow as must
have reduced *Spain* to the necessity of craving peace upon any terms. The *Indians* on almost
every frontier were disaffected, and watched with impatience the happy moment that should
deliver them from the proud usurpation of their masters, and enable them to take a signal
revenge for the barbarities they and their ancestors had groaned under for more than two cen-
turies. To this day the *Indians* traditionally preserve the remembrance of the cruelties com-
mitted in *Mexico* and *Peru*, by public feasts and annual solemnities. They still by those mourn- b
ful ceremonies revive the memory of the tragical incidents that caused the massacre of their
beloved *Incas* and *Atapalipas*, that proved the extinction of their monarchy, the destruction of
their religion, the subversion of their liberties, and the slaughter of their progenitors. Such
as have been present at those festivals always observed, that all representations and recitals of
those horrid scenes were received with emotions so vehement, and a rage so enthusiastic, as
evidently demonstrated how deep a sense they retained of those injuries, and how acceptable to
them would be the means of revenge. They were now the more disposed to vent their resent-
ment, as the *Spaniards* had, in some late disputes, imprudently boasted of the expected force from
Old Spain, under *Pizarro*, who would now compleat the great work, begun by his ancestors, of
subjugating them to the most abject slavery. The *Pizarros* being the first conquerors of those c
coasts, the *Indians* held the name in the utmost detestation, and, as often as it was mentioned,
poured out execrations against it, as if all their misfortunes had been perpetrated by that
family. The menaces of the *Spaniards* now alarmed and persuaded them, that their utter extir-
pation was intended. Such was the spirit of disaffection that diffused itself among them, that
the *Spanish* governors exerted all their endeavours, by acts of kindness, to reconcile the most
dangerous tribes, and to prevent their taking up arms. The president of *Chili*, in particular,
made ample concessions to the *Arrancos* and other *Chilians*, by which, and the considerable pre-
sents he made, he persuaded them into a prolongation of the truce between both nations. How-
ever, these negotiations were not concluded when Mr. *Anson* entered the *South Seas* ; and, if
they had, it is probable that inveterate and deep resentments would have broke through those
late and political obligations, had he been in a condition to have seconded any insurrection. d
The taking, and probably the investing, of *Baldivia* only, would have stirred up the *Arran-
cos*, *Pulches*, and *Penguinches* ; in a word, all the nations for twenty-five or thirty leagues to
the northward of this port. Hence we may fairly conclude what extraordinary benefits would
have resulted to the public, had the season for the expedition been as well regulated as the pro-
ject was laid, and would have been executed by an officer of Mr. *Anson's* acknowledged abi-
lities. *Spain* must, in short, either have left *Great Britain* in possession of the treasures of
Peru, or she must have stooped her haughty neck to be trod on by a maritime power which
she affected to despise, and received her provinces back again as an equivalent for such
restrictions to her future ambition, as *Great Britain*, in her moderation, should have dic-
tated. e

It is worthy our observation, that this expedition, however unsuccessful in the main design,
sufficiently obviates all objections to the possibility of attacking the *Spaniards* to advantage in
the *South Seas*. It has been said, that the *Spaniards* are too wise to leave ports of such con-
sequence neglected ; that they were all well fortified, garrisoned, and provided, and that every
such enterprise must terminate in sacrificing the lives of such as are employed in the expedi-
tion. How just these suggestions were, may be gathered from the short view we have given
above, by which it appears, that the *Spaniards* were actually as indolent, as unguarded and
weak, as we could wish them ; and perhaps the fate of Mr. *Anson's* undertaking has made
them more unguarded than ever. Should a future project of the same kind ever be formed,
and the favourable conjuncture is perhaps at no great distance, either at the public or at a pri- f
vate expence, there seems to be a moral certainty of its success. As to the difficulties encoun-
tered in this voyage, they are not to be deemed discouraging circumstances, since they must
intirely be ascribed to misconduct. Several voyages have been happily performed through the
Streights of Magellan and *Le Maire* into the *South Seas* before Mr. *Anson's* ; and since his time
the journal of captain *Leben*, a *Frenchman*, is evidence sufficient that nothing hazardous or
uncommonly arduous attends this navigation. The reasons which formerly urged this naviga-
tion, still, and will ever subsist in their full force, while *Britain* continues to regard her mari-
time power. From hence the *Spaniards* derive that wealth which makes, if not them, at least
their natural allies, so formidable to *Europe*. Upon the whole, as our men have been destroyed,
and our shipping worn out, in barren services, from which never a single advantage resulted to g
the public, we cannot with reason complain of an expedition that has actually brought a large
sum of money into the kingdom, and pointed out a method, by which, on future occa-
sions,

a fions, we may draw much larger. Another squadron may more easily meet with the galleons ; and there wants only care, diligence, and experienced commanders, to reimburse the public for a great part of the expences of a *Spanish* war. But it would trespass upon our design of writing a history, to enter upon a long chain of political reasoning.

As an appendix to the preceding voyage, it may not be disagreeable to the reader that we give a short account of *Pizarro's* squadron, fitted out for no other purpose than to frustrate the designs of the *British* commodore. Whilst Mr. *Anson* had been combating all the rigours and severities of storms, want, and disease, from the island of *St. Catherine's* round *Cape Horn*, through the *South Seas*, to the west of *Acapulco* ; the *Spanish* squadron, in pursuing him, suffered a still more unfortunate, and, if possible, a more calamitous fate, than that of any *British* ship. *Pizarro*, on his arrival in the river of *Plate* on the 5th of *January* 1740, anchored in the bay of *Maldonado*, at the mouth of that river, and thence sent immediately to *Buenos Ayres* for a supply of provisions. During his stay here, he received advice, by the treachery of the *Portuguese* governor of *St. Catherine's*, of the arrival of Mr. *Anson* at that island on the 21st of *December*, and of his preparations to put to sea again with all possible expedition. *Pizarro*, notwithstanding his superior force, had his reasons, perhaps his instructions, for avoiding the *British* squadron, every-where short of the *South Seas*. However, he put to sea in a great hurry, without his supplies, on the 22d of *January*, in hopes of getting round *Cape Horn* before the enemy, leaving the *Patache*, a forty-gun ship, behind him, as unfit for service. But all his vigilance and haste proved ineffectual ; for the commodore got the start of him by four days from *St. Catherine's* ; yet were the squadrons in some part of the passage so near, that the *Pearl* was in sight of the *Asia*, one of *Pizarro's* squadron. The *Spaniard*, having run the length of *Cape Horn* towards the end of *February*, stood to the westward, in order to double the *Cape* ; but on the 28th at night, while they were shifting to the windward, three capital ships, the *Guiposcoa*, *Hermiona*, and *Esperanza*, were separated from the admiral. On the 7th of *March*, the day on which Mr. *Anson* passed the *Streights of Le Maire*, the whole *Spanish* squadron was driven to the eastward, and dispersed by a furious storm at north-west. They were afterwards, by their long detention in so turbulent a sea, reduced to unspeakable distress by fatigue and famine, which were attended by a deplorable mortality from disease, particularly the scurvy. When *Pizarro* left *Spain*, he was furnished with no more than four months short-provision. By the storm they encountered off *Cape Horn*, the continuance of the squadron at sea was prolonged above a month beyond their expectation, from which is inconceivable what difficulties they suffered, hunger and sickness daily sweeping off the ablest of their men. Their calamity was even so great, that a dead rat was sold on board for four dollars. This dreadful situation produced a conspiracy among the land-forces and marines in the *Asia*, they proposing to massacre the officers and crew, the only method they could devise to preserve themselves against the ravages of famine. By this means they hoped to appropriate to themselves all the provisions of the ship ; and looked upon such an action with the less horror, as it resulted from pure necessity, and the first law of nature, self-preservation ; but the conspirators were discovered, and their fatal project frustrated. After this, the squadron, which was intirely separated, sustained a variety of other misfortunes, each ship endeavouring, but ineffectually, to double the *Cape*. At last they were forced to abandon the attempt, and bear away for the river of *Plate*. *Pizarro*, in the *Asia*, arrived about the middle of *May* at *Monte Vedio*, after the loss of more than half his crew. The *St. Estevan* had lost 180 men when she anchored in the bay of *Barragun*. The *Esperanza*, a fifty-gun ship, had, out of 450, only 50 men alive ; while the *Guiposcoa* was driven ashore and sunk on the coast of *Brasil*, having, out of 700 men, lost above 300. The *Hermiona* foundered at sea ; and her whole crew, consisting of 550 men, perished all to a man. The regiment of troops distributed among the several ships, was reduced to 60 men ; so that the whole loss of the *Spaniards* exceeded 2000 men, and two capital ships. The *Asia*, *Esperanza*, and *St. Estevan*, being in great want of masts and other rigging when they arrived at *Buenos Ayres*, and the country unable to supply them, *Pizarro* obtained a remittance of an hundred thousand dollars from the governor, and a considerable quantity of pitch and cordage from the *Portuguese* at *Rio de Janeiro* ; but could procure neither masts nor yards. As soon as the ships were refitted, he was still intent upon pursuing the *British* commodore, whose sufferings, he doubted not, had been equal to his own. He had removed the masts of the *Esperanza*, and refitted the *Estevan* with the spare masts and yards on board ; so that still he had two ships of the line in tolerable condition. In the month of *October* he was preparing to put to sea with these two ships, and attempt a second time the passage of *Cape Horn*, when the *Estevan*, in falling down the river, ran upon a shoal, which disabled her, and obliged *Pizarro* to proceed alone on his voyage. Having the summer before him, and the favourable winds, he expected a fortunate and speedy passage ; but being off *Cape Horn*, a fine moderate gale astern, with a high and swelling sea, the ship, by some misconduct of the officer upon watch, rolled away her masts, and obliged the admiral

to return a second time in great distress to the river of *Plate*. In this manner was this well appointed squadron, composed of the flower of the *Spanish* navy, defeated and destroyed by the inclemency of the seas, and from the same causes that had so lately proved fatal to commodore *Anson*. Thus was *Pizarro* forced to return with only one half-manned and crazy ship to *Old Spain*; while Mr. *Anson*, surmounting all difficulties, rode victorious in the *South Seas*, and reaping the just reward of his toil and bravery, proved, in the words of his excellent historian, “ that though prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance, united, are not exempted “ from the disappointments of adverse fortune, yet in a long series of transactions they usually “ rise superior to such obstructions, and, in the end, rarely fail of proving successful.”

B O O K XIX.

History of the Othmân Empire.

C H A P. I.

Origin of the Othmân Turks, and history, till their settling in Asia Minor, under the Seljûk Soltâns. Remarks on their historians; with the reigns of Soleyman Shâh and Ertogrul.

^a **T**HE observation, that the greatest empires have sprung from the most inconsiderable people, whose origin is obscure, may be applied with as much justice to the *Othmân*, or *Ozmân* (A) *Turks*, as to any other nation whatsoever. There can be no doubt that they came originally from *Turkestan*, or some other part of *Tartary*: but it is not easy to fix the particular province of that vast region from whence they issued; or to determine the particular tribe from which they derive their descent. *Origin of the Othmâns.*

WE are told by a late writer, that it is agreed by all, that the *Othmân Turks* are descended from one of the most noble of the *Ogûzian* families ^a, who derive their pedigree from *Ogûz Kân*, one of the most ancient heroes of the *Turkish* nation; and hence they assume the name of *Ogûzians*. But, although the *Turks* and *Mohammedan Tartars* reckon *Ogûz* among the ancestors of the *Turks* in general, yet none of them speak of a particular tribe, or branch of the *Turkish* nation, under the name of *Ogûzians* (B), as appears from what hath been before related ^b: and if there had been any such, it does not appear how the *Othmâns* can be more intitled to that name than the *Seljûk Turks*, who derive themselves from *Ogûz*, as well as they. But, after all, the genealogy which is given of the race of *Ogûz* (if not the person of *Ogûz* himself) may well be suspected of being fictitious; since *Saadi Effendi*, one of the most esteemed historians among the *Turks*, speaks but dubiously of it, or as a thing not sufficiently vouched by those who exhibit it ^c. *Their genealogy suspicious.*

THE name of *Turk* being brought into great contempt in the *East*, by the *Arabs* and *Persians*, who have stigmatized it, as a word implying rudeness and barbarity, the *Othmân Porte* will not be called the *Turkish Court*: nor does it suffer that word to be used, but in reference to the language; as, *Turkije vilurmisin? Do you understand Turkish? Othmânije vilurmisin*, being improper: for *Othmânije* denotes politeness of manners; as, on the contrary, *Turkije* signifies rude and uncivilized. Hence the common saying, *Turk muddeti um rinde*; that is, *A Turk through the whole course of his life: as much as to say, He will always be a clown, and never learn the politeness of the Othmâns* ^d. Yet these *Othmâns* were, perhaps, the most rude and unpolite of all the three *Turkish* branches, till they conquered *Constantinople*. *Nam. of Turk odious:*

As they are ashamed of their name, and will not own it belongs to them, several stories are framed to inform us how it came to be given to them. First, prince *Cantemir* affirms (whether of his own head, or after some *Turkish* author, does not appear (C),) that the name of *Turks* was given to *Soleyman* (the grandfather of *Othmân*) and his followers, by the *Persians*. *Rejected by them.*

^a CANTEMIR, Hist. Othm. Emp. pref. p. 12.
p. 14. See also before, vol. ii. p. 116, & seqq.

^b See before, vol. ii. p. 123.
^d CANT. pref. p. 8.

^c CANT. ubi sup.

(A) *Othmân* is an *Arabic* word, of which *Ozmân* is the *Persian* pronunciation, followed by the *Turks*, who dwelt a long time in *Persia*. They are called *Ali Othmân*, or the *Othmân People*.

(B) *Khalkokondylas* relates, that in his time they talk'd of a tribe of *Tartars* called *Ogûzians*, from whence they

derived themselves. But this only shews, that they talked then as they do now; having begun to contrive and write their history.

(C) He seldom cites his authors distinctly, or distinguishes his own opinion from theirs.

On what
grounds.

(meaning the *Seljuks* of *Rûm*), upon a supposition, that they were part of the *Jenghiz Khân* a
Scythians, as he calls the *Mogols*. For it must be observed, that this author supposes the name
of *Turks* to have belonged to the nations, or tribes of people, whom *Jenghiz Khân* brought
from *Tartary*, when he invaded the southern countries of *Asia*; and that, on their dispersing
themselves through *Persia* and *Asia Minor*, the name of *Turks* first became known there.
Whereas the followers of that conqueror were universally known only by the name of *Mogols*,
or *Tatars*; and that of *Turks* (with which the *Persians* had then been for many ages acquainted)
was introduced into *Asia Minor* by the *Seljuks*, above 200 years before.

The reasons
given,

SECONDLY, he suggests, that when, on *Jenghiz Khân's* invasion, the *Persian* governors shook
off the *Persian* yoke, *Aladin*, Soltân of *Ikonium* (whom he makes one of them) forced many of
the *Scythians* to submit to his obedience; and mixing them with the peasants, to till the lands, b
called them by the common name of *Turks*. And hence, continues our author, it came to pass, that
he who before was called governor of the *Persians*, or Soltân of *Ikonium*, was afterwards stiled
Soltân of the *Turks*. Whether prince *Cantemir* framed this apology himself, or took it from
some *Turkish* author, it is certain nothing can be more absurd or contrary to the truth of histo-
ry. It is observable here, that by the *Persians* he means the *Seljuks* of *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*;
in which, to serve his turn, he seems to follow the *Greek* writers; not considering, that they
use the words *Turks* and *Persians* synonymously; and that they call them *Persians* only
because they came from *Persia*, when they invaded the *Roman* dominions, as we have observed
more than once in the preceding history: not that they believed them to be natural *Persians*;
for they relate expressly, that *Tangrolipix* (as they call *Togrol-bek*) the first *Seljukian* Soltân, and c
his followers, were *Turks*.

forced and un-
likely.

His last plea is, That *Othmân*, on his being proclaimed Soltân, after *Aladin's* death, to banish
from the people the ignominious and odious name of *Turks*, ordered it to be confined to the peasants
(D), and the rest to be called *Othmânli*, or *Othmâns*. What! were the *Persians* to be called
Othmâns? was the name of *Seljuk* to be buried in that of the son of *Ertogrol*? No, surely, not
so long as any of the *Seljukian* princes, who after the death of the last Soltân had set up for
themselves, remained in power: although our author, following the partial *Turkish* historians,
will have it that they all submitted at once to *Othmân*.

Real Turks:

To return to the point: the truth is, that tho' the *Othmâns*, as well as *Seljuks*, when they grew
powerful, assumed those appellations, either being too proud any longer to bear a name which d
was fallen into contempt, or else to honour the founders of their respective empires; yet they
were nevertheless *Turks* in reality: and, in saying they were *Ogûzians*, they confirm that opi-
nion the more, since *Ogûz* was but a few descents from *Turk*. Nor can we see why they
should be ashamed of the name; since *Turk*, whom they feign to be a son of *Japhet*, is acknow-
leged as the common ancestor of all the tribes, or nations, inhabiting *Tartary*. Besides, as the
Othmâns came originally from thence, they must needs be *Turks* by descent, let them call them-
selves by what name they will: and methinks they ought to prefer that name above any other,
as it denotes their being descended immediately from *Turk*, their great ancestor; and that all
other tribes of *Tatars* are sprung from theirs.

their original
country very
uncertain.

As to the particular part of *Tartary* where this supposed *Ogûzian* hord, or tribe, originally e
inhabited, all the *Turkish* historians, we are told, agree, that it dwelt in the neighbourhood of
the *Caspian* sea, and was especially of those *Tatars* whom they commonly call *Konar Kocker*
Tatar Tayfeli; that is, *staying and going*; as much as to say, without fixed habitations. Prince
Cantemir is inclined to believe, that these *Ogûzians* dwelt in the country between that sea and
the lake called *Karabogâz*, at present inhabited by the *Karakâlpaks*, who lead a wandering life,
and speak the *Turkish* language; although the *Turks* greatly differ from them in their man-
ners and way of living. That the *Turks* should differ from them at present in those respects,
is not to be wondered at: but it is probable, that, when they lived in these deserts, they
had a great conformity in manners, either with the *Karakâlpaks*, or the *Turkmâns*, their neigh-
bours (E); from whom the *Othmân* as well as the *Seljuk* *Turks* have been reproached with f
being descended. But the affair of country or nation, about which so great a bustle is made, is
a very idle ridiculous concern, since these qualifications can confer no honour on a people if they
be wicked, nor reflect any dishonour on them in case they be virtuous.

Ancestors of
Othmân

ALTHOUGH the *Turkish* historians run up the genealogy of the *Othmân* *Turks* as high as
Ogûz and *Japhet*, five generations beyond him, yet it does not appear that the ancestors of

^c CANT. pref. p. 7.

^e See before, vol. ii. p. 155.

^f CANT. ibid. p. 12.

(D) What need had he to do what *Aladin* had done before? of *Othmân*, resided for a time near the *Euphrates*, in moveable habitations, like the inhabitants of *Tar-*

(E) The *Turkish* annals testify, that *Ertogrol*, father tary.

- a *Othmân*, who, as prince *Cantemir* confesses ^h, are but darkly set forth in the Turkish authors (F), can be traced with any certainty beyond the third degree, or that of his great-grandfather. These, according to the tradition in the time of *Kbalkokondylas*, were *Erdogrul*, *Ogûzalp*, and *Duzalp*: according to the Turkish annals, *Saadi Effendi*, and other eastern writers, their names were *Erdogrul*, *Soleymân Shâh*, and *Kiya aleb*, called by some *Kiya Khân*.

OF *Kiya Khân*, father of *Soleymân Shâh*, or indeed of any of the three ancestors of *Othmân*, very little is related by the Turkish historians; and even that little is liable to many objections.

SAADI EFFENDI, author of the annals so approved, as we are told, by the *Othmâns*, relates, after the best antient writers, that at the same time when the family of *Seljuk* removed from Persia;

- b *Mawara'nabr* (or the country beyond the river *Amû*) into *Irân* (or *Persia* at large, lying to the south of that river), with them also *Kiya Khân*, father of *Soleymân Shâh*, prince of the *Ogûzians*, departed with his tribe from *Marû Shâh jân*, and possessed himself of the city of *Makhân* (G) ⁱ: but that after *Jenghiz Khân*'s irruption, *Soleymân Shâh*, son of *Kiya*, or, as some write it, *Kiya aleb Khân*, whose dominions reached to *Ablâd* (H), to avoid the fury of the *Tatars*, was forced to relinquish his possessions, and with his people to go in quest of new habitations towards the country of *Rûm* ^k (or *Anatolia*). A. D. 1214.

HESHRI, a much older historian than *Saadi*, says the *Oguzians* possessed the country of *Ablâd* 170 years before *Soleymân*; under whom, in 611, they made their first expedition towards the regions of *Asia Minor*. But the *Tatars* having left nothing undestroyed, *Soleymân*, with his followers, abandoning *Rûm*, removed back to *Azerbejân* (I), and there, for some time, led a country or unsettled life. At last, in the year 616, pressed for want of necessaries, he advanced a second time with 50,000 men towards *Rûm*, to recover his former possessions; but, in attempting to swim over the *Euphrates* on horseback, was drowned ^l. A. D. 1219.

- c The place where this accident happened, according to the *Tajo'tatwarîk* of *Saado'ddîn*, was over-against the castle of *Khaybar*, or *Jabber*, and he was interred in a place called at present *Mazar dhi Turk* ^m. The *Tarîkh Othmâni* relates that *Soltân Aladîn*, of *Seljukian* extraction, flying from *Khorassân* to the country of *Tunnân* (K), and seizing the city of *Sevasta* (or *Siwas*), assumed regal power: at the same time, *Makhân* being destroyed, *Soleymân Shâh*, giving way to the violence of the *Tatars*, repaired to *Erzingân* (L) (or *Arzingân*); from thence, penetrating into *Romania* (*Rûm*, or *Rûmili*), came to *Amasia*. Then, altering his course, he marches to *Halep*, and thence to the city of *Jabber*, on the *Euphrates* (M), where he encamped: and, in attempting to swim over the river on horseback, was drowned ⁿ. Soleymân Shâh drowned.

THIS retreat of *Soleymân* is by the historians marked to have happened after *Jenghiz Khân* had destroyed the city of *Balkh*, in *Khorassân*; and had slain, after expelling from his kingdom, *Kurzem Shâh* (N).

THIS

^h Hist. Othm. pref. p. 12.

pref. p. 12, & seq. D'HERBELOT, p. 822, art. *Soleymân Schah*.

pref. p. 13. Annal. Soltanor. p. 1.

ⁱ D'HERBELOT's Dict. Orient. p. 822. *Soleymân Schah*.

^l Ibid.

^m Ibid.

^k CANT.

ⁿ CANT.

(F) He even owns, that the learned *Turks* confess, that every thing in the *Othmân* history, before *Soleymân*, favours of fable.

(G) *Makhân*, or *Mahân*, is between *Barwerd*, or *Ibûrd*, and *Duân*, not far from the river *Amû*, and about 160 miles from the *Caspian* sea. *Cantemir*, from some Turkish author, chutes to give the place from whence he retreated the name of *Nere*, although he knows not where to put it. Not finding it in the maps of Christians, he supposes it to be either *Herât*, capital of *Khorassân*, or else *Nurketzur*, in *Moxanderân* (which he makes a part of *Ghilân*); but the first is not near the *Caspian* sea, as he says the *Turks* place *Nere*; and the latter is too much out of the way from *Marû Shâh jân* and *Mahân*. We rather judge, that he reads *Nere* by mistake for *Neza*, the *r* and *z*, in the Arabic characters, differing only by a point. This *Neza*, *Nefa*, or *Nesay* (as it is written in the translation of *Atûl ghâzi Khân's History of the Turks*), lies between *Mahân* and *Marû Shâh jân*, distant from each about 140 miles; and, for its delightful situation, is called *Little Damascus*.

(H) *Ablât*, or *Kelât*, in the Great *Armenia*, often mentioned before.

(I) *Cantemir* says *Azerbejân* is *Shirwân*, or *Belâdo'l-jâh*; whereas they are three different provinces of *Persia*; the first to the north of *Azerbejân*, or *Adherbijân*;

the last, called *Kubestân* by the *Persians*, is a part of *Persian Irâk*. The same author commits a farther mistake, in saying *Azerbejân* is a province bordering on *Syria*, whereas all *Mesopotamia* and *Kûrdistân* lie between. What is still worse, and argues a great deficiency in geography, he puts the river *Nile* for one of the boundaries of *Europe*. See his *Othmân Hist.* p. 4. and notes 8 & 9.

(K) Not *Karamania*, as *Gaudier* supposes; nor *Ionia*, as *Cantemir* will have it; but *Greece*, or the Greek empire in general.

(L) A city on the *Euphrates*, to the south-west of *Azerûm*. *Cantemir* wrongly supposes, that by *Erzingân* is meant *Ezerbejân*, or *Adherbijân*, the antient *Media*. Pref. to his *Othm. Hist.* p. 12.

(M) Below *Bir*, towards *Rakka*.

(N) Or *Karazm Shâh*. *Cantemir* discovers great want of reading on this occasion; he says, that *Kurzem Shâh* signifies the king of *Caspia* (a kingdom of his own making); for that *Kurzem*, with the *Turks* (1), signifies the *Caspian* sea; and from thence is applied to the countries bordering on that sea (2). Whereas the sea takes the name of *Kurzem*, or *Karazm*, from the country of *Karazm*, or *Khorwarazm*, situate on the east side thereof. The *Shâh* here mentioned is *Mohammed Karazm Shâh*, the last of that Turkish race spoken of before, (vol. ii. p. 291, &

(1) Pref. p. 12.

(2) Hist. Othman. p. 2.

A. D. 1219.

Objection first.

THIS history, as delivered by the *Turkish* historians, made use of by *Cantemir*, is liable to a several objections. First, what is asserted, that the dominions of *Soleymân* extended from *Mabân*, in *Khorassân*, to *Ablâd*, in *Armenia*, is contrary to the truth of history: for all *Persia*, and great part of *Armenia*, were at that time under the obedience of the *Karazm Shâhs*; and before them, were in the possession of the *Seljukians* of *Irân*. Nor is it likely, that *Ablâd* was at all in the hands of the *Oguzians*, much less for 170 years before *Soleymân*'s retreat, if indeed he ever was possessed of it: for it is hardly possible, that two places at so vast a distance as *Makhân* and *Ablâd*, should be so long subject to petty princes, whose dominions were almost wholly confined to those two cities, and whose names were scarce known to the historians of those countries. Add to this, that his being forced to relinquish his possessions, with his followers, consisting of 50,000 men, to seek new habitations in *Rûm*, does not at all consist with his character of a prince possessed of large dominions; who, in that case, would have been able to have raised more numerous forces, and to have withstood the *Mogols*, instead of flying from them without fighting a stroke.

2d Objection.

Hejrah, 616.

SECONDLY, what is related of *Soltân Aladîn* (or *Alao'ddîn*) flying from *Khorassân* at the same time that *Soleymân* retreated from thence, and assuming royal power in *Sevasta* by right of conquest, is all a fiction: for *Alao'ddîn* came by succession to be *Soltân* of *Koniyab*, or *Ikonium*, on the death of his brother *Azzo'ddîn*, in 616; and, for any thing that appears, was never out of *Anatolia* before his accession to the throne. Indeed all that is related of this *Soltân*, and of what passed between him and the ancestors of *Othmân*, is merely fictitious, as will be shewn hereafter.

3d Objection.

Hejrah, 617.

A. D. 1220.

THIRDLY, what is said with regard to the time when *Soleymân* made his retreat from *Makhân* carries the marks of a bungling piece of forgery: for it is affirmed to have happened in 611 (O), and yet to have been after the death of *Karazm Shâh*, which was in 617, and of the destruction of *Balkh*, which came to pass the year following. Nay, *Jenghiz Khân*'s forces did not pass the river *Amû* into *Khorassân*, the most northern province of *Persia*, till the year 617°, which was the year after *Soleymân*'s death. So that, instead of being forced out of that country by the *Mogols*, or *Tatars*, he must have left it six years before there was any apprehension of their coming. This shews also the inconsistency of the reason assigned for his quitting the country of *Anatolia*, and returning to *Azerbejân*; namely, because the *Tatars* had left nothing undestroyed there; whereas they had not then entered upon their *Persian* expedition. Nor did they penetrate into *Asia Minor* during the reign of *Alao'ddîn*; which ended in 634: nor for several years after. If prince *Cantemir* had examined the *Turkish* historians critically in this part which relates to the origin of the *Othmâns*, it is presumed he would have followed them with more caution, and not exaggerated matters (P), after *Saadi Effendi*, and the other later writers, who had more the *Othmân* glory, than the truth of history, in view. But to return to the history itself.

Erdogrul's conquests.

SOLEYMAN left four sons, *Sungurtekin*, *Jundogdi* (Q), *Erdogrul* (or *Ortogrol*), *Gâzi*, and *Dundar*, or *Dumdar*. The two first, on their father's death, returned into *Persia*. *Erdogrul* and *Dumdar*, with their part of the forces, first pitched their tents in a place called *Shîrmaluckbuler* (R). *Dumdar* dying here a few days after, *Erdogrul* moved towards *Asia Minor*, subduing several provinces in his way (S); and, from his compelling those he defeated to embrace his religion (T), obtained the name of *Zeletis*, very famous in those parts. After this, that he might not seem tyrannically to covet the possessions of others, he sends his eldest son *Saruyati* (U), (afterwards celebrated by the epithet of *Savuchi Beg*) in an humble manner to *Aladîn* (X), *Soltân* of *Ikonium*; desiring an habitation somewhere in his kingdom for himself and his

° See LA CROIX's Hist. of Jenghiz Can, p. 238 & 283, &c.

seq.): but, because the *Turkish* histories do not mention his name, our princely author did not know it: which shews his reading did not go much beyond the *Turkish* historians.

(O) According to *Nisbrin*, *Saadi Effendi*, and other *Turkish* historians.

(P) *Cantemir* speaks of the retreat of this obscure prince in these pompous words: *Then it was that Soleymân Shâh, son of Kiya Khân, prince of the city of Nere, and of the Oguzian Tatars, lord also of the region of Marû Shâh jân; excelling all the princes of his nation in nobleness of birth, glory of ancestors, and his own virtues, in the year, &c. Oth. Hist. p. 2, & seqq.*

(Q) These two are named in *D'Herbelot Sarku Zengbi*, and *Ghundogdi*. *D'Herbelot*, p. 822, art. *Soliman Schah*.

(R) *Syrmalukbuler*, p. 8. of the *Oth. Hist.* probably *Chirmalik*, in *Diyârbekr*, between *Bir* and *Orfa*.

(S) In the history, p. 8. it is said, that he reduced by arms, or policy, all the countries between *Aleppo* and *Cæsarea* (that is in *Asia Minor*), with their castles and towns; introducing every-where the *Mohammedan* religion, which he professed.

(T) As if the inhabitants of those parts had been infidels, and not *Mohammedans*.

(U) Elsewhere written *Sarujât*. *Hist. Oth.* p. 9.

(X) *Cantemir*, p. 8, note 6. says he is called the second by the *Turkish* historians, although they do not mention a first. Hence he supposes the first *Aladîn* is the *Azatines* of *Nicephorus Gregoras*, who fled to *Michael Paleologus*, in the year 661, or of Christ 1261. But that *Azatines*, or *Azzo'ddîn*, was the next successor except one to *Aladîn* I. as we have shewn before, (vol. ii. p. 230, & seqq.) And if *Erdogrul* repaired to *Aladîn* soon after *Soleymân*'s death (as it should seem from the history he did),

a his followers. *Aladin*, thinking it better to make this powerful, though new neighbour; his friend than his enemy, and above all things wanting a good general to lead his armies, readily grants his request: and, sending back *Saru-yati*, with ambassadors, to *Erdogrul*, promises, that, in case by his valour the remainder of the *Tatars* were driven out of his dominions, not only to place him at the head of his armies, but also to associate him in his empire. *Erdogrul*, upon this encouragement, repairing to *Aladin's* court, was assigned *Karajedâghi*, in the country of *Ancyra*, for the place of his abode.

A. D. 1236.
Repairs to
Asia Minor.

ABOUT this very time, a numerous body of *Tatars* happening to invade the region of *An-cyra*, *Aladin*, who had been long infested by them, and often brought to the last extremity, led such forces against them as could be assembled in haste: but, being inferior to the enemy's, they were put into disorder on the first onset. *Erdogrul*, hearing of the battle, came up opportunely with 5000 men; who, seeing the *Soltân's* forces flying and dispersed, advise him to join the conquerors, and seize the spoils of the runaways: but he, scorning to draw his sword upon the prostrate, bravely attacks the *Tatars*, and puts them to flight. The *Soltân*, mindful of his promises, royally rewards *Erdogrul*, commits to his government the whole province of *Ancyra*, and makes him generalissimo of his armies (Y). After this, *Erdogrul*, joining his forces to the *Soltân's*, not only puts a stop to the incursions of the *Tatars*, but compels them to retire from the borders of the kingdom. He likewise subdued other countries from the *Romans*, and annexed them to *Aladin's* empire. In the year 680, according, says our author, to the accurate historian *Saadi*, he crowned his victories with the conquest of the famous city of *Kutahi* (Z) from the *Greeks*. At length, being worn out with wars and old age, he died in the same year, according to some historians, but, according to *Nisbrîn*, in 687 (A); and was buried at the castle of *Suguchik* (B), where his sepulchre is at this day religiously visited by *Mohammedans* ^P.

Expels the
Mogols.

His death.
Hejrah, 680.
A. D. 1281.

ERDOGRUL left three sons; *Othmân*, *Funduz*, and *Sarvîz*. To *Othmân* (who, though the eldest, received in *Aladin's* family the diminutive appellation of *Othmânbik*, or *Othmânjik* (C), he left by will the inheritance which he had received from *Aladin*. The grateful *Soltân* not only confirmed his bequest, but made him chief of all the *Tekaddum*, governors or commanders; and sent him the *Tab-lâlem*, or *military ensigns*; that is, the drums, standards, and other ornaments of a general; with full power over his whole army. More than this, in all the cities and provinces which had been subdued by his father, or should be subdued by himself, he permitted him to coin money in his own name (D); and to have the *Khotba* (E); that is, to be mentioned in the public prayers.

Othmân ex-
alted.

A. D. 1281.

OTHTMAN now seemed to want nothing of the royal dignity but the title of *Soltân*; which, however, he did not think safe to assume, during the life of *Aladin* (F): but, preserving the allegiance he had sworn to that prince, judged it better to fight in his defence. He first reduced the princes who had revolted from the empire: then turning his arms against the *Greeks*, in the year 687, took the town of *Kulza*, the first-fruits of his victories, and added it to *Aladin's* dominions. The same year, he took *Kalanos*, or *Kallinikus*, brother to the captain of *Karasherî* (G), or the *black city*; whom he caused to be flayed, and then ordered the whole army to piss on his grave: from whence the field, called before *Tomalidz* (H), still retains the name of *It Ishni*, or *dogs piss*. *Othmân* lost many men in this conflict, and among the rest his brother *Funduz*; who was buried in his father *Erdogrul's* sepulchre, near *Suguchik*. Immediately after this victory, he took also the city of *Karakhisar* (I), and annexed it to the *Seljukian* empire.

Conquests from
the Greeks.

Hejrah, 687.
A. D. 1288.

P CANT. pref. p. 13. Hist. p. 9, 10.

did), this must have been the first *Aladin*, since he was proclaimed *Soltân* in the same year that *Soleymân* is said to have been drowned; and the *Azzo'adin*, before-mentioned, did not begin his reign till the year 642, or 1244 of Christ; which is 28 years later: but, indeed, the whole of *Erdogrul's* transactions with *Aladin* are manifestly fictitious, as not in any respect agreeable with what is related of that victorious *Soltân*, by historians of unquestionable authority.

(Y) Yet we do not find, that he performed the chief part of his engagement, which was to associate him in the empire; nor how *Erdogrul* resented such a disappointment.

(Z) Or *Kutayeh*, the antient *Kotyæum* and *Kotiacum*.

(A) The *Turkish* annals place his death in the same year.

(B) Or *Soguta*.

(C) This nickname, which signifies *Little Othmân*, is no great sign that he was in high esteem.

(D) And the title of *Soltân*, as will afterwards appear.

(E) *Khotba* signifies *acclamation*, or *petition*, in the public prayers, said (by the *Khâtib*, or *deacon*) for the health and sacred majesty of the emperor, and for victory over his enemies, particularly the Christians. CANT.

(F) Yet elsewhere he expressly affirms, that *Aladin* allowed him to use the title of *Soltân*. Pref. p. 13.

(G) Rather *Karashahr*.

(H) Or *Tomalij*; possibly from the hill of that name, which is the *Tmolus* in *Phrygia*.

(I) Written here *Carachisar*; but in the preface, p. 14, *Carajehisar*. From the context it seems to be no other than *Karasherî* before-mentioned.

A. D. 1289. *ALADIN* the second, or younger (K), being informed of *Othmân's* victories, invests him with the government of *Eskishehr*, or the *old city* (L). The next year, 688, *Othmân* expelled the *Mogol Tatars*, quite suppressed their incursions on all sides, and gained many signal victories. *Defeats the Moguls,* Hejrah, 688. At length having assembled inhabitants, and enlarged *Karakbisar* with buildings and walls, he made it the seat of his residence. Here our author observes, that the *Seljukian* historians (M) differ in their computation (N); for they put the victory over the *Mogol Tatars* in the year 698, that is 10 years later; and he believes this date truest (O), because *Saadi*, in the following actions of *Othmân*, uses that supputation.

On Aladin's retreat, In 698, *Othmân* takes the castle of *Jarbissar* by stratagem; after which he adds the towns of *Bilejiki* and *Ayneghiol*, with many other castles and their territories, to *Aladin's* dominions. Next year, a swarm of *Gazanensian Tatars* (P) invading his kingdom, the princes and great men revolt a second time. By this defection, the *Soltân's* affairs becoming desperate, he is forced to abandon his dominions, and privately fly to *Mikhael Paleologus*, the *Greek* emperor; who, instead of assisting, imprisoned him (Q).

Hejrah, 699. A. D. 1299. *is proclaimed Soltân.* THE governors, on his retreat, divide his dominions among themselves: but *Othmân*, far superior to the rest in power and wealth, prevailed with them all, partly by great presents, partly by a communication of power, and partly by threats (R), to acknowledge him for sovereign of the whole empire. Wherefore, by unanimous consent of the great men and the army, he is, in the beginning of the year 700, declared *Soltân*, and in the city of *Karakbisar* assumes the title of emperor of the *Othmâns*; into which name he changes that of *Ogúzians*, or *Turks*, as they were commonly called under both the *Aladins*. From hence, says prince *Cantemir*, some historians date the beginning of *Othmân's* reign; and he follows their authority against that of *Saadi Effendi*: although, according to him, this latter contends, not without strong reasons, that the first year of his reign commenced in 687; when, after the taking of *Karakbisar* (S), he, with *Aladin's* consent, had his name mentioned there in the public prayers, and coined money impressed with the title of *Soltân*.

Appoints governors. OTHMAN, being thus possessed of the empire, sets his sons over the provinces and cities to govern and protect them. The *Sanjak* of *Karajedagh* (T) was given to *Orkbân*; that of *Eskishehr* to *Junduz aleb*; that of *Ayn Ongbi* to *Aygûd aleb*; that of *Jarbissar* to *Husan aleb*; and that of *Ayneghiol* to *Dorgûd aleb*: but *Alao'ddin*, his youngest son, with the government of the city of *Bilejik*, or *Bilijiki*, was committed to the care of his mother and father-in-law *Baliâd*. The city of *Kupribissar* being also taken the same year, *Othmân* removes the imperial seat from *Karakbisar* to *Jenghishehr*; which he adorns with stately buildings, and strongly fortifies.

THIS is the account which prince *Cantemir* gives us, from the *Turkish* historians, of the origin and foundation of the *Othmân* empire: but it is no less liable to objections than what he

9 CANT. pref. p. 13. Hist. p. 10—15.

(K) This is the first time *Aladin* is distinguished by the quality of second, although *Cantemir* says the *Turks* mention not a first: neither does he before speak of a *Seljukian* empire; but instead of *Seljukians*, or *Turks*, affects to call the *Soltâns* of *Rûm*, and their subjects, *Persians*. He tells us, pref. p. 13. that the proper name of this *Aladin* was *Key Khosrew*; which was the name of the 11th and 13th *Soltâns* of *Rûm*; but if this is a different *Aladin* from him mentioned before, he is more likely to be *Kaykobâd*, the last of the *Seljukian Soltâns*, who began his reign in 687, or of Christ 1288: but then the first *Aladin* will have a monstrous long reign of 71 years; which besides is contrary to the *Seljukian* history, which places four *Soltâns* between the first *Kaykobâd* and the second.

(L) The *Palopolis* of the *Greeks*.

(M) *Cantemir* has spoken of *Othmânic* historians, but not of *Seljukian* writers before: and in all likelihood, according to his inaccurate and confused way, he in this place confounds one kind with the other. Had he consulted the *Seljukian* historians, he would probably have made the *Othmân* history tally better with the *Seljukian*, from which it widely differs.

(N) It must be understood from the *Othmânic* historians.

(O) Here then is a mistake of 10 years in the *Othmânic* computation; and if *Saadi* followed the chronology of the *Seljukian* historians in this and the succeeding actions of *Othmân*, why not in those preceding it? Were the *Othmâns* more exact in marking the date of facts in the beginning than in the progress of their af-

fairs? From this circumstance we think he ought to have preferred the computation of *Nisbrin*, with regard to *Erdogrul's* death, in 687, to that of his accurate *Saadi*, in 680.

(P) By this very improper, if not absurd expression, is to be understood *Tatars*, or *Mogols*, sent by *Gazan*, or *Kazân Khân*, who reigned at that time in *Persia*.

(Q) This is a very great blunder of our author: for how could *Aladin* fly, in 1299, to *Mikhael Paleologus*, who died in 1283? He seems to have had *Soltân Azzo'din* in view; whom, as we have before remarked, he confounds with the first *Aladin*; or else confounds the second *Aladin* (who he says was *Malek Shâh*, or the *Moloko* of *Gregoras*, son of the first) with his father: for he adds, although he is said by *Nicephorus Gregoras* to be afterwards delivered out of prison by his subjects, yet it appears by the unanimous testimony of historians, that he died in the year of the *Hejrah* 703, of Christ 1303. There must be some farther mistake here; but we have not *Gregoras* to examine the matter by. He should also have told us what historians he means by the *Greek* or *Turkish*.

(R) So in the history; but in the preface, p. 13, he is said to have obliged (or forced) them to seek his protection and favour.

(S) The taking of this city is ascribed to *Erdogrul* by other *Turkish* historians, who differ greatly from those made use of by *Cantemir*. See *Leunclav. Hist. Musul.* l. ii. p. 102.

(T) A city afterwards very famous by the name of *Soltân Ongbi*.

a has delivered, from the same authority, concerning the origin of the *Othmân* family. 1. It is ^{A. D. 1299.} not at all probable, that *Erdogrul*, with but half his father's forces, could conquer all the country between *Hâleb* and *Kayfariyah*, or *Cæsarea*, in *Cappadocia*; one part having been in the hands of the successors of *Salâh'eddîn*, or *Saladin*, powerful princes; and the rest subject to *Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd*, the tenth and greatest of all the *Seljukian Soltâns* of *Rûm*. 2. There could be no room for making the vanquished embrace *Mohammedism*, since all the inhabitants of those countries, excepting a few, were *Mohammedans* for many ages before. 3. If *Erdogrul* had conquered so many countries as is pretended, how came he to be so much at a loss for want of a habitation, as to beg one from *Alao'ddîn*? Objection 1.

4. THE condition of the *Soltân's* granting his request could never be that of driving out the *Tatars*, since the *Tatars* did not enter into his dominions during his reign; and, if they had, it is highly improbable, that *Erdogrul*, with only 5000 men, should defeat those people, who had defeated the forces of *Alao'ddîn*, a very powerful prince. Objection 2.

5. IT is said in one place, that *Othmân*, by *Alao'ddîn's* consent, had the title of *Soltân* stamped on his coin; and, in another, that he was afraid to assume that title (U). This is a flat contradiction; nor is it scarce possible, that *Alao'ddîn*, even had he been so weak a prince as he is represented by the *Turkish* historians, should have granted *Othmân* leave to assume all the royal honours. Objection 3.

6. IT is not probable, that *Othmân* should add the conquests which he made from the *Greeks* to *Alao'ddîn's* dominions, if he had been allowed by agreement to keep them himself. Objection 4.

7. IT is impossible that *Alao'ddîn* should fly, in the year 1299, to *Mikhael Paleologus*, the *Greek* emperor, who died 16 years before: nor is it probable that he should reign from 1219 to 1299; as he must have done, in case the *Turkish* historians mention only one *Alao'ddîn*, whom they call the second. But the falsity of this is demonstrable from the oriental historians, who reckon six kings within that interval; four of whom are mentioned by the *Greek* writers. Objection 5.

8. IT is not probable, if the governors divided *Alao'ddîn's* empire among themselves upon his retreat, that they should immediately submit to *Othmân*, and acknowledge him for their *Soltân*. Besides, this is contradicted by the *Greek* historians, and even by the *Turkish* historians themselves; according to whom it appears, that those princes maintained their power, as sovereigns, or *Soltâns*, independently for a long time, till they were gradually subdued by the successors of *Othmân*. Objection 6.

9. SAADI contending so strenuously for commencing *Othmân's* reign ten years earlier than the other *Turkish* historians, and even during the reign of *Alao'ddîn* himself, shews how partial he was in favour of the *Othmân* glory: and *Cantemir's* rejecting his authority in this point, shews that he did not think him so infallible, but that he might in other cases have used him with more caution. Objection 7.

10. LASTLY, the distribution of his territories made among his sons by *Othmân* (which appear to be no more than the few cities he had conquered, at no great distance one from the other) is a sufficient proof that his dominions at that time were far from being large; much farther from comprising the whole *Seljukian* empire, or country of *Rûm*. Objection 8.


FROM the preceding remarks, we presume it is manifest, that the original of the *Othmân Turks*, and their power, is very obscure; and that their historians, especially *Saadi Effendi*, and other later ones, have rendered it still more doubtful, by the inconsistencies which the vain desire of aggrandising the founders of their empire has betrayed them into. On the contrary, the *Turkish* annals translated by *Gaudier*, which *Cantemir* treats as fabulous, and with so much contempt, are free from those stains which discredit the writings of that prince's favourite authors. Conclusion.

FOR although those annals recite the suspicious genealogy of *Othmân*, and suppose *Soltân Alao'ddîn*, as well as *Soleymân Shâh*, to be driven out of *Persia* by the *Tatars*; yet nothing occurs afterwards inconsistent with the *Seljukian* history, or the probability of facts.

THEY only relate in substance, that *Soleymân Shâh*, coming to *Arzingân*, made an inroad into *Asia Minor* as far as *Amasia*, and carried off much plunder: that then, turning off towards *Halep*, he was drowned at *Jabber*: that hereupon *Ertokul* (or *Erdogrul*) marching up the *Euphrates* to the *Passonian* (X) plains, there encamped with 400 portable houses after their manner: that he continued there for a time, during which interval he had many bickerings with the neighbouring people: that at length, being informed that *Soltân Alao'ddîn* had subdued several provinces in *Asia Minor*, and founded a great empire, he sent *Sarigati*, one of his three sons, the other two being *Gundus* and *Ozmân*, to intreat that he would grant him some place in his dominions, where he might dwell with his followers: that *Alao'ddîn*, readily con-

(U) Although he had a right to it, by what is said in a third place, that he should be associated in the empire, in case he drove out the *Tatars*, as it is pretended he did.

(X) Or the plain of *Pasin Wâsi*, 12 miles beyond *Arserûm*. *Leuncl. Hist. Musul. Turc.* l. ii. p. 97.

A. D. 1299.  sending to his petition, appointed them a country fit for their habitation, both in the summer and winter seasons : that a certain nation (Y) at the same juncture advanced against the *Soltân* ; and, while this prince marched with his forces to give them battle, *Ertokul*, with his sons *Sarigati* and *Ozmân*, made the best of their way towards *Engûri* (or *Ancyra*) : that *Ertokul*, settling thereabout with his people, never ceased harrassing the neighbouring *Greeks* with incursions (Z) : and that, having governed them for 52 years, he died in 687 : that, some territories being conquered, his son *Ozmân* founded a principality, or dominion, and divided part of it among the commanders who came thither with his father *Ertokul* : that afterward *Ozmân*, and his son *Ur Khân*, joining their forces, turned their arms against the Christians ; and laying all waste before them, took *Isnik* (or *Nice* ^r).

IN this account of the origin of the power of the *Othmân*, or *Ozmân*, *Turks*, you hear nothing of the *Ogûzians* reigning from *Makhân* to *Akblât*, in *Armenia* ; or of their holding this last city for 170 years before *Soleymân Shâh* : nothing of *Erdogrul*'s conquering all the provinces between *Halep* and *Cæsarea* ; or of *Alao'ddîn*'s being invaded by the *Tatars*, and their expulsion by *Erdogrul* with a handful of men : nothing of the same *Alao'ddîn*'s living to the time of *Othmân*, much less to the year 1300 ; of his conferring the regal honours on *Othmân* ; or the governors unanimously proclaiming him *Soltân* on *Alao'ddîn*'s retreat.

Authors most approved by the Turks.

To confirm the judgment which we have passed on the historians made use of by prince *Cantemir*, we shall produce the authority of count *Marsigli* ; who, during some years stay in *Turkey*, made it his business to enquire into the antient, as well as modern, state of the *Othmân* empire. This nobleman remarks the same difference we have done among the *Turkish* authors, relating to the origin of the *Othmân* family ; and declares, directly contrary to what prince *Cantemir* asserts, that those only are generally approved of which represent the facts agreeable to the *Turkish* annals of *Gaudier*. But, to give count *Marsigli*'s own words, he observes, speaking of the origin of the *Othmân* empire, " That the most learned among the *Turks* acknowledge, that *Erdogrul*, whom some call *Ordogrul*, *Orthogrul*, and *Urtukul*, was the *Morzar* (A), leader, or chief, of the *Tartarian Turkmâns* : that his father *Soleymân Shâh*, governor of *Mahâm*, a city of *Khorassân*, being driven out by *Singhiskam*, fled with his *Turkmâns* into *Armenia*, called from them *Turkomania* : that joining himself to *Aladîn*, *Soltân* of *Ikonium*, he began to set up for a sovereign by the assistance of that prince's troops : that, *Erdogrul* dying in 687, *Aladîn* continued the same favours to his son *Ozmân*, or *Othmân*, honouring him with the drum, the standard, and the sabre ; which are the marks of sovereignty (B) : and permitting him to conquer *Asia Minor* from the *Greeks*."

THIS, count *Marsigli* affirms, is what is related in the *Turkish* histories most universally received : but, on the other side, those, who would flatter the *Othmân* line, say, " That *Soleymân Shâh* was descended from *Singhiskam* ; that his son *Erdogrul* was acknowledged as sovereign by *Aladîn* himself ; and, in short, that *Ozmân* obtained the kingdom of *Ikonium* by grant from *Aladîn*, during his life-time."

Turkish historians.

As the dominion of the *Othmân Turks* still subsists, they are more happy than the *Seljukians*, in having a great number of national, or domestic, writers extant in the world, to publish the actions of them and their monarchs from the foundation of the empire.

Saadi Effendi of Larissa.

THE chief *Turkish* authors, whom prince *Cantemir* made use of in framing his history of the *Othmâns*, seem to have been two ; both bearing the name of *Saadi Effendi*, but distinguished by other marks. The first is called *Saadi Effendi*, of *Larissa*, and stiled by *Cantemir*, the most learned *Saadi*, author of the elaborate *Synopsis Historiarum*. This, he tells us, was collected from the most celebrated historians, *Mevlana Idris*, *Neshrin*, *Saadi*, *Tajo'taverikh*, *Pechovi*, and *Hezarfen* (C). It was published in 1696, and dedicated to *Soltân Mostafa* ; who in that year began his reign ^r.

CANTEMIR's history seems to be a translation, or abridgment, of this author ; and yet he no-where expressly tells us so. It is true, he quotes others in his preface, notes, and history, preceding *Othmân* : but gives little or no account of them, or how far he has made use of them ; only says, in general, that he has collected his history from the best *Turkish* historians, and delivered matters in their own words ^f.

^r Annal. Soltanor. p. 2.
^u Ibid. Hist. Othm. p. 266.

^s Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomanno, p. 6.

^t CANT. pref. p. 7.

(Y) The later *Turkish* writers, in making this nation *Tatars*, have exposed their ignorance, and convicted themselves of forgery.

(Z) They were so far from defeating the *Tatars*, or going to assist their benefactor, that they provided for their own security by flight.

(A) *Murza*, or *Murja*.

(B) But not all the marks of sovereignty, being the honours belonging to generals.

(C) *Husseyn Effendi Hezarfen*, or *Hazarfen*, a modern *Turk* ; who has given an history of all the *Turkish* monarchies. It is an abstract of *Al Jannâbi* the *Arabian*'s general history of *Asia* ; and was published in *Turkish*, in 1672. It has been translated by M. *De la Croix* senior, interpreter to *Lewis XIV.* of *France*. See *De la Croix's Hist. of Jenghis Can*, p. 427, and pref. to *Hist. of Timour Bec*, p. 22.

- a** THE other *Saadi* is the same with the author of the *Tajo'tavarikh* mentioned above, among those from whom *Saadi* of *Larissa* compiled his *Synopsis*. His name, according to *D'Herbelot*, is *Saado'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Hassan*, the most famous and elegant of all the *Turkish* historians. He was preceptor to *Soltân Morâd* (or *Amurath*) III. son of *Selîm*, and advanced even to the dignity of *Musti*, or pope (D). He is commonly called *Kbowajeh*, or *Kbeja Effendi*, and has composed, in very elegant *Turkish*, the book, intituled, *Tajo'tavarikh*, or *Al Tevarikh*, as the *Turks* pronounce it; that is, *the crown of histories*; which is a history of the *Othmân Soltâns* from the commencement of their monarchy to *Soleymân I.* *. Prince *Cantemir* calls this work *Saadi Tajo'tavarikh*, and its compiler *Saadi Effendi*, the famous author of the *Othmân annals*, *Tajo'tavarikh*, so approved by the *Othmâns*; and gives him the character of one who was *not* more zealous for the *Othmân glory*, than *historical truth* †; which judgment, we apprehend from the remarks that have already been made on him, will not be thought strictly true.

A. D. 1299.
Saado'ddîn
Mohammed.

- b** BEFORE prince *Cantemir's* history appeared, we had a *Latin* translation of a *Turkish* author, by *John Gaudier*, alias *Spiegel*, under the title of *Annales Sultanorum Osmanidarum*; which carries down the history from their original to the year 1550; and seems to give a plain and undisguised relation of facts, from the earliest historians. However, prince *Cantemir* endeavours to wound the credit of these annals through the sides of *Gaudier*; whom he charges with *too boldly asserting for truth what he had taken from some Turkish chronicle concerning the Othmân race*. He then produces passages out of it, wherein he alleges the names to be corrupted, and put out of their true order, as well as other matters to be reported falsely by *Gaudier*; which is very unfair, as he knew that person did no more than translate the work. And the matters, which he says are reported falsely, may be presumed to be those relating to the origin of the *Othmâns*, and their power; which the author has not set off with so much splendor as the *Saadi Effendi's*. To us, there seems to be nothing fabulous in it, but what concerns the genealogy of *Othmân*, and affects it in common with the other histories.

Turkish annals.

- c** IN short, you meet in the annals with none of those glaring marks of forgery, which appear in the histories made use of by prince *Cantemir*. However, as the flaws to be found in the *Othmân* history chiefly affect this part of it, which the writers had most temptation to adulterate, we shall, for the future, follow them with less scruple; our design being, not to destroy the authority of the *Turkish* history in general, as delivered by their own authors, but only to separate the spurious part from the genuine; and point out the absurdities which their pride has introduced, through a vain imagination that it would diminish the lustre of a potent empire, should it be thought to have arisen from an inconsiderable beginning; and that the origin of its founders was obscure. This book was published by *Leunclavius*, with very learned and useful notes, geographical and historical, under the title of *Pandects*.

Judgment thereon.

- d** PRINCE *Cantemir's* censure seems to be pointed at the same annals, when he says, "That the *Tevarikhi Al Othmân* (E) is one of the fabulous histories which were written very soon after the foundation of the *Turkish* empire: that some Christian authors seem to borrow their chronology of the *Othmâns* from those books; but that they are not approved of by the *Turks*, and are bitterly inveighed against in the *Tajo'tavarikh*." Because, we presume, they do not sufficiently exalt the *Othmân* glory, by exaggerating their rise with such shining, but false circumstances, as later historians have done: for the nearer the historians were to the times they wrote of, the more likely they are to relate the truth. As domestic authors are generally inclined to magnify the origin of their nation and monarchs, it is not probable that they would suppress those facts which redound most to the glory of both; and substitute others not so much to their advantage.

Censure of Cantemir.

- e** BUT whatever ground prince *Cantemir* might have had to censure the *Othmân* annals, and other histories of the *Turks*, we cannot imagine what could induce him to fall foul on *Abu'lfaraj* (whom he misnames *Abulfarago*), or even to mention him. Speaking of Christian historians, who, in their accounts of the *Turkish* affairs, have loaded their works with fables, barbarisms, and anachronisms, he says, he has often wondered, *that men of learning, and, in other respects, of great penetration, could be ever induced to credit the indigested and absurd narrations of Abu'lfarago; who, among the Turks, scarce merits the name of historian*. Surely prince *Cantemir* must have been wholly a stranger to that author, or must mistake him for some other: for how little soever he may be intitled to the character of an historian (his history being no more than a collection of select facts reduced into chronological order), yet none before this princely censor ever accused his *Compendium of Dynasties*, as consisting of indigested and absurd narrations;

His unjust reflection on Abu'lfaraj.

* D'HERBEL. p. 728. Art. Saad eddin ben Hassan. Hist. Othm. pref. p. 9.


† CANT. pref. p. 6, 7, 12, 14.

‡ CANT.

(D) He died in *Hejrah* 1008, A. D. 1599.

(E) That is, *The history, or annals, of the Othmân Sol-*

tâns. There are a great many under this title. See *D'Herbelot*, p. 860.

A. D. 1299.  nor is any work perhaps freer from *fables*, *barbarisms*, and *anachronisms* : except by fables are a meant the traditions of nations, and by barbarisms the oriental names of persons and places ; in which case prince *Cantemir*'s own history is no less liable to objection than that of *Abûl'faraj* ; who was a person of eminent learning, and dignity in the *Syriac* church. And as for anachronisms, no author perhaps has given the dates of actions with greater care and exactness.

WHAT makes this censure of prince *Cantemir* the more unaccountable, and would induce one to imagine that he has mistaken this author for some other, is, that *Abûl'faraj* does not mention one word of the *Othmân Turks* throughout his annals ; and consequently is, with no manner of propriety, introduced by *Cantemir*, even supposing he was such an author as his censor represents him.

Condemns European authors in oriental history.

THE *European* authors indeed are justly censured by the prince, as being full of fables, barbarisms, and anachronisms, owing to their ignorance in the oriental languages and histories ; of which his quotations from *Nicephorus Gregoras*, and *Lonicerus*, concerning the successors of *Jenghîz Khân*^a, are flagrant proofs : but, on the other side, it may be as justly retorted, that he himself has committed mistakes in history, chronology, and geography ; which he could not have done, had he been only tolerably versed in the oriental authors. Some instances of this have been already produced ; to which we shall here add one or two more. The first concerns those same successors of *Jenghîz Khân* in *Persia* ; with regard to whom he says, *It is agreed by all, who have left written histories of the eastern nations, that the Tartarian princes, successors of Jenghîz Khân, were in the year of the Hejrah 656, and of Christ 1258 (forty-four years before Othmân) subdued by Ebubekir, son of Saadi, king of Persia, and their provinces restored to the Persian monarchy, excepting those which were held by some of the Satrapæ (or governors) ; who in the expedition of the Tatars, took the opportunity to set up for themselves : among whom were Aladin, Soltân of Ikonium, and Soleymân, grandfather of Othmân. Hence, says he, it is evident, that the Tartarian kingdoms in Asia were overturned by the Persians long before the beginning of the Othmân empire*^b.

PRINCE *Cantemir* asserts two points in this paragraph, which are the most contrary to fact that can be imagined. First, that the *Tartarian* kingdoms in *Asia* were overturned by the Persians under *Ebubekir*, in 1258. This is so far from being fact, that that monarchy was then at its greatest height under the famous *Hûlâkû Khân*, first of the race of *Jenghîz Khân* in *Persia* : and although, after the death of *Abûsâid Behâder Khân*, successor of *Hûlâkû*, in the year Hejrah, 736. 736, no sole monarch of the house of *Jenghîz Khân* succeeded him ; yet the *Mogols*, whose A. D. 1335. commanders divided the regal power among themselves in the several provinces, held the *Persians* in subjection till the reign of *Timûr Bek*^c, or *Tamerlan*. This is agreeable to the unanimous testimony of the oriental historians ; nor can any one of any authority, much less all, be produced to support prince *Cantemir*'s assertion. And as to his *Ebubekir* (rather *Abû Bekr*) son of *Saadi*, he seems to be no less imaginary as to his existence than his conquests.

Second instance.

SECONDLY, in saying that *Aladin*, *Soltân* of *Ikonium*, and *Soleymân*, grandfather of *Othmân*, were among the governors who set up for themselves, he affirms two facts, one of them contrary to the authority of the best historians, the other, to what he elsewhere relates himself : for it appears from the foregoing history of the *Seljûks*, that *Aladin* was no governor, but an absolute prince ; and by his own account, *Soleymân* was sovereign prince of a territory, or territories, in *Khorassân*, a province of *Persia*^d. Nor does he, in the list which he afterwards gives of those governors, mention *Soleymân*^e : but, to make amends, he inserts among them *Kburzem Shâb*, king of *Caspia*, as he calls him ; and tells you, that *Aladin*, as the chief of them, alone enjoyed the title of *Soltân*. Now this *Kburzem Shâb*, whom he makes a petty governor, was no less a person than the *Great Mohammed Karazm Shâb*, lord of all the countries from *Turkestân* to the river *Tigris*. He likewise enjoyed the title of *Soltân*, as well as *Aladin*, or *Alao'ddin*, who, compared with him, was but a little prince.

His censure, and commendation.

FROM the foregoing instances, the reader may be apt to judge that prince *Cantemir* was but little acquainted with any part of the *Mohammedan* history, except that of the *Othmân Turks* : but to have written well on their affairs, he ought at least to have consulted the *Seljûkian* authors, in case any be remaining, as he seems to intimate, by what has been mentioned before ; if he has not committed some mistake on that occasion, which is not improbable.

IT is very usual with prince *Cantemir* to assert things without bringing his vouchers ; and to give his own opinion, or report of matters, for that of others. He is apt also to mix the different accounts of authors together, without distinguishing them ; which, with his own historical and geographical mistakes, makes a strange rhapsody of error and confusion throughout his preface, and in the beginning of his history : but he grows more correct, as he advances

^a CANT. pref. p. 9.

^d CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 3.

^b Ibid. p. 9.

^e See pref. p. 12.

^c See D'HIERBEL. p. 32. Art. Abûsâid ben Algiapû.

a from the early times of the *Othmân* monarchy ; and indeed is recommendable not only for A. D. 1335. having given us a *Turkish* history, taken immediately from the *Turkish* authors, but also for a great number of very useful notes wherewith he has improved it.

WITH regard to the *Greek*, commonly called the *Byzantine* historians, there are but three or four who treat of the affairs of the *Othmâns*, namely, *Nicephorus Gregoras*, the emperor *John Kantakuzenus*, *Dukas*, and *Laonicus Khalkondylas*, or *Khalkokondilas*. The first of these authors, as prince *Cantemir* observes, is rather a rhetorician than an historian, as indeed most of those writers are, who speak of foreign affairs only occasionally, and neglect the essentials of the history and chronology to attend to the polishing of their stile. *Kantakuzenus* does not say a great deal on the subject ; but *Dukas* treats copiously, and like an historian, of the *Turkish* wars, from the death of *Orkhân*, to the taking of *Constantinople* by *Mohammed II.* Cousin, who translated several of the *Byzantine* writers into *French*, says, *his work is more extensive than that of Khalkondylas, because he goes farther back ; and that it is conducted with much more judgment.*

HOWEVER that may be, the history of *Dukas* is not near so voluminous as that of *Khalkondylas*, who has professedly written a history of the *Turks* to the same period. But nothing can be more jejune or incorrect than his account of the origin of those people, and the first *Othmân Soltâns*. He quotes no authors for what passed before his own time ; and indeed seems to follow none. The small conformity there is between his account of affairs, and that given by *Pakhmir*, *Kantakuzenus*, and *Dukas*, shews that he was quite unacquainted with those authors ; and that he rather wrote what he remembered to have heard, than from books. This is confirmed by his seldom marking the dates of facts ; which, tho' equally essential to them, as the scene of action, are not so easily retained in memory.

FROM the taking of *Constantinople*, the history has been carried down to the present time by the *Venetian*, *German*, and other western authors. Among the rest, *John Leunclavius*, a *German*, hath, besides the annals before-mentioned, published *The history of the Turks, taken from their own historians* (F). These, at the same time they add many things not found in the annals, differ much from the annals ; and the historians made use of by prince *Cantemir* differs still more from them. Hence it appears, that the *Turks* have more than once brought their history under the hammer ; and that the first essays not pleasing their vanity, they have raised it a-new upon a plan more to their liking, but still more inconsistent with truth.

LEUNCLAVIUS has improved his history with indexes, in which are explained all the *Turkish* words that occur, with the situations of places, and the names they had before the *Turks* changed them ; a work which manifests the great learning, genius, and application, of its author : but the misfortune is, he has mixed what the *Greeks* and others have written, with the *Turkish* memoirs, and not always sufficiently distinguished the reports of one author from those of another. This fault, which has been the ruin of history in every country, ought to be carefully avoided ; for the early historians being compounded together in one age, and those recomposed with others in the next, falshood becomes blended with truth, in such a manner, that, for want of referring things to their proper authors, there is no separating the one from the other ; and thus the whole falls under the suspicion of fable and forgery with posterity.

AFTER all, *Leunclavius* hath transgressed in this respect, much less than the generality of history writers since his time ; whose works ought to be considered rather as the produce of their own invention, than histories framed from the memoirs of other men. At least, citing no vouchers for what they deliver, and being themselves many ages posterior to the facts they relate, their testimony can be of no manner of authority with persons of judgment ; who will always expect good evidence for the truth of what they read.

(F) *Historiæ Musulmanæ Turcorum de monumentis ipsorum exscriptæ, lib. xviii. Francfort, 1591.*

C H A P. II.

The reign of Othmân, or Ozmân,

First Khân or Soltân.

A. D. 1300.
Rise of Oth-
mân.

WE find in the *Greek* writers an account of the rise of *Othmân*, more exact perhaps than that which we meet with in the *Turkish*; and at the same time not inconsistent with theirs. *Laonicus Khalkondylas* informs us, that the *Ogúzians*, after their coming into *Asia Minor*, settled in a little town or village, called *Soguta* (A), on the borders of *Mysia*, and not above 15 or 16 leagues distant from the *Propontis*. A river of the same name runs through the place, which was before named *Itæa* (B). It is well known that the *Othmân* monarchs have always held this town in great esteem, often visiting it, and bestowing more favours on the inhabitants than those of any other place.

Elected chief.

AFTER the *Ogúzians* had dwelt here for a long time, *Othmân*, by his courtesy and gifts, so gained on them, that they chose him for their chief. This done, he immediately armed them; and falling on all sides on the *Greeks*, with whom before they had frequent bickerings, defeated some, and drove others out of the country, which they took possession of. After this he gained frequent victories; which coming to the ears of *Soltân Aladin*, he made him his lieutenant-general: but *Aladin* dying soon after, great disputes arose among his great officers. At length they entered into a league to make conquests, with their joint forces, and then divide them amongst themselves. In these expeditions *Othmân* signalized his valour and conduct above all the rest. The commanders, who were seven in number, divided the territories they had conquered, by casting lots; which fell in the following manner: 1. All the inner parts of *Phrygia*, as far as *Cilicia* and *Philadelpia*, fell to the share of *Karamân*; 2. *Sar Kân* had the maritime provinces of *Ionian*, which extended to *Smirna*; 3. *Kalamuz*, and his son *Karaz* (C), possessed *Lydia*, to the frontiers of *Mysia*; 4. *Bythinia*, with all the countries towards mount *Olympus*, fell to *Othmân* and *Tekies*; 5. *Paphlagonia*, with other lands, extending to the *Propontis*, became the lot of the sons of *Omur* (D). As for *Kermian*, it is said he was not of the number; but that having at the beginning of these revolutions seized on *Ikonium*, he was afterwards driven out, and retired into *Ionian*, where he lived a private life^a.

THIS heptarchy or division among the *Turkish* chiefs, we shall see confirmed hereafter by *Pakhamir* and *Dukas*, and even by the circumstances of the *Turkish* history itself: from whence it appears, that although *Othmân* continued his conquests, and might have improved his share more than some of the other *Turkish* commanders, yet he was still upon the same footing with them; nor seems to have assumed any titles or authority more than the others had done: but as he laid the foundation of a great empire, which his successors completed, it is proper that his reign should commence from the time that he became an independent prince, after the extinction of the *Seljukian* monarchy, when the partition that was made by the *Turkish* commanders took place; which must have been in the year 1300, or not long after.

Othmân takes
Bilejiki,
Hejrah, 698.
A. D. 1298.

AMONG the exploits already mentioned to have been performed by *Othmân* before the dissolution of the *Seljukian* monarchy, that of his taking the city of *Bilejiki* (E) deserves a more particular account. The *Turkish* historians write, that in the year 698, *Mikbael Kossi*, that is, *Goat's beard*, governor of *Bilejiki*, having invited *Othmân* to the marriage of his daughter, the other *Greek* governors (F) of the neighbouring places resolve to seize him. Being informed of their design, by his trusty friend *Mikbael*, he orders some hundreds of soldiers to conceal themselves near the place, and 40 well armed men, dressed like women, to enter the castle of *Jarhissar*, and in the night set fire to the houses about it: mean time he repairs with a small retinue to *Khakirbunar*, a place in the suburbs, where the marriage was to be celebrated. At the time appointed, the 40 disguised soldiers set fire to the town, then without garrison; which, as soon as *Othmân* perceived, he gives the signal to the soldiers in ambush, who, rushing on the guests buried in wine, slew them all, without distinction of sex, excepting *Mikbael*, and a

^a KHALKONDYLAS, l. i. c. 4.

(A) Rather *Suguchik*, or *Sugutjik*, as the *Turks* call it; that is, the *village of willows*.

(B) *Itæa* signifies also a place of willows; so that the *Turkish* name is only a translation of the *Greek*.

(C) By others *Karasc*.

(D) Or *Amur*, slain by *Soltân Maffūd* of *Rûm*. See before, vol. ii. p. 240.

(E) Or *Bylejik*, by others written *Bilezug*.

(F) The *Turkish* authors, to magnify the exploit, call them princes.

a few others ; among whom was the bride *Holofira*, of noble descent. This lady *Othmán* afterwards married to his son *Or Khân* ; by whom she had *Soleyman* and *Murád*. A. D. 1298.

THIS affair is represented somewhat differently by the Christian writers. According to them, *Mikbael Koffi*, governor of *Hirmen Kata* (G), invites his friend *Othmán*, with the Christian governors of the neighbouring castles, to his daughter's wedding. *Othmán*, by his noble presents on that occasion, raising both the envy and jealousy of these governors, they combine to destroy him. To effect this, the governor of *Bilejiki*, the most powerful of them, being to marry the captain of *Jarbissar*'s daughter, invites *Othmán* to the nuptials ; and sends *Koffi* to conduct him thither. *Koffi* found *Othmán* very willing to go ; but unwilling that so brave a man should perish by treachery, discovers the plot to him. The *Turk*, resolving to be revenged, bids *Koffi* tell the governor, that he would certainly wait on him ; but being at war with a neighbouring prince, and fearing a surprize in his absence, desired the liberty of sending his mother-in-law and wife, with their attendants, and some of his best goods, to *Bilejiki*.

THIS being readily granted, *Othmán* disguised 40 young men like women, and stowing several others in packs like goods, comes to the place where the marriage was next day to be solemnized, being an open field, at some distance from the castle. As soon as the pretended ladies and goods were received into *Bilejiki*, the soldiers throwing off the mask, with some difficulty seize the fortress. When the governor was retired to his bed-chamber, *Othmán*, who concluded his stratagem had succeeded, takes horse, with his followers, and friend *Koffi*, and rides full-speed to *Bilejiki*. The governor, informed of his sudden departure, pursues, and overtakes him ; but his attendants being, for the most part, drunk, he is slain by *Othmán* in the conflict, and the rest put to flight. Having thus taken *Bilejiki*, *Othmán* next morning likewise surprised *Jarbissar*, where he took prisoner the captain, and his beautiful daughter the bride, who were preparing to go to the wedding ^b.

WE meet with little or no account in the *Turkish* history of the actions of *Othmán* for the first seventeen years of his reign ; which argues a great want of records during that time. To fill up this gap, we are only told, that after he had removed his residence to *Jenghisaburi*, as before mentioned, he spent some time in regulating his domestic affairs. We shall therefore, in some measure, supply the defect out of the *Byzantine* historians ; by shewing the miserable state to which the *Greek* affairs in *Asia* were reduced at the time that *Othmán* appeared there.

WE have related, towards the close of the *Seljukian* history, by what means the affairs of the east, which had been restored by *Tarkoniates*, came to be again ruined. Sometime after, six thousand *Alans* (H), who had served *Nogais* (I) the *Tatar*, came to offer their service to the emperor *Andronicus* ; who receiving them as succours sent from heaven, divided them into three parts : the greater number he sent before into the east, and reserved the most valiant for the young emperor *Mikbael*, who, eager to be in action, followed soon after, and encamped at *Magnesia*, near the desert. From thence he sent out parties, who scoured the enemy's country, and brought off much plunder ; while the *Turks* betook themselves to the hills and their strong holds : but afterwards assembling their forces, and descending into the plains, the emperor was prevailed on to retreat, by the chief officers of his army, who magnified the forces of the enemy.

THIS shameful retreat encouraged the *Turks* to make incursions as far as the field of *Mene*, and ruin the country on all sides, while the emperor was shut up in *Magnesia*. The *Alans*, after this, demanded leave to return ; and as the whole defence of the empire then depended on them, when the young emperor found that he could detain them no longer, he retired as secretly as he could from *Magnesia*, in a dark and stormy night. The *Turks* had so over-run the country to the south of *Pergamus*, that the inhabitants, abandoning their houses and effects, fled for safety, some into that city, others to *Endromit* (or *Adromitium*), and to the sea-coast near *Lampsakus* ; while many crossed the *Hellepont* into *Europe* ; so great was the general fear and distress.

THE east being thus inclosed, as it were, by the *Turks*, from one sea to the other, *Othmán* appeared the 27th day of *July*, at the head of a very numerous army, near *Vaseum*, a place not far from *Nikomedia*. After having pillaged the country about *Nice*, he crossed the moun-

^b CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 13.

(G) He was more likely governor of this castle than of *Bilejiki* ; since this latter was given to *Baliad*, as before related ; which could not well be, if *Koffi*, his friend, had been governor of it, as the translator of *Cantemir* well observes ; unless, indeed, he was promoted to a better government.

(H) There were at that time 8000 of that nation fit to bear arms.

(I) This *Nogais* was one of the *Tatar* commanders, who having subdued the country to the north of the *Euxine* sea, set up for himself, and extended his conquest along the north side of the *Danube* ; but in 1297 he was defeated, and killed by *Tuktai*, descended from the princes of the kingdom which *Nogais* had seized. *Pakh. in Mich. & Andronic. l. ix. c. 26.*

tains,

A.D. 1303. tains, to ravage the territories of the *Alifons*; and was joined by more forces from *Paphlagonia*, who seemed resolved to over-run at once all which remained to the *Romans*. All the troops which *Muzalon* had, both of *Romans* and *Alans*, to oppose such formidable enemies, did not amount to 2000 men: besides, a misunderstanding arising between the two parties, they made but small resistance. A good number was slain by the *Turks*, and the *Romans* fled shamefully to *Nikomedia*; while many *Alans* lost their lives to favour their escape. After this defeat, the people ran for shelter to that city; and the *Turks* ravaged the country every-where, without opposition, to the very walls of *Prusa*, *Nice*, and *Endromit*, where the emperor then was. In short, the whole east was ruined by the fury of their arms, excepting the strong holds and fortified places. There was only a small space of land towards the sea, about *Akhirao*, *Cyzicus*, *Piga*, and *Lopadion*, which was exempt from pillage.

WITH regard to the islands, after the pirates abandoned *Tenedos*, which had long been their place of rendezvous, the *Turks* seized it; and, with the vessels they built there, subdued the islands of the *Archipelago*, *Samos*, *Karpathus*, and even *Rhodes*, which they entirely laid waste.

The emperor's policy.

A.D. 1304.

THE emperor finding that he could not by force of arms repress the enemy, who made incursions as far as the *Bosphorus*, had recourse to other measures. *Kuximpaxis* (K), a *Tatar*, on the death of *Nogais*, to whom he was strictly attached, fled, with his wife and children, towards the east; but being driven by contrary winds towards *Heraklea*, implored the emperor's protection, was received, and changed the *Mohammedan* faith for the Christian. *Andronicus*, after this, having brought about a match between the daughter of his convert and *Soliman Paxis*, chief of the *Turks*, who were nearest the frontiers, gave the government of the country round *Nikomedia* to *Kuximpaxis*; in hopes *Soliman* would spare the *Roman* frontiers, out of respect to his father-in-law. But this piece of policy did not succeed to his expectation: for although *Soliman* forbore incursions, yet he could not restrain *Amurat* (L), another commander, from pillaging; the chiefs acting independently of each other. Besides, the moment one chief sat still, his soldiers lifted under another, who continued to ravage the country; so that *Soliman's* men committed the same hostilities as if their chief had been at their head (M).

Turkish princes.

IN short, there were then in arms, several parties under so many different commanders, as *Atman* (or *Othman*), *Atin* (or *Aydin*), *Alifuras Mantakkia* (N), *Lamises*, *Sfondiles*, *Pagdin*, and others, who, like a devouring fire, had ruined all the country (O). The emperor had no forces to oppose the enemy, and but one way left to raise any; and that was, by making use of the fund, out of which the pensions of the churches, monasteries, and his guards, were paid. The emperor *Mikbael* finding it not safe to remain at *Pergamus*, went with his troops to *Cyzicus*, whither the people, who could escape, retired with their effects; but fearing to be besieged, he soon after removed to *Piga*, a little city near the sea, where he fell into a dangerous sickness, caused by grief and vexation. A little before this, on the 8th of *August*, there happened an earthquake. It was scarce felt about *Constantinople*; but at *Rhodes* it was so violent, and did so much mischief, the like was never known. It was also very great at *Alexandria*, and the country round: it shook *Koron*, *Methone*, a part of the *Morea*, and the island of *Kandia*; in all which places much damage was done.

Violent earthquake.

The Catalans arrive.

IN *September* following, in the second indiction (P), *Roger* (Q) came, at the invitation of the emperor, with seven ships, and an army of his allies, both *Catalans* and *Amogavares* (R), to the number of 8000 men. This *Roger* had served in the wars between the kings of *Sicily* and *Naples*; which being at an end, he, to avoid falling into the hands of the pope, who had demanded him, had recourse to the emperor. *Fernand Ximenez* had arrived before, with his subjects armed, to serve for pay against the *Turks*. The emperor, charmed with so large a succour, conferred on *Roger* the title of *Grand Duke*, and gave him his niece in marriage: but his troops being transported to *Cyzicus*, committed all sorts of violences, plundered the towns, carried off the women, and treated the inhabitants as if they had been slaves. *Fernand* did what he could, by his remonstrances, to restrain their outrages; but finding it in vain, returned home with his troops: nor would the emperor *Mikbael* receive the *Grand Duke*, when he went to visit him at *Piga*.

• PAKH. I. x. c. 16, 17. 19, 20. 25, 26. 29, 30.

(K) Perhaps *Kushim Pasbi*, or *Rasbi*.

(L) Or *Morad*.

(M) The modern practice of one prince lending another forces against his ally is not unlike this.

(N) Called afterwards *Karaman Mantakkia*.

(O) The author says, beyond *Bitynia*, *Myfia*, *Phrygia*, and *Lydia*; but the *Greeks* seem then to have had

nothing left them in *Phrygia*, and but very little in the other three provinces.

(P) Which answers to the year 1304.

(Q) Called by others *Ronzorius*, or *Rouzerius*.

(R) *Pakhmir*, I. xi. c. 21, supposes that they drew their origin from the *Avars*.

- a As the emperor had not yet forces sufficient to make head against the enemy, he had recourse A. D. 1304. to *Kazan Khân* (S) of the *Tatars*, who accepted his offer of an alliance, and promised to put a stop to their ravages. As soon as this news came to their ears, they slackened their incursions; and *Alais* began to think how he should preserve the rich booty which he had gathered in *Myfia*. There was at *Sardes* an exceeding strong fort, which formerly had served for a citadel: it was inaccessible on one side for rock, and on the other for precipices. *Alais* sent to acquaint those who held it, that in case they would give him one half, which was separated from the other by a strong wall, with only a gate of communication, he would suffer them to cultivate their lands in peace. This offer necessity induced them to accept of, against their inclinations; and indeed the fear of the *Tatars* was no sooner over, than *Alais* formed the design of making himself master of the whole citadel. This coming to the knowledge of the *Romans*, they resolved to prevent him; and sending for some troops, who were in the neighbourhood, came upon the *Turks*, when they were asleep, and put them all to the sword ^d.

- MEAN time, the miseries of the East increased daily: the enemy took *Cele*, *Astrabilus*, A. D. 1305. and *Hiero*, where they exercised the greatest cruelties. *Nikomedia* was extremely pressed with hunger and thirst; *Belokome*, *Angelkome*, *Anagourde*, *Plataneum*, and *Melageum*, were almost empty of people, *Krullum* and *Katacium* were in a worse state. The roads from *Nice* to *Heraklea* and *Nemikome*, before the most frequented of all, were then quite desert. There was only one small road opened from *Cio* thither, through the forest. Passengers used to cross the neck of land from *Cio* by night; and then embarking in the other bay, go by water to the only gate of *Nice* (T), which was open.

- THE emperor having sent some troops to *Katacium*, they were no sooner arrived, than 5000 *Turks* (under *Othmân*) appeared before the place. The soldiers, unable to oppose them, fled; and a multitude of women and children were taken prisoners under the walls of the fort. After this they destroyed the country. As *Othmân* was on his return, he learned that the inhabitants of *Belokome* (U) had joined the *Roman* troops in their retreat; so that the place was without defence. Hereupon he took it by force, slaying part of the people, and seized a prodigious quantity of riches.

- WHILE the *Catalans* exercised horrid cruelties at *Cyzicus*, *Alisuras* besieged the city of *Philadelphia* with an army of *Karmanians*, the most powerful people among the *Turks* (X), took all the neighbouring forts, and reduced the place to great straits. In *March* the army set forward from *Cyzicus*, consisting of 8000 men, 1000 *Romans*, 6000 *Italians* (Y), and 1000 *Alans*. *Marulus* commanded the *Romans*; but the Grand Duke *Roger* was generalissimo, with an absolute power. On his approach to *Gherme*, the *Turks* shamefully deserted their fort, leaving their baggage behind. From thence he passed by *Kliara*, and other places, to succour *Philadelphia*. On his way the inhabitants of *Tripoli*, which had been taken some time before by the *Karmanians*, sent to desire his assistance. He attacked the *Turks* at *Aulak* and defeated them; their general *Alisuras*, who was wounded, flying to *Amur* (Z) for safety: and thus the siege of *Philadelphia* was raised.

- ALTHOUGH *Tripoli* was formerly no more than in the rank of citadels, the emperor *Dukas* enlarged and fortified it, so as to serve as a bulwark to cover *Philadelphia*. It was reported that this last city never had been taken since the deluge; which tradition made the inhabitants so vain, that they despised the arms of the *Turks*. *Tripoli*, however, came to be besieged by them at length; and the inhabitants being reduced to famine, by succours not coming to their relief, prevailed on the *Turks* both to supply them with provisions, and suffer them to go out to buy necessaries. The *Turks* taking advantage of the liberty they had of going to *Tripoli* to sell their provisions, by means of some inhabitants whom they bribed, introduced sacks full of trumpets, drums, and other warlike music, instead of corn. At midnight the *Turks*, who came with the sacks, sounded the instruments; and while the people were confounded at the unexpected noise, the traitors opening the gates, let in *Alisuras*, whom it afterwards served for a place of retreat, from whence to make incursions with his *Karmanians*.

ROGER, after his victory, returned by the forts of *Kula* and *Turnus* to *Philadelphia*, where he raised immense sums by force. He exercised the like exactions at *Pyrge* and *Ephesus*, in the isle of *Scio*, *Lemnos* and *Mitylene*, torturing people to discover their hidden treasure, and

^d CANT. Hist. Othm. l. xi. c. 9—17.

(S) Our author writes *Cazanes Cam*.

(T) Hence it appears, that there is a river which communicates with the lake of *Nice*; on the east or north-east side whereof that city stands.

(U) This *Belokome*, or *Bellikome* (as *Kantakuzenus* writes it, lib. iv. cap. 17.) seems to be *Biljiki*; said to have been taken in *Aladin's* time.

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

(X) By this it appears, that *Othmân* was not yet become the most considerable in the heptarchy.

(Y) That is, *Catalans* and *Amogawares*.

(Z) Or *Omer*.

A. D. 1306. putting those to death who refused, not sparing the emperor's officers, and even governors of a places (A). A little before this, the inhabitants of *Magnesia*, having been ill used by him, on the arrival of *Roman* troops, killed some of his *Italian* garrison, and imprisoned the rest. On this advice, *Roger* hastened to besiege the place: but finding, after several fruitless attacks, that there was no likelihood of taking it, he offered to retire, provided they would deliver him his money and baggage which he had lodged there. This they rejected with scorn, and added sneers to their refusal ^c.

The Turks ravages. WHILE *Roger* lay with his forces before *Magnesia*, the *Turks* ravaged the *Roman* territories without controul: and though the emperor often sent orders to him to withdraw, he paid no regard to them: yet at last, wearied out with fatigue, the grand duke was obliged to raise the siege. In his way back to *Mitylene* he burdened the cities with great exactions; b and from thence passing with his troops to *Lampsacus*, he crossed over to *Callipoli* ^f.

Philadelphia besieged. WHILE those troops were committing great disorders in *Europe*, the east was neglected; and *Philadelphia* so closely besieged by the *Turks* (B), that the inhabitants were forced to feed on dead bodies for want of provisions. At the same time they attacked the island of *Scio* with 30 ships, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, excepting some who fled to a fort, and others who escaped in 40 vessels, only to be cast away near *Skyra*. Although the emperor conferred on *Roger* the dignity of *Cæsar*, in order to satisfy his ambition, if possible, and prevail on him to defend the east against the *Turks*, yet still he eluded the performance of his engagements by his usual artifices. He promised, on receiving that honour, with 11,000 crowns in gold, to pass over immediately into *Asia* with 3000 men, and dismiss the rest; but instead of disbanding any, he sent some over to *Cyzicus*, *Piga*, and *Lupadion*; and retained the *Catalans*, under pretence that they had not received their pay. c

Roger slain. AFTER this, wanting to know the strength of the emperor *Mikhael*'s army, he went in *March* to *Adrianople*, with a guard of 150 men, under pretence of taking leave of that prince, whom he had never seen before he embarked. *Mikhael*, though surprised at his arrival, received him with many caresses; but two or three days after, as he was entering alone into the apartment of the empress, *George*, the chief of the *Alans*, whose son had been killed by the *Catalans* at *Cyzicus*, took that opportunity to revenge his death, and ran him through the body. Thus fell, says our author, this unjust and insolent, but fierce and intrepid baroarian. While the *Asiatics*, in revenge for his cruelties to their countrymen, were cutting his body in d pieces, his *Italians*, who were without, were seized and cast into prison ^e.

The Catalans revenge. THE *Catalans*, on the news of their chief's death, put the inhabitants of *Callipoli*, of which they had long been masters, to the sword, excepting some whom they reserved to exchange for those who were at *Adrianople*. The emperor, on this news, sent some troops to besiege the fort of *Callipoli*; but the *Catalans* were so far from apprehending any danger, that they passed over into *Asia*, and put to the sword all the grown-up people in *Perinthus* and the neighbouring country. Those who escaped fled to *Constantinople*, which was now, as it were, the only asylum left for the inhabitants of the provinces to retire to, from the general desolation caused by the *Turks* and other enemies of the *Romans* ^h.

The emperor Mikhael THE young emperor was the more intent on relieving *Callipoli* (C), which was besieged by the *Amogavares*, as he was informed they expected succours, and had invited over the *Turks*; and sent three commanders with troops sufficient to defeat them: but the enemy having drawn them into an ambuscade, by leaving droves of cattle without the town to allure them forward, they were defeated themselves, and many slain in the pursuit. *Mikhael*, to efface the shame of this defeat, left *Adrianople* with his army; and being arrived at a place called *Imeri*, ranged them in order of battle; the van consisted of the *Alans* and *Turks*, called *Turkopoli*; the main body of the *Macedonians* and troops of the east; the rear was composed of the *Walakkians* and volunteers. The *Roman* army consisted of five legions, and that of the enemy of four, whereof one was *Turks* (D).

^c PAKH. l. xi. c. 21—26. c. 14, & seqq.

^f PAKH. l. xii. c. 3.

^e Ibid. l. xii. c. 14. 22, & seqq.

^h PAKH.

(A) At *Mitylene* he condemned *Makramus*, governor of the fort of *Afi* (on the *Meander*) for having deserted that place, though no longer able to keep it. Afterwards his life was granted, on condition he paid 5000 crowns; but not being able to raise the whole, he ordered his head to be cut off. That instant the executioner seizing him by the hair, laid him all along; and fastened him to the block with such violence, that he put his neck out of joint; and then gave him the fatal stroke.

(B) Under *Alisuras*, we presume.

(C) To reconcile this with what is said a little above, it must be supposed that the fort of *Callipoli* was in the hands of the *Catalans*, but not the city.

(D) We have before this, several instances of the *Turks* passing into *Europe*: so that when authors tell us they first passed into *Europe*, under *Or Khân*, it must be understood of the *Othmân Turks* only.

a THE *Alans* and *Turkopoli* (E) began the battle ; but after the first attack on the *Catalans*, A. D. 1307, who stood like rocks, they turned their backs and fled ; which discouraging the rest, they began to retreat. The young emperor endeavouring, by his example, to make them stand their ground, was in the utmost hazard of being killed or taken ; for he stood firm in the midst of danger, and could hardly be brought off by the persuasions of those about him, shedding tears, and tearing his hair for vexation. The consequence of this defeat must have been very bad, if the enemy had not been hindered from pursuing the *Romans*, under the imagination that they wanted to draw them into an ambuscade. The *Alans*, to make the emperor amends for losing him the battle, began to scour the country, and pillage his subjects, as other strangers had done. ^{defeated by them.} A. D. 1308.

b ALTHOUGH the troops which guarded the strait of *Avido* hindered the *Turks* to approach it, yet they were as much masters of the other side : but *Zakaria Manuel*, by the reputation of the valour of the *Italians* who were under his command, kept them at a distance from *Endromit* and *Phoea* ^{Their allies killed.} ¹.

SOON after (F) the *Turks* differing with the *Italians* about the division of the plunder, part of them took ship, with a design to pass the strait of *Callipoli* ; but meeting with *Andrew Muresk*, who was pay-master of the navy, they were all cut to pieces, which made the rest continue with the *Italians*, and ravage *Thrace*.

c MEAN time the fort of *Kubukleum*, in *Mysia*, being hard pressed by the *Turks* (G), *Makre-Amogavanus*, governor of *Lupadion*, sent thither 60 *Amogavares* ; who having treated secretly with the enemy, as soon as they got into the place slew the remainder of the garrison, drove out the inhabitants, and delivered it up to the *Turks* ; after which they were conducted to *Lampsakus*, and from thence crossed the *Hellepont* into *Europe*. ^{res treachery,}

MURESK was made admiral for the exploit above-mentioned ; but having only two ships left of his fleet, was soon after met by the enemy, commanded by one *Philip*, whom but a little before he had fought, and taken ; but now fortune changing sides, *Philip* took him, after killing all his men ; and in return of generosity, ransomed him for 3000 crowns. ^{and success.}

THE *Amogavares*, grown more bold by this advantage, treated with the *Turks* commanded by *Atin* (H), and brought over 2000 into *Europe*, with some *Romans*, who had joined them in *Asia* : by this means grown formidable, they did a world of mischief in the open country.

d THE *Turks* having seized the fort of *Examiles*, the emperor sent *Marulus* with what little troops could be gathered, to prevent their farther progress : on his approach to *Apros*, *Roca-fort*, the *Catalan*, who was at the fort, sent to tell him he intended to go over to the emperor with 200 men ; and that in case they would give him 5000 crowns, he would kill all the *Turks* who were in *Europe*. *Marulus* desiring to know in what manner he could destroy such a prodigious multitude as there was of them, answered, that he would separate them into small bodies, and so destroy them one after the other ; and that, as an earnest of his performance, he had sent him the heads of several whom he had already killed. *Marulus* believed this an argument of the *Catalan's* sincerity, and would have been his dupe for the money, if a woman had not known one of the heads to have been that of her husband, slain in the last rencounter. ^{Catalan knew very.}

e THE emperor, to remedy the affairs of the east, sent over corn to the garrisons, and demanded of *Karbaga* (I), *Khân* of the *Tatars*, the same favour which he had desired of *Kazân Khân*, his predecessor. His ambassador brought word that the *Khân* (K) was very willing to grant his request ; that he had actually raised an army of 40,000 men ; and that his nephew was already advanced, at the head of 20,000, as far as *Kogni*, with orders to follow in all things the emperor's directions : but while he was busy in preparing presents, and instructing his ambassadors, news came of the taking of *Ephesus*, by *Soltân Sayfan* ; who having thrown off his allegiance to his uncle *Karamân Mantakbia*, was become very powerful. The inhabitants, to avoid the extremities of war, surrendered, upon articles, which were not well kept : for most of them were sent to the fort of *Tyreum*, for fear of insurrections ; and some were massacred. ^{Sayfan takes Ephesus.}

f IN the mean time a *Turk*, named *Ishak Malek*, sent privately to offer to join the emperor ; who, ready to catch at every appearance of advantage to his affairs, promised him the daughter ^{Ishak Malek's offer.}

¹ ПАКН. с. 29. 30. 32.

(E) The *Turkopoli* were *Turks* left in *Thrace*, by *Soltân Arzoo'ddin*, the twelfth *Seljuk* of *Rûm*, when he fled from *Aynum* ; and becoming Christians, were enrolled among the *Greek* soldiers.

(F) This was in the 23d year of the reign of *Andronicus*, and 12th of *Mikhael's*.

(G) Perhaps under *Kalamius*, or his son *Karez*, who had *Lydia* to his share.

(H) Or *Aydin*, who gained a sovereignty about *Abidos*, at the entrance of the straits of *Callipoli*.

(I) This was *Mohammed*, son of *Argun*, who succeeded his brother *Kâzân*, in 703 of the *Hejra*, of Christ 1103. He was surnamed *Gayatho'ddin Khodâbendah*. *Abûlfedab* writes *Khorbenda* ; of which *Korbaga*, and *Korbagath*, seem to be corruptions.

(K) In the original *Cam*, or *Kam*.

A. D. 1308. of another *Malek* (L) in marriage, with considerable presents on that occasion. Among the services which *Malek* proposed to do, one was, to engage the *Turkopoli* to quit the interest of the *Catalans*, provided their wives and children were restored them. This negotiation having been discovered, *Rocafort* accused *Malek*, and some of his associates, with treason. They said in their defence, that they had nothing in view but to serve the *Turkopoli*, by drawing their families out of the emperor's hands. However, *Malek* found means to cross over into *Asia*, while the *Catalans* scoured the sea in ships, and carried their ravages by land to the very gates of *Constantinople* ^k.

Genoese cowardice.

THE *Genoese* were at length prevailed on to attack *Callipoli*, and burned a market without the town: but some of the chief among them being slain, and *Muresk*, the *Roman* admiral, wounded; apprehending likewise, by the motions of the besieged, that they intended to make a sally, they were so astonished, that they hastened to their ships, and returned to their own country, without doing any thing more. This retreat encouraged the *Catalans* to such a degree, that they refused to make peace with the emperor, unless upon their own terms. They were farther animated by the arrival of 400 *Turks* from *Asia*, who took the fortress on mount *Gana*, and made incursions as far as *Rodesto* and *Bizya*, or *Biza*; wherefore the emperor, to prevent their advancing nearer *Constantinople*, ordered all the stock which was upon the ground to be burned, as far as *Seliurea*, and beyond it.

The Turks withdraw.

ISHAK MALEK, after this, sent to renew his proposal with the emperor *Andronicus*, demanding the daughter of *Malek*, who had been promised him. He likewise required that the emperor would confer on *Malek*, his uncle, and father of that princess (M), the dignity of *Soltân*. *Andronicus*, not thinking it proper to agree to this demand, only sent *Malek* with his daughter to *Piga*, and gave him the government of that city: in the mean time, ships were getting ready to carry into *Asia* the *Turks* whom *Ishak Malek* had engaged to draw off. As the *Catalans* and *Turks* before *Rodesto* were eager to take it, because it hindered their incursions into *Thrace*, the emperor sent two vessels to carry off the useless people; which the *Turks*, by pretending to fly, gave an opportunity of doing; and the besieged resuming courage, made the *Catalans* withdraw. However, it was taken soon after by *Rocafort*; and retaken by *Dukas*, the grand heteriarch.

Malek slain.

ISHAK MALEK, pursuant to his agreement, crossed the *Hellepont* with the most considerable among the *Turks*. As it was no difficult matter for him to persuade those people to separate from the *Catalans*, they boldly attacked the *Italians* who commanded them; and having slain them, ran to the shore, in order to get aboard the ships sent thither to carry them over into *Asia*. The news of this murder and their flight coming quickly to the ears of the *Catalans*, they pursued them immediately, and obliged them to submit, after killing above 200. The *Turks*, reduced in this manner, offered to serve them as before; but the *Catalans* refused to trust them, unless they delivered up *Ishak Malek*, his brother, and *Takantziaris*, commander of the *Turkopoli*, who they suspected as the authors of their revolt. When those three persons were put into their hands (N), they cut off the heads of the two brothers; and on stripping them, found under the arm of *Ishak* a letter of the emperor's, inviting the *Turks* to embrace his party.

The Turkopoli depart.

MATTERS being thus agreed, it was proposed to besiege *Kbiorli*; but the *Turkopoli* refused to march, till their chief was released. This done, they all seemed united in the same design; but soon separated again. The *Catalans* attacked the city, and were repulsed by the garrison. *Takantziaris* retired with the *Turkopoli* to the fort of *Apros*; and the *Turks*, who remained before *Kbiorli*, understanding that there were *Catalan* ships on the coast, had a mind to seize them, in order to pass over into *Asia*; but the men on board drove them off.

Othmân's advances.

WHILE the *Catalans* were continuing their ravages in *Europe*, *Othmân* made no less havock in *Asia Minor*; in resentment that *Mary*, the emperor's sister, and queen of the *Muguls* (O), had treated him with contempt, and threatened to complain of him to *Karbaga* (or *Khorbanda*). This *Khân* had detached 30,000 men from *Persia*; who being arrived on the eastern frontiers of the empire, *Andronicus* sent them rich presents. But their arrival, instead of abating *Othmân's* courage, the more inflamed it; for he took the fort of *Trikokkia*, and ravaged the country about *Nice* and *Pithia*, to the very sea ^l.

^k PAKH. l. xiii. c. 3, 9—15.

^l PAKH. l. xiii. c. 21—29.

(L) A son of *Soltân Azzo'ddîn*, and afterwards *Soltân*, the same with *Masfûd*. See before, vol. ii. p. 240. This happened in 1308.

(M) There must be some great mistake here; one *Malek* (which is only a title) being confounded with another. She was daughter of *Malek Masur*, or *Masfûd*, afterwards *Soltân*, who was slain, or died, in 1288.

(N) They seem by this to have been with the *Turks*; for they could not have been in their power if they had been over in *Asia*.

(O) So called, we presume, because she was to have been married to *Hûlakû Khân*. She seems to have resided at *Nice*. See *Pakhmir*, l. xiii. c. 25.

a FROM *Dukas* we learn the state of *Asia Minor*, in the 30th year of the reign of *Andronicus Paleologus* (P). The city of *Ephesus*, capital of *Asia*, with the province of *Karia*, were reduced under the power of *Montakbia*. *Atin* (by others called *Aydin*) had subdued *Lydia*, as far as *Smyrna*; *Sarkhân* conquered *Manissa* (or *Magnesia*), and the country round; as far as *Pergamus*, with all the province of *Magedon*; *Karmion* (by others named *Karamân*) seized *Phrygia*; *Karase* (or *Karâz*) subdued the *Greater Phrygia*, which extended from the city of *Affo* to the *Hellepont*; and *Othmân* reduced all *Bithynia*, with part of *Paphlagonia*.^m

Thus far the *Greek* historians; let us now return to the *Turkish*. *Othmân* having spent some time in regulating his domestic affairs, to prevent the soldiers from being corrupted with luxury and ease, he invests *Iznikmid* (Q) (or *Nikomedie*); but being repulsed, after a tedious leaguer, he raises the siege, and builds over-against it, on a high mountain, towards *Jenghisabari*, a strong castle (R); which he commits to the care of the famous *Targan*, and then retires into winter-quarters.

ABOUT this time the governors of the *Greek* provinces, among whom *Ornûs* (or *Honorius*), governor of *Prusa*, was the chief, alarmed at the progress of *Othmân's* arms, agreed to meet with their forces at *Koyûn hissar*, in order to march and surprise him: but *Othmân*, discovering their design by his scouts, on a sudden draws together his troops; and unexpectedly coming, routs them. The governor of the city of *Kostel* and many others were slain; *Ornûs* and the governor of *Kutabi* escape by flight. *Othmân* pursues; but unable to overtake them, besieges that city (lately recovered from the *Turks* by the *Greeks*) and takes it. Here he lost his grandson *Dogris*, who, with some soldiers, were drowned, by the breaking of a timber bridge, over which the army passed, under the walls of the town. The body being found, was buried in the suburbs of *Koyûn hissar*.

MOST of *Bithynia* being conquered, *Othmân* at length, in 717, besieged *Prusa* (S), the capital of *Bithynia*: but the city being so strongly fortified and garrisoned, that *Othmân* despaired of taking it, he builds over-against it two strong castles, to prevent any supplies getting in; and appoints his nephew *Artimûr* and the famous *Balanjik* governors, with orders not to molest the inhabitants; who by that means retired to those castles as sanctuaries, and submitted to *Othmân*.

It was *Othmân's* custom, after the conquest of a certain number of cities, to rest a while; and strengthen his new acquisitions. Having spent some years in this employment, his soldiers, impatient to be in action, petitioned to be led out to new conquests on the *Greek* empire. *Othmân* likes the proposal; but tells them, that by the *Mohammedan* law the enemies of God and truth, and as such to be chastised with fire and sword. Accordingly an edict is carried by his *Chausb* (T) to all the Christian governors (U) of *Asia Minor*; notifying, that they must either embrace *Mohammedism*, pay tribute, or be subdued by the sword. The first who submitted to this thundering edict, and turned *Mohammedan*, was *Mikbael Kosa*, lord of *Bilejik* (X); while those of the cities of *Loblehiji*, *Lefka*, and *Chadarli*, became tributary.

c ABOUT the same time the cities of *Mortuni*, *Goynik*, *Tarakli*, *Engbijesi*, *Kaya hissar*, *Hejeji*, *Ak hissar*, *Kara chîn*, *Tekkurbanari*, and some others, being weakened by the frequent incursions of *Chausbi beg*, formerly *Ertogrul's* servant, he at length takes them all, and annexes them to the *Othmânîk* dominions (Y). Whilst these conquests were going forward, a nation of *Tatars*, called *Chaudar*, coming from the kingdom of *Kermian* (Z), suddenly invade *Othmân's* territories, destroying all with fire and sword, to the walls of *Karak hissar*. Upon this news, *Othmân*, who then resided at *Jenghisabari*, assembling his forces, attacks the enemy near *Oynash* (a town then in ruins near *Karak hissar*) and routs them, killing great numbers.

^m DUKAS, c. 2.

(P) Called the elder; which answers to the year of Christ, 1313.

(Q) This and the following facts not being dated, nor mentioned in the foregoing *Greek* account of matters, we place them here, as posterior to the others in time.

(R) *Meulana Idris* makes this castle, called *Targan*, from its captain, to be built not by *Othmân*, but *Or Khân*.

(S) Now called *Bursah*, the antient seat of the kings of *Bithynia*.

(T) The *Chausb*, or *Charush*, are messengers of state.

(U) Princes in the original.

(X) Before *Baliad* is said to have been made governor of this city.

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

(Y) Some Christian writers ascribe many more victories to *Othmân*; as the taking of *Nice*, in *Bithynia*; *Ancyra*, in *Phrygia*; and other cities of *Anatolia*; also *Neapolis*, in *Thrace*. But since the *Turkish* annals ascribe those conquests to his successors, we ought to submit to their authority. Cant.

(Z) *Kermian*, in the margin, is said to be *Phrygia*: but perhaps we are to understand by it, the east part of that province, wherein *Ikoniûm* is situated; which, according to *Khalkondylas*, *Kermian* had seized, on the dissolution of the *Seljukian* monarchy. Yet afterwards we find *Karaman* at *Kogni*, and *Kermian* at *Kotyæum*, now *Kutayeh*.

A. D. 1327. numbers, and taking more prisoners; who, on their embracing the faith, were restored to a liberty, and settled in the jurisdiction of *Karak bissar*.

castles subdued.

OR KHAN, who excelled all the sons of *Othmân* in virtue and bravery, subdued the cities of *Karachebesb*, *Alebsui*, *Pirgos*, and *Tekin bissari*. After this, leaving the command of the army to *Kognuzalbem*, that general takes by storm the castles of *Abari* and *Tuz bazâri*; then lays waste the territory of *Iznigmid*, to the very walls of that city. The Greek emperor, being informed of this danger, sent some thousands of well-armed forces to the governor's relief; but *Abdo'rabmân* (A), another of *Othmân's* commanders, coming on them suddenly in the field of *Yaylazova*, defeated them, killing or taking almost all of them in the pursuit.

Prusa taken.

ALTHOUGH *Othmân*, exhausted with continual expeditions and old age, was seized with the gout; yet preserving the vigour of his mind, and desirous to pursue his good fortune, sent *Or Khân*, with numerous forces, to subdue *Bitbunia*, governed by *Ornûs*; and, if possible, to take *Prusa*, the metropolis. *Ornûs*, not strong enough to meet the enemy in the field, shut himself up in the city, which was very strong, and stored with eight years provisions; so that *Or Khân*, who set down before it, met with a gallant resistance. But after a long and obstinate siege, *Mikhael Kosa*, who was now *Or Khân's* chief counsellor, artfully persuaded *Ornûs* to surrender upon capitulation; the lives of the inhabitants being spared, on paying 30,000 gold crowns. Thus *Prusa* was delivered up (B) in the year 726, without the effusion of one drop of *Turkish* blood.

Othmân dies.
Hej. 726.

AT the same time *Or Khân*, receiving a message from his father to repair to him in haste, set out with a few attendants for *Jengbissabri*, where he found him almost expiring. *Othmân* having given him his blessing, and appointed him his successor, died in the month of *Ramadân* (C), in the sixty-ninth year of his age, after a reign of twenty-six years (D), three months, and ten daysⁿ.

ⁿ CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 15—19.

(A) Or as it is pronounced, *Abdo'rrabmân*.

(B) *Kbulcondylas*, and, after him, most Christian historians say, that *Othmân* took this city, and was buried there. Others relate, that the castle holding out after the town was surrendered, he ordered it to be reported that he was dead; and had desired to be buried in the Greek convent in the castle, attended by about 40 persons; in which case his zrriny was to retire. The credulous monks readily complied; and a coffin, full of

arms, with *Othmân* himself in disguise, and 39 others, being admitted, they seized the gate, and letting in more troops, took the castle. This story is told by *Paul Lucas*, in his *Travels*.

(C) Which is the seventh month of the *Mohammedan* year.

(D) These make but 25 solar years, five months, and 17 days; yet *Lonicerus*, and other Christian writers, give him a reign of 28 years.

CHAP. III.

Reign of Or Khân.

2. Soltân,
Or Khân.

OR KHAN (A) was saluted emperor the 10th of the same month and year in which his father died, being then himself thirty-six years of age. There is a great disagreement not only between the Christian and *Turkish* historians, but also among the Christian historians themselves, both with regard to the circumstances of facts relating to the *Othmân Soltâns* (especially the first of them), and the time when they happened, of which we are going to produce some instances. The *Turkish* historian or historians, followed by prince *Cantemir*, mention nothing of the transactions of *Or Khân's* reign before the taking of *Nikomedia*, which they place in his second year; that is, in 1328. The Greek historians relate some matters of consequence which passed before that event, but differ much from the *Turkish* in point of time.

Emperor Andronicus

KANTAKUZENUS informs us, that the young emperor *Andronicus* having made peace with *Tamer Khân*, son of *Giaxe*, prince of *Phrygia*, who used to ravage the cities on the *Hellepont*; next year (B) resolved to attack the *Turks*, who inhabited *Bitbunia* under tents, in the middle of spring: but they hearing of his design, quickly retired into the mountains. *Or Khân*, their *Soltân*, understanding that the emperor advanced through *Mesothynia*, the avenues to which are of difficult access, raised what forces he could, and seized the hills. The *Romans* being come to *Pelekana* (C), *Or Khân* sent down part of his army to attack them. Being repulsed in several rencounters, the *Soltân* ordered his brother *Parzale* to fall on with all his troops, and descended himself to observe the battle: but they were defeated at the first charge;

attacks Or
Khân:

(A) Or *Ur Khân*. *Gregoras* calls him *Hyrkanus*.

(B) This, according to the computation of the *Greeks*, was in 1327.

(C) A fort on the *Sangaris*.

a the *Romans*, with the emperor at their head, pursuing them to the foot of the hills, where *Or Khân* had stood. However, very few men fell in all these attacks; and the emperor, seeing the *Turks* had no mind to come to blows, returned. The *Soltân*, by the advice of *Kaulauze* and *Kategbiale Pakuture*, two of *Othmân's* old commanders, followed them as far as *Philokrene*, the *Romans* retreating in great disorder: but there uniting again, marched back to *Skutarion* in the face of the enemy ^a.

AFTER this the emperor, having visited *Scio*, went to *Phoea*, where *Sârkân*, *Soltân* of *Ionis*, ^{visited by Soltâns.} came and concluded a treaty with him (D). *Aytin*, *Soltân* of *Karia*, being sick, could not visit him, but sent several rich presents. At his return he defeated an army of *Turks*, coming in seventy ships, who had landed in *Europe*, and ravaged the country about *Trajanople* and *Vera*, killing a great number, and forcing the rest to reembark. Two years after he obliged others to return, who had crossed over in the same manner ^b.

AND now *Or Khân* besieged *Nikomedia* (E), a great and populous city on the gulf of *Nikomedia* *Astakena*: but while the emperor was at sea, hastening to its relief, the *Soltân* sent to tell him, ^{besieged} he was ready either to lay down his arms, or give him battle. This overture being improved into a peace, *Or Khân* sent the emperor horses, hounds, carpets, and furs; and *Andronicus*, in return, presented him with plate, cloth, silks, and a vest, which pleased the *Soltân* most of all. However, the same or next year the *Turks* came and blocked up the avenues to that city, which they found too strong to attack, and prevented the supply of provisions. This brought the emperor over again; but the enemy did not wait his coming ^c. It seems strange that *Kantakuzenus*, who speaks of these attempts of *Or Khân* against *Nikomedia*, and is so exact to mark all the little invasions and ravages of the *Turks* in *Europe*, should not mention the taking either of that city, or of *Nicea*, by the same prince, which happened not long ^{and taken.} after. According to the *Turkish* historians, that *Soltân*, in the second year of his reign (F), at once over-ran the whole province of *Semendura*, extending from the city *Aytos* (G) to *Iznigmid*, or *Nikomedia*, which he then lays siege to. On the approach of his army, *Kalojanis*, the governor, flies by night to the castle of *Koyûnhissar*. *Or Khân*, being informed hereof by some captives, sends part of his forces to attack it. The place being easily taken, and *Kalojanis* slain with an arrow, he ordered his head to be fixed on a pole, and shewn to the *Nikomeditans*; who, terrified at the sight, on obtaining liberty to retire with their effects to *Constantinople*, surrender the city.

In 728, *Alibeg* took by capitulation the city of *Herkia* (called afterwards *Kara Musseké*), ^{Alterations made} capital of the province of *Semendura*. *Or Khân*, having now subdued all the fortified places ^{Hej. 728.} of *Bitbynia*, excepting *Iznik* or *Nicea*, removes his seat from *Jenghisbahri* to *Prusa*: and, ^{A. D. 1328.} by his brother *Alao'ddin's* advice, abolishing the *Seljukian* money, coins other in his own name, called *Nikra* (H). He orders the inhabitants of cities to be distinguished from those of villages by different habits; and his soldiers, who before went clad like the Christians, to wear a different dress. He likewise established a militia of foot, and taught them to make engines for taking towns, which before they were entirely ignorant of. Lastly, he made his brother *Alao'ddin* general of his armies; and set him over the public affairs, with the title of *Prime Wazir* or *Vizier*.

NEXT year *Or Khân* first assigned the soldiers (who before were all volunteers) regular pay ^{in the army.} of a *Nikra per diem*, when upon duty; but when not, they were to live on their own possessions, free from all taxes. As this infantry, being taken from the dregs of the peasants, was given to mutiny, he abolishes it; and substitutes in the room another, composed of such Christian youths as could be procured, who were first instructed in the *Mohammedan* faith, and then inrolled. However, any *Turkish* peasants who, contented with subsisting themselves, were willing to be inrolled, were permitted to serve among the horse, under *Sanjak Begs* and *Baluk Bashis*, by the name of *Musellem*; that is, *free*.

THE number of *Or Khân's* forces being thus greatly increased, he the same year besieges *Iznik*, or *Nicea*, which, at two years end, being almost wholly destroyed by the war, famine, and ^{ceas taken.} pestilence, surrenders (I). The inhabitants having only desired leave to retire to *Constantinople*, the conqueror permits them also to carry what effects they could with them; which generosity

^a KANTAKUZENUS, lib. ii. c. 6, & seqq.

^b Ibid. c. 13. 21.

^c Ibid. c. 24. 26.

(D) This event is placed in the same year with the former.

(E) This action is referred to the year of Christ 1331.

(F) That is, in 1328: but this does by no means agree with the chronology of the *Greeks*.

(G) Or *Aydos*.

(H) In value about the fourth part of a drachm of silver, which is the eighth part of an ounce.

(I) The *Greeks* say, the emperor (*Andronicus* the younger) passed into *Asia* to succour *Nicea*: that *Or Khân* immediately hastened and gave him battle, near *Philokrena*, on the sea-coast: that the emperor, being wounded in the leg, and many of his troops killed, retired into the city; and that *Or Khân*, not having vessels to block up the port, returned to the siege of *Nicea*. *Khalkond.* lib. i. c. 6.

Hej. 730.
A. D. 1330.

so affected them, that they chose to stay and become tributary. Or Khân, in the year 730, enters the city; and when the Greek women, whose husbands had been killed in the war, bewailed themselves in his presence, he commands his courtiers and nobles to marry them. The fame of his clemency spreading through the country, not only the inhabitants, who had fled to avoid the siege, return; but those of other Greek cities and towns flock thither: so that in the space of one year, *Iznîk* seemed to rival *Constantinople* itself in the number of inhabitants.

Prusa adorned.
Hej. 734.
A. D. 1334.

IN 734, Or Khân takes by capitulation the castle of *Kemlûk*, fortified both by nature and art, after a whole year's siege. It had been often in vain attempted by *Othmân*. Two years after he adorns *Prusa* with a magnificent *Mesku* or mosque, hospital, and academy; which last was founded in a monastery, and became so famous for professors in the sciences, that many flocked thither out of *Arabia* and *Persia* (before looked on as the grand nurseries of learning), to pursue their studies under *Othmânîck* masters.

Some Seljûk
princes
Hej. 735.
A. D. 1335.

OR KHAN, grown powerful by his conquests from the *Greeks*, and for the present satisfied with what he had taken from them; next year forms a design to unite to his dominions the other *Asiatic* provinces, which were subject to some *Musselmân* princes, the remains of the *Seljûkian* empire (K). He begins with *Kashîm Beg*, a minor, son of *Ajilân Beg*; whom, under pretence of being his guardian, he places near his person, and then seizes his province. *Turson Beg*, another young prince, gives up the cities of *Aydînjik* (L), *Minas*, *Balıkesra*, *Bergama* (M), and *Ermîd*. *Ulubâd* (N), *Kubleus*, and *Ebleus*, Greek cities in the neighbourhood of the former, were taken by force of arms. *Muchalch*, to avoid the same extremity, delivers up his possessions (from him still called by the *Turks*, *Muchalich*), to be held of Or Khân in vassalage.

become tributary.

MEAN time *Turson Beg* having offered to surrender his whole principality to that prince, his brother *Hajil Beg* refused to give his consent, and took up arms; but being obliged to quit the field, fled to *Bergama*. Or Khân, interposing in the quarrel, orders them to meet under the walls of that city, and divide the possessions. They met; and *Hejil Beg*, under colour of embracing his brother, stabbed him, and then fled into the city, intending to stand out against Or Khân; but the inhabitants, both detesting the murder and fearing *Othmân's* power deliver up to him both the city and their prince; who died after two years imprisonment at *Bûrsah*. The prince of *Ulubâd* also, being falsely accused of a revolt, is put to death. Hereupon the whole province of *Karafus* submits to Or Khân: and, in the year 738, *Anakhor* and *Emrûd*, two maritime towns of the *Greeks*, hearing that he was preparing to attack them, surrendered to him; as did several others after their example.

Hej. 738.
A. D. 1338.

Amir ravages
Thrace.
A. D. 1332.

THERE is hereabout a chasm in the *Turkish* history, of more than twenty years; which luckily the *Greek* writers furnish us with materials to fill up. *Aytin* (or *Aydin*), before-mentioned being dead, his son and successor *Amîr*, *Soltân* of *Smyrna*, *Ephesus*, and some other cities of *Ionian* (O), crossing the *Egean* sea with seventy-five vessels, landed at *Samothrace*, and then at *Poros* in *Thrace*. There the emperor *Andronicus* met them, but would not venture to fight, the *Turks* being ten times more numerous; and the enemy, not liking the ground where they were, chose, after a short parley, to retire to their ships.

He and
Sarkhân

A. D. 1333.

assist the emperor.

AFTER this, *Andronicus* sent an embassy to *Sarkhân*, who commanded about *Phoceæ* (P), and made a treaty with him; by which the *Soltân* was obliged to aid him both by sea and land. The emperor in return was to set at liberty his son *Soleyman*, with the other *Turkish* youth, detained as hostages at *Phoceæ*. But the *Genoese*, having seized that place, refused to deliver them. While the emperor lay before it, he was visited by the three sons of *Aytin*, *Soltân* of *Ionian* (Q), whose names were *Thesius*, *Amîr* (who invaded *Thrace*), and *Sulaymasas*. The siege having lasted five months, news was brought that a *Genoese* fleet was coming from *Mytilene*, to relieve the place. Hereupon *Sarkhân* furnished the emperor with twenty-four ships, besides many troops both horse and foot. *Amîr* brought thither thirty vessels, at the request of *John Kantakuzenus*, the grand domestic, who had contracted an intimacy with him long before. But after all these preparations no enemy appeared.

^d CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 24—27.

^e KANTAK. lib. ii. c. 28—30.

(K) That is, those, or their descendants, who had divided with *Othmân* the country by lot.

(L) Hence, probably, *Turson* was the son of *Aydin*, or *Atin*, a *Seljûk* commander, often mentioned before.

(M) Or *Pergamus*.

(N) *Lopadion*.

(O) *Dukas* relates, that *Amir* having succeeded his father *Atin* (or *Aytin*) in the sovereignty of *Smyrna* and some places round it, subdued, with incredible bravery and application, several ports of *Ionian*, and a thick forest; which enabling him to build gallies, he ruined

the cities and islands in those parts, *Mitylene*, *Khios*, *Samos*, *Naxos*, and several others. *Dukas*, cap. 7.

(P) Before he is called *Soltân* of *Ionian*, and a little below *Soltân* of *Lydia*.

(Q) Though we are told before that *Aytin* was dead, yet he is spoken of here as if he was then living. He was only *Soltân* of *Karia*. It is *Amir* who is called *Soltân* of *Ionian*; doubtless from the conquest which he made of part of it, according to *Dukas*, in the former note.

a TOWARDS the end of summer news came, that an army of *Turkish* infantry, belonging to *Or Khân*, were sailed aboard thirty vessels towards *Constantinople*. They landed in two bodies near *Ennakofia*. The grand domestic cut one all to pieces, and the emperor destroyed most of the other, there remaining only enough to fill one ship. Putting out of these eight men aboard a second, and ten more in a third, they returned home with a fair wind (R). After this, the *Romans* took eight vessels out of nine, full of *Turks*, some of the most wealthy in the nation; whose friends paid considerable sums for their ransom ¹.

News arriving, that *Sarkhân Soltân*, of *Lydia*, and *Ghiaxe* (prince of *Phrygia*) were ready to cross over into *Thrace*, to ravage the country; *John Kantakuzenus*, the grand domestic, first sent ambassadors to make peace with *Or Khân*, *Soltân* of *Eastern Bithynia* (S), and then prepared to go meet the enemy. At the same time that he arrived in the *Kherfonesus*, the *Turkish* infantry from *Pergamus* landed there, and were defeated without making resistance. Some time after they returned from *Asia*, to retrieve their honour; but received their disgrace by a second defeat; which obliged *Ghiaxe* to make peace.

MEAN time *Sennakherim* with the *Roman* gallies, surprising the *Turks*, routed them, and ravaged the province of *Sarkhân*, took a little sea-port town, and returned with many prisoners ².

OUR author *Kantakuzenus*, after he had assumed the title of emperor (in opposition to *Paleologus*), was reduced to such distress, that he was obliged to fly to the *Král* of *Servia*; while his wife *Irene* and children were besieged in *Didymotikum*, the only place of refuge left them. *Amír*, son of *Aytin*, hearing of this, with all haste gathered forces, and entered the mouth of the *Hebrus* with 380 vessels great and small, on board of which were 29,000 men. As soon as the *Bulgarians*, who had long besieged the town, received notice hereof by their spies, they fled with the greatest precipitation, to the astonishment of the besieged; who knew not the cause, till advice came from *Amír* of his arrival, to the empress *Irene*. That princess sent the nobles and the garrison to meet him. On hearing that the emperor was living, he shed tears of joy, and gave thanks to God, who, he said, had inspired him to come to the aid of his dear friend.

He then marched at the head of 2000 men on foot to *Didymotikum*; nor would ride himself, since, as he said, there were not horses enough for his soldiers. After he had staid there a while, he set out with 21,000 men to seek the emperor; but, pursuant to the request of a letter forged by the inhabitants of *Phera*, as coming from *Kantakuzenus*, desiring him to retire, he, not suspecting the falsity of it, returned to *Asia* with his troops ³. He had scarce laid up his ships in port, when a genuine letter came from *Kantakuzenus*, desiring his assistance. *Amír* hereupon fitted out 200 sail; and, though *Apokaukus*, chief minister to *Paleologus*, sent to divert his coming, by presents, he frankly told the ambassadors, that he was resolved to aid *Kantakuzenus* with all his power, and refused the gifts; saying, *It would be base to receive presents as a friend, and presently after make war like an enemy*.

ACCORDINGLY, setting sail from *Smyrna*, he came to *Eubœa*; where, understanding that *Apokaukus* was marched from *Thesalonika* to *Berea*; and judging the emperor, his friend, must be thereabouts, this generous *Turk* directed his course to the first place, in order to find him out. The emperor, being informed of his arrival, set forward from *Berea*. Upon his approach, *Amír* went to meet him, with his principal officers; and, when near alighting, fell prostrate to salute him, and marched a-foot, nor would remount but with much importunity. Afterwards they went to *Morea*, where *Amír* fell sick. On their return to *Didymotikum*, they met with and defeated the enemy under *Franzes*. In this rencounter, *Amír*, who, though not yet recovered, was among the foremost in the fight, received three thrusts with a pike, which his cuirass warded-off. He had mounted his horse without his armour; but, remembering the emperor's advice a few days before, alighted again to put it on, and thus escaped being slain.

f THE enemy strove in vain by large promises to detach *Amír* from the interest of *Kantakuzenus*: but what they could not do by the prince, they did by his mercenary officers; who, having been ten months from home, were the more easily induced, by hopes of rewards, to importune their chief to return. This, to his great regret, he was forced to do, after having sent an ambassador to advise the empress *Ann* to peace; but to no effect. At their audience,

¹ KANTAK. lib. ii. c. 34.

² Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 9, & seqq.

³ Ibid. c. 56, et seqq.

(R) Our author considers it as an astonishing order, or course of providence, which provided them a safe retreat after a shameful defeat. But his weakness to attribute inconsistencies to Providence, betrayed him into that profane expression.

(S) It appears by this, that *Or Khân* had been for

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

many years at war with the *Greeks*; in which space he must have taken *Nicea*, *Nikomedia*, and the other cities mentioned b. the *Turkish* historians; though not a word is spoken of them by *Kantakuzenus*, ready enough to report the *Greek* disgraces in other respects.

A. D. 1344. *Apokaukus* threw out several reproachful expressions against *Amir*: among the rest, that tho' a he was raised to the dignity of *Soltân*, yet he was so mean spirited, as to follow *Kantakuzenus* like a slave in a foreign country, and to stand as a guard at his tent-door. The ambassador, taking occasion from this insult offered to the *Soltân* his master, to set forth the bad qualities of his accusers, returned an answer which quite surpris'd them; and for its masterly strokes should have had a place here, if our intended brevity would admit of it.

endangers the
state. A. D. 1345. *Amir*, at parting, promised *Kantakuzenus* to send him forces in fifteen days, to return himself as soon as possible, and stay with him till he had finished the war. Although his departure gave the emperor much uneasiness, it proved lucky for *Amir* himself. Twenty four gallies of *Rhodes* and other countries of the *Latins* landing at *Smyrna*, took a fort (T) in the port, and burnt some ships, notwithstanding all the care *Amir* took to prevent it: and had he b not arrived as he did, the city itself might possibly have fallen into their hands*.

Or Khân
sends aid. THE emperor *Kantakuzenus*, being informed that the empress *Ann* had sent to desire succours of *Or Khân*, sent also to that prince; intreating that he would grant him a supply, rather than the faction at *Constantinople*; which *Or Khân* agreed to. His territories being so very near, the emperor received succours from him as often as he would; for he commanded the maritime parts of *Paphlagonia*, and as far as *Phrygia*: but that proximity contributed not a little to ruin the lands belonging to the empire: for the *Turks* often crossed the sea unsent for, and attacked the cities which refused to submit to *Kantakuzenus*.

Amir's magnanimity: *Amir*, *Soltân* of *Ionîa*, was hindered by the burning of his ships, from succouring *Kantakuzenus*, as soon as he intended; nor was it easy for him to march by land, on account of a dispute c which he had with *Sarkhân*, *Soltân* of *Lydia*, about their limits: but, being impatient to perform his promise, he offered to give up the country in question for liberty of passage. *Sarkhân* not only readily agreed to *Amir's* proposal, but sent with him his son *Soleymân*, to serve the emperor. The *Soltân* then set forward at the head of 20,000 men; and crossing the *Hellespont*, joined *Kantakuzenus* at *Didymotikum*. From whence, marching to *Peritheorion* against *Momitzilus*, who had only 4000 men, a fierce battle was fought; but their general at length being killed, all the rest were either slain or taken.

assists in
council; THE *Král* of *Servia* having raised the siege of *Pherus* on the first report of the march of the *Turks* to relieve it, it was agreed in a council of the principal officers, at which *Amir* and *Soleymân* assisted, to go and besiege *Constantinople*, on a supposition that they would find no d difficulty to take it in the confusion things were in by the death of *Apokaukus*, who was slain in a tumult at the public prison: but when they came there, they found that his executioners had been massacred by the mob, and that all things were again quiet.

returns to
Smyrna; IN their return to *Macedonia*, *Soleymân* was attacked at *Apamea* with a violent fever. Those who attended him, gave him cold remedies, which chilled the blood about his heart, and brought on deadly faintings. *Amir*, who discovered the cause of those dangerous symptoms, ordered him to take treacle and old wine, which brought back the fever: but the others applying their first medicines, froze his blood to such a degree, that he died immediately. Those who had the care of *Soleymân* accused *Amir* of being the cause of his death, and that he had given him poison in giving him wine (U). *Amir*, apprehending that *Sarkhân* might give e credit to those calumnies, and take up arms against him, resolved to return before the report should gain ground. And indeed he found it no easy matter to clear himself from the charge in the eyes of *Sarkhân*, although he was intirely innocent of the matter¹.

says a patriarch. A. D. 1346. SOME time after he arrived at *Smyrna*, twelve gallies put in there, commanded by one *Martin*, with a patriarch of *Constantinople* on board, sent by the pope. This presumptuous prelate would needs enter the cathedral of *Smyrna*, and ordered the army to follow him; contrary to the advice of all the sea officers, who represented the danger and rashness of such a proceeding. Accordingly, while he was celebrating mass, *Amir* came with his army, and slew him at the altar, with *Martin* and some others, whom he found in the church: for as soon as the *Italians* saw the *Turks* approach, they fled to the citadel. At the same time thirty-two f noble *Genoese*, having equipped some gallies at their expence, went and took *Kbio*.

* KANTAK. c. 63, 66, 68.

¹ Ibid. c. 81, 86, 89.

(T) *Dukas* says, they built a fort, named *St. Peter's*, to receive fugitives, which *Amir* on his return vigorously attacked; and, having passed the foss, ordered ladders to be fixed to the walls, which he mounted first himself: but that, being half-way up, he opened his casque a little, to see how many battlements there were upon the walls, and at the same time received an arrow between his eyes, which struck him dead. *Dukas*, cap. 7. But this cannot be fact; for it appears from *Kantaku-*

zenus that *Amir* sent him several succours after that, and came himself twice in person. Whereas, according to *Dukas*, he never made but one expedition, or saw *Kantakuzenus*; for he connects the affair of the *Italians* at *Smyrna* and the *Soltân's* death with his first expedition to *Didymotikum*, when the emperor was absent.

(U) Because the *Mohammedans* are forbidden to drink wine.

- a THE same year *Or Khân* sent to the emperor *Kantakuzenus*, to demand one of his daughters in marriage; offering in that case to serve him against all his enemies, not as his friend and ally, but as his son and subject. After the ambassadors were returned, he consulted the principal officers of his army, who all advised him to embrace the proposal. He sent likewise to desire the advice of *Amir*; who made answer, “that the friendship and alliance of that prince (X) would be very useful to the empire: that altho’ he had no occasion for his succours against the domestic enemy, which was already almost quite humbled, yet they would be of service against the foreign enemies, who had done him many injuries; that he was assured *Or Khân* had not a more sincere and strong desire than himself to serve the emperor; but was sensible he had a better opportunity of doing it, because his territories lay opposite to *Thrace*.”
- b He added, that the emperor ought not to make any difficulty in contracting this alliance, since many of his predecessors had not disdained, for the advantage of their affairs, to give their daughters to *Scythians* and other strangers (Y). ”

A. D. 1346.
The emperor's daughter

- THE emperor admired the modesty of *Amir*, in acknowledging that the succours of *Or Khân* granted in would be more advantageous to him than his own: and following his advice, sent an embassy marriage to that prince, to let him know, that he would grant his request; and to desire him to send troops to conduct his daughter to him. *Or Khân* forthwith dispatched thirty ships, with a great number of cavalry, and the chief men of his nation. Hereupon *Kantakuzenus*, repairing to *Or Khân*, ing with his army to *Selivrea*, ordered a throne to be erected without the town, and a tent near it, where the empress passed with her daughters. Next day *Theodora*, the bride, mounted the throne, to be viewed by the people, according to a custom observed by the emperors when they married their daughters to foreign princes. The empress with the rest remained in the tent, and the emperor appeared alone on horseback. The silk curtains, adorned with gold, which shut up the throne, being drawn, the princess appeared sitting, surrounded with torches, held by eunuchs, on their knees. This ceremony was accompanied by music, and verses made by the best poets in praise of the bride. After this, the emperor having feasted his army, and the most considerable persons among the *Turks*, for several days, sent her to her husband, who received her with transports of joy. The emperor her father takes care to inform us, that although she married a *Barbarian*, she lost nothing of the splendor of her birth; and, instead of being converted herself, converted several to her own religion, by the strength of her reasons.

- THE empress *Ann*, finding that she had nothing to expect on the side of *Or Khân*, sent to *Amir's Sarkhân*, *Soltân* (Z) of *Lydia*, who readily assisted her with troops. *Amir*, vexed to see forces passion to march against the emperor his friend, and resolving to serve him the best he could, got 2000 of his own troops to join *Sarkhân's*, as is usual in the *Turkish* expeditions; but gave their commanders private orders to go over to *Kantakuzenus*, in case *Sarkhân's* soldiers could not be gained to his interest. These latter stood wavering till they saw the emperor ready to give serve his them battle, and then sent to offer him their service; but desired first, that they might go to friend. *Constantinople*, and receive the money which the empress *Ann* had promised their master. They did so; and, at their return, the emperor having no farther occasion for them, dismissed them;
- e but as they could not leave the country without committing ravages, according to custom, they made an incursion into *Bulgaria*, and then laden with spoils returned home^k.

- Soon after, peace being made between the two parties, and *Kantakuzenus* acknowledged *Or Khân* emperor jointly with *John Paleologus*, then but fifteen years of age, *Or Khân* with all his visits Kanta- family came to *Skutarion* (A), to felicitate him on that occasion. The emperor crossed over kuzenus; to meet him there, where they feasted for several days, and took the diversion of hunting. A. D. 1350. The emperor and *Or Khân* sat at the same table, and the four sons which the *Soltân* had by his former wives at another. The principal *Romans* and *Turks* sat on carpets. When these diversions were over, *Or Khân* remained aboard his ships; and *Theodora*, with her four brothers-in-law, went with the emperor her father to *Constantinople*; where having staid three
- f days, they returned to *Bithynia*.

Soon after this, the *Král* of *Servia* having invaded the empire, *Kantakuzenus* sent to desire sends him aid. succours of *Or Khân*, his son-in-law; who immediately sent him 10,000 men, commanded by his four sons and by *Soleyman*. The emperor joined with them his son *Mathew*, with a small body of *Romans*, and forbade them to commit any disorder in the territories of the empire:

^k KANTAK. lib. iii. c. 95, & seq.

(X) It is, of that barbarian, in the original; which shews the excessive vanity of the *Greeks*, when an emperor himself could not forbear giving that name of reproach to the very prince with whom he was going to make an affinity, by the marriage of his daughter.

(Y) And even to *Turks*, of which the reader will find instances in the history of the *Seljukians*.

(Z) He is called governor here; so little exactness is there among the *Greek* writers.

(A) Commonly called *Skutari*, on the *Bosphorus*, opposite to *Constantinople*.

A. D. 1350. but when they were come to *Mygdonia*, and understood that the circumjacent country belonged to the *Král*, they fell to ravaging it, in spite of all their commanders could do. They slew a great number of the inhabitants, and took a great number prisoners; after which they returned home by way of the *Hellepont*, loaden with booty: and this was all the service the emperor had from them.

Invading
Turks slain.
A. D. 1352. SOME time after 2000 *Turks* having passed the *Hellepont*, and plundered *Thrace*, were met, returning with their booty, by the emperor, who cut to pieces most of one party, with their leader *Kaba Mahemet*; the rest, commanded by *Maratuman*, surrendered, and were sent home. These were *Turks*, who, having served in the late wars between the two emperors, were acquainted with the country. At the same time *Mathew*, the emperor's eldest son, who was governor of the cities of *Khalcidica* in *Macedonia*, defeated another troop of *Turks*, who had landed in that part of the country, not one escaping either the sword or captivity.

Or Khân
assists him,
A. D. 1353. *THE* *SALONICA* being besieged by the *Král* of *Servia*, *Kantakuzenus* sent for succour to *Or Khân*, who sent him 20,000 men, under his son *Soleymân*: but, being come as far as *Anaktropolis* in *Thrace*, he received a letter from his father to return as secretly as possible; because he stood in need of his troops, to defend himself against the most powerful princes his neighbours, who had attacked him. For all *Or Khân* was in such haste, *Soleymân* staid to plunder *Bulgaria* before he went¹.

and his enemies
A. D. 1354. IN the war begun between the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, about a difference which happened in the *Tanais* between a *Tartar* and a *Venetian*, the emperor declared war against the *Genoese*, then inhabiting *Galata*, a suburb of *Constantinople*; and *Or Khân* assisted the *Genoese*, not only on account of the money he was to have, but also because he was offended that the *Venetians* should come into his neighbourhood with a numerous fleet, without paying him the least compliment. Accordingly he sent an army of both horse and foot, who encamped on the continent opposite to *Constantinople*, and were of great service to the *Genoese*.

Sends more aid,
A. D. 1355. IN the war which broke out soon after, between the two emperors *Kantakuzenus* and his son-in-law *Paleologus*, *Or Khân* sent some troops to his assistance; with which he went and relieved *Andrianople*, where the young emperor had besieged his son *Mathew*. *Paleologus* having obtained forces from the *Servians* and *Bulgarians*, *Kantakuzenus* applied again to his son-in-law *Or Khân*, who sent 10,000 horse, under the command of his eldest son *Soleymân*; who, crossing the *Hellepont*, encamped next day on the *Hebrus*, where the *Servians* and *Bulgarians* lay, without either party knowing they were so near each other. The day after, in their march they met the enemy, who were quickly defeated, and all slain or taken, except their commander and a few followers. The *Turks* halted to *Adrianople* to salute *Kantakuzenus*. While they were in that neighbourhood, *Paleologus* sent a letter, with presents, to draw *Soleymân* over to his interest. *Soleymân* received the ambassadors civilly, and refused their master's presents; but promised not to act against him. Nevertheless he sent the letter to *Kantakuzenus*, as it were to let him see the incivility of the writer, who had not given him the title of emperor: after which he returned to *Asia* with his troops^m.

Places in
Thrace THE *Turks*, in their late expeditions to serve *Kantakuzenus*, having seized on several places in *Thrace*, and among the rest the fort of *Zimpe*, that emperor was exceedingly offended; and, not having forces sufficient to drive them out, wrote to *Or Khân*, his son in-law, desiring him to surrender them, and not disturb their friendship by detaining them. However, *Soleymân* refusing to deliver *Zimpe* without a consideration, *Kantakuzenus* sent him 10,000 crowns in gold. At this time an earthquake overturned almost all the maritime cities of *Thrace*, the walls as well as houses, and especially *Kallipolis*, the most famous city of that country, then in the hands of the *Turks*; who, on this occasion, made captives great numbers of those *Romans* who had escaped the explosion.

seized by the
Turks; SOLEYMAN, who was then at *Pega*, a city beyond the *Hellepont*, being informed of the havock which that accident had made, forgot the treaty which he had so lately made with *Kantakuzenus*; and, crossing into *Thrace*, repaired the cities, and peopled them with new inhabitants. He took particular care to rebuild *Kallipolis*, filling it with his principal subjects. After which he made incursions into *Bulgaria*, ravaged the country, and carried off the inhabitants. The emperor had no other remedy left, but to intreat *Or Khân* to order his son to give up the towns which he had seized, without any colour, during the peace; representing it as the highest injustice in him, to keep the fort of *Zimpe* after receiving the price of it. *Soleymân* alleged, that he had not taken them by force of arms; but found them deserted, and therefore resolved to keep them. *Or Khân*, though an accomplice in the affair, yet willing to preserve the favour of the emperor, his father-in-law, desired a little time to dispose his son to a compliance. In short, upon an offer of 40,000 crowns, *Soleymân* consented to restore them.

demanded of
Soleymân.

¹ KANTAK. lib. iv. c. 4, 10, 16.

^m Ibid. c. 26, 31, & seqq.

a *Kantakuzenus*, on this occasion, crossed the sea to *Nikomedia*, to confer with *Or Khân*; but, A. D. 1355.
the latter being out of order, could not then settle matters.

Soon after, *Soleymân* marched at the head of a powerful army against the *Galates* of eastern *Scythia* (B); and took, during the summer, two of their most famous cities, *Ancyra* and *Kratea*.
At his return, in autumn, he sent, jointly with his father, an embassy to acquaint *Kantakuzenus*, that he was ready to restore the cities of *Thrace*, whenever he was pleased to receive them. Accordingly a day was appointed for that purpose; but it does not appear, that the places were restored, although it is said the peace was concluded.

PRESENTLY after this, a peace taking place between the two emperors, *Kantakuzenus* and *Paleologus*, the former renounced the world, and went into a monastery; after having conditioned with *Paleologus*, that his son *Mathew* should enjoy that part of the empire which had been assigned him, with the title of emperor: but the two young emperors did not long continue in amity^a.

IN the mean time, a pirate-ship of *Old Phocea*, where *Kalothetes* commanded, sailing into the gulf of *Astakena* (C), to carry-off people, happened to take *Khalil*, the son of *Or Khân*; whom they brought back to *Phocea*. *Or Khân*, not being able to attack the place by sea, for want of ships, nor by land, for want of troops sufficient to open a way thither through the country, applied to *Paleologus*; who promised to procure the release of *Khalil*, provided he forbore any longer to assist *Mathew* with forces.

OR KHAN consenting, *Paleologus* sends immediately to *Kalothetes*, thinking that he would give-up *Khalil* at the first demand: but, finding that he could prevail neither by promises nor threats, was forced to buy his deliverance at the rate of 100,000 crowns of gold, with the dignity of *Panhypersebastes* into the bargain.

MATHEW, being informed, that the governor of *Pherus* was disposed to deliver up to him that important place, with the widow of the *Krâl* of *Servia*, lately dead, and the treasure she had in possession, promised to be there a month after. Mean time he sends for a reinforcement to his brother-in-law *Or Khân* (D); who being then at *Avido* (or *Abidos*), let him have 5000 *Turks* (E): but these being bent more on plundering than fighting, behaved in so disorderly and cowardly a manner, that they not only ruined the design for which he had demanded them, but, flying first from a party of their own troops whom they took for *Servians*, and afterwards from the *Servians* themselves, *Mathew*, who was thus deserted by them, was taken prisoner near *Philippi*; and, to obtain his liberty, was obliged to lay aside the title of emperor^o.

HAVING thus, from the *Greek* historians, supplied the vacancy found in the *Turkish* history, down to the year 1355, we shall return to the *Turkish* writers; by whom we are told, that *Or Khân's* ambition encreasing with his successes, he sends his son *Soleymân* (F) to attempt a passage into *Europe*; joining with him his three most famous captains, *Ache Beg*, *Gâzi Fazil*, and *Ornus Beg*. Other writers name them *Gâzi Faril*, *Yakûbje Beg*, and *Mikhal Beg* (G). *Soleymân*, taking with him eighty select men, under pretence of hunting, enters the country of *Aydinjik*, and surveys the coast: but, as the *Greek* emperor had made it death for any person to pass either into or out of *Asia*, even in a boat, he, by the help of two rafts, laid upon bladders tied together by the necks, crossed over with his company to the castle of *Hamni*, in *Europe* (H). On their landing, they seized a peasant; who, by a passage under ground, brought them into the town by night (I). *Soleymân*, treating the inhabitants gently, prevailed

on

^a KANTAK. c. 38, & seqq.

^o Ibid. lib. iv. c. 44, & seqq.

(B) This can only be understood of the people of *Galatia* (subject then to the *Tatars*), to which *Ancyra* and *Kratea* belonged: for at that time the territories of the *Othmân Turks* did not extend far eastward in *Asia Minor*. But the *Turkish* historians do not speak of these conquests.

(C) At the end of which *Nikomedia*, now *Ismid*, stands.

(D) It is remarkable, that *Kantakuzenus* seems to affect mentioning the relationship between him and *Or Khân*, as often as he speaks of him: yet never gives him the title of *Soltân*, that we remember, since the marriage of his daughter.

(E) It seems a great argument of *Or Khân's* friendship for his wife's family to assist *Mathew*, after he had promised *Paleologus* not to assist him. He also forbore attacking the *Roman* empire in *Europe*, while his father-in-law and brother-in-law were upon the throne; presently after their abdication, he began to invade *Thrace*.

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

(F) This seems to be the *Trojan* leader of *Gregoras*, l. xiv. c. 11.

(G) He was, according to the *Turkish* historians, descended from the emperors of *Trapezond*; and so beloved by *Or Khân*, that he would do nothing without his advice. There is a very beautiful bridge at *Adrianople* over the river *A-za*, called *Mikhal Ogli Kuprissi*, that is, the bridge of *Mikhael's son*; who built it. *Cant.*

(H) This expedition is dated, according to *Cantemir*, in the year 738; but that must be a mistake for 758; as the *Turkish* annals of *Gaudier*, and those employed by *Leunclavius* in his *Historia Musulmanorum*, put it; otherwise there will be 22 years between *Soleymân's* passing into *Europe* and his taking *Gallipoli*; which yet from the history itself appear to have happened in the same year.

(I) This romantic passage of the straits seems to be a fiction to magnify the courage and address of *Soleymân*; nor was it the first time by many, that the *Othmân Turks* passed into *Europe*, as their historians pretend:

A. D. 1355. on them to conduct the ships, which lay in the harbours of *Balayr* and *Akchilimân*, into *Asia*; a from whence, in a few hours, they carried back 3000 *Turks*, with whom next day he surprised the castle of *Hyasobonia*; which he committed to the care of *Ache Beg*: from whom that territory bears the name of *Acheovasi*.

takes Galibolij;

KALLAKONIAS, governor of *Galibolij*, or *Kallipolis*, assembling what forces he could in haste, set forward to attack *Soleymân*; but being inferior to the enemy, both in number and courage, they were obliged, after a long dispute, to retreat into the city, which they bravely defended for a long time: till being weakened by frequent assaults, and destitute of provisions, they at length, in the year 760, delivered up, by capitulation, *Kallipolis*, with the whole province of *Kbayreboli*, or *Kharipolis* (K). When the emperor heard of the taking of that city, which was esteemed not only the key of *Constantinople*, but the bulwark of *Europe*, he is reported to have said, that *the Turks had only taken a hog-stye* (L) *and a pottle of wine*.

Hej. 760.

A. D. 1359.

killed by a fall.

NEXT year, *Soltân Or Khân* sends a second army into *Europe*, under the conduct of his second son *Morâd*; who, while *Soleymân* subdues *Malgara* and *Ibsalam*, takes the castle of *Epibatos*, about 10 hours (M) from *Constantinople*. He then lays siege to *Chorlu* (N), a strong city between that capital and *Adrianople*; before which he was several times repulsed, and lost a great number of men: but, being overpowered with numbers, the inhabitants were at length all slain, and the town quite demolished. The people of *Pirgos*, between *Chorlu* and *Adrianople*, frightened with this severity, abandoned the place to *Morâd*; who presently returns to *Asia*, leaving *Soleymân*. Not long after, as this prince was exercising his troops, by darting their spears, and shooting their arrows, his unruly horse ran away with him; and, breaking his leg against a tree, he fell to the ground with such violence, that he instantly died (O).

Death of Or Khân:

THE death of his beloved son struck *Or Khân* to the heart; yet, still intent on conquests, he sends *Ache Beg*, with an army, to besiege *Dydimothykon*. This general, approaching the city before he was expected, accidentally seizes the governor, who was taking a walk. The governor, who was of the imperial race, to gain his liberty, surrenders the city; which, however, *Or Khân* restored, to oblige the *Grecian* prince (P), his friend: but the illness, contracted by the death of his son, increasing, he died himself two months after; having lived 70 years, and reigned 35, according to *Saadi's* computation. He was buried in the monastery (Q) of *Prusa*, or *Bursab*, and left the kingdom to his son *Morâd*.

his character.

THE *Turks* greatly extol this *Soltân's* clemency, valour, and justice, as well as his liberality to the poor. They say, he daily conversed with the learned, and would undertake nothing of moment without their advice: that he was the first of their monarchs, who founded *Mesku's* (R), *Jami* (S), *Madraseh* (T), or schools, and *Imarets* (U), or hospitals: that he had a red face, blue eyes, yellowish hair, and was of a middle stature, though corpulent, appears from his picture (X) in the *farây*, or *seraglio* P.

P CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 28, & seqq.

many large bodies of them, some under the command of *Soleymân* himself, having been over several years before. *Dukas* says, chap. 2. that they first passed in the first year of *John Paleologus*; which was in 1341.

(K) It seems to be *Kbristopolis*, not *Yanboli*, as *Johan. Duns.* would have it: for *Yanboli* is in *Thrace*, about 70 miles from *Philippopolis*, under Mount *Hemus*, and situate on the river *Tunje*. Cant.

(L) This was not spoken of *Gallipoli*, but in allusion to *Koyridokastron*, or *hogs-castle*, called by the *Turks*, *Hamni*, as above. *Leunclavius* writes *Zemenik*, or *Zembenik*; the same, we presume, that *Kantakuzenus* names *Zimpa*.

(M) The *Turks* reckon commonly by hours, not miles, or leagues.

(N) *Chorlu*, *Chiurli*, or *Tzurli*, as it is written by authors of different nations, is the antient *Tyrullum*, or *Turullum*, miscalled by some *Tyrrillos*, *Izbrallon*, *Iziralla*, and *Tirallum*.

(O) According to *Khalkokondylas*, he fell sick and died. But *Dukas* relates, that, as he ravaged the *Kberfonesus*, the *Despot*, *Mathew Kantakuzenus*, came up with him near *Hexamilion*, and slew him, with a great number of his men. *Dukas*, cap. 10. But this cannot be the case: for *Soleymân* was alive in 1355, when *Kantakuzenus* went into a monastery; and *Dukas* places *Soleyman's* death before that event. Besides, it appears that *Or Khân* was in friendship afterwards with *Mathew*, who received succours from him; which could not well be

supposed, in case he had killed *Soleymân*, whose death did not happen till the year 1359.

(P) This was *John Kantakuzenus*. Cant.

(Q) It is now turned into a *Jâmi*, or temple, though still retaining the name *Manastir*.

(R) So the *Turks* call their common temples, or churches, after the *Persians*; which word *Europeans* have corrupted into *mosk*. The *Arabs* name a temple *Masjed*.

(S) *Jami* is a temple privileged for the devotions of *Friday* (which is the *Mohammedan* sabbath, called *Juma Namâzi*), which it is not lawful to perform in the lesser mosks. Those built by the *Soltân* are called *Selatin*, or royal. Cant.

(T) *Madraseh*, or *Medreseh*, are academies, or great schools; which, if not in the court of the *Jami*, are always very near it. The common schools are called *Mekteb*. The persons let over these academies are called *Muderis*; that is, *school-masters*; who have salaries proportioned to the revenue of the *Jami*. Hence it is, that some have 300 aspers a day, while others have but 70. Out of these schools are taken the judges of the principal cities and towns, called *Mola*; who is a sort of archbishop, or metropolitan. Cant.

(U) *Imaret* is a house near the *Jami*, for the relief of the poor and reception of travellers, like an inn. Cant.

(X) Prince *Cantemir* has embellished his history with the pictures of all the *Soltâns*, copied from those in the *seraglio*, by *Leuni Cbelebi*, the *Soltân's* painter.

C H A P. IV.

The Reign of Morâd Khân I.

^a **M**ORAD, or *Amurat*, as our historians name him, ascended the throne in the 41st year of his age, and assumed the title of *Khoda Vendikar* (Y), or *God's Labourer*, to shew his religious disposition. In the first year of his reign, he took the strong city of *Angûri*, or *Ancyra*, with several castles in those parts. Quickly after he sent his prime *Wazîr*, *Atabekî Shabân La'la* (Z) a brave and wise general, with some light troops, to cross the *Streights of Kallipolis*, and besiege *Adrianople*, while he followed with a more powerful army: but, hearing on the way that his *Wazîr* had taken the city (A) at the first assault, he returns to *Prusa*, and orders him to march into the bowels of *Thrace*, appointing *Haji Ornîs Beg* to be *Begler Beg* (B) of *Rûm eli* (C), or his *European conquests*. The *Wazîr* executed his orders so speedily, that *Felibe* (D), *Eski*, *Zaghena*, and other neighbouring places, fell into his hands. A. D. 1359.
3 Soltân Morad I.
Adrianople taken.

^b NEXT year *Morâd* built a spacious *Jami* at *Adrianople* still called *Morâdiyyeh*, or *Morâd's* temple, on this occasion. One time going before the *Mufti*, who then discharged the office of judge, to give in his evidence, he was rejected, as not worthy of credit. The *Soltân* wondering at this strange proceeding, and asking the reason, the *Mufti* answered, "that he reckoned his testimony true and unexceptionable, as being imperial; but of no validity in judicial matters, because he never joined in common prayers with the rest of the *Musul-mâns* (E)." *Morâd*, upon this, reformed his conduct, and built the *Jami*, as an atonement for his former misconduct. Hej. 762:
A. D. 1361.

^c IN 763, *Ornîs*, *Cegler Beg*, of *Rûm eli*, takes *Ipsala* and *Malgara*, ravages the country, and carries off an infinite number of captives. From hence, *Kara Halil Pascha*, the prime *Wazîr*, takes occasion to say merrily, "that although all spoils were said to belong to the emperor, yet, if the number of captives were ever so great, they were all engrossed by private persons; so that none fell to his majesty's share: he therefore thought it but reason, that some of the *Soltân's Agavat* (F) should be appointed at the *Streights of Kallipolis* to seize every fifth captive; of whom the most personable and robust might serve at court, and in the army." *Morâd* liking the proposal, an edict was published for that purpose; and, a great number of captives being brought together, the *Soltân* sends his new army to *Haji Bektâsh* (G), a religious *Turk*, famous for his miracles and prophecies, desiring him to give them a banner, pray for their success, and appoint them a name. The *Sheykh* (H) putting the sleeve of his gown on one of their heads, said, *Let them be called Yenghicheri* (I): *Let their countenance be ever* Hej. 763:
A. D. 1362.
Order of Janizaries instituted.

(Y) Or *addicted to divine things*. It is a *Persian* word.

(Z) *Lala* signifies *tutor*, or *foster father*. It belongs to those who are preceptors and governors to the young princes, and was first given to this *Wazîr*. The *Soltâns* since then, both in speaking and writing, are accustomed to give it to all other *Wazîrs*, as *Lalam Ali Pâshâ*, and *Mi Lala Ali Pascha*. The *Agâfi*, or *general of the Janizaries*, and *Bostanji Bâshâ*, have the same title. The first, because it is his business to guard the sons of the *Soltâns* from being killed by fathers or brothers: the second, because he has the care of the *Soltân's* palace, especially in his absence; being the *Greek Curopalatis*. Cant.

(A) *Khalkokondylas* says, it was taken by *Soleymân*; whom he makes to succeed *Or Khân*.

(B) *Beglerbeg* signifies *prince of princes*. A title belonging to all *Wazîrs* of three horse-tails; but especially three; viz. those of *Rûm eli*, *Anadoli*, and *Shâm*, or *Syria*. Cant.

(C) By *Rûm eli*, the *Turks* understand all the countries of the *Romans*, or *Europe* in general, as well as that part of it under them in particular. Cant. The term may be extended to that part of their empire in *Asia*, which was formerly under the *Roman* or *Greek* emperors.

(D) Or *Philippi*.

(E) It is a corruption of *Mosliman*, *Misleman*, or *Musliman*: as is also *Musurman*, from whence *Bursur-an*.

(F) *Agavat*, vulgarly *Agalar*, is the plural of *Aga*; which signifies *lord* or *master*, and is applied to any person out of respect; but principally to the officers of the court, or *Porte*; and some of the army, as the *Janizar Agâfi*, *Spahilar Agâfi*, and *Silabrad Agâfi*; that is, the *generals of the Janizaries*, *Spahis*, and *Infantry*.

(G) He was founder of the order of *Darwishes*, or *Dervises*, a kind of *Turkish* monks, called from him *Bektâshi*. His tomb is held in great veneration at a village called *Beshiktâsh*, on the *Bosphorus*, not far from *Galata*, one of the suburbs of *Constantinople*. Cant.

(H) *Sheykh*, corruptly written *Shek*, &c. signifies *prelate*, and is like an abbot. The title is given to the superiors of the great *Jami*, and of the *Darwishes*. Hence the *Mufti* also is called *Sheykh Al Islâm*; that is, *prelate of the saved*, and high priest. Cant.

(I) Compounded of *Enghi*, *new*, and *Cheri*. *soldiers*. By us called *Janizaries*. Their usual number is 40,000; and they have precedence of all the other soldiery. Cant.

bright

A. D. 1362. *bright, their hand victorious, and their sword keen : let their spear always bang over the heads of their enemy; and where-ever they go, may they return with a white face* (K). From this time, those soldiers retained that name, and covering for the head (L).

Farther acquisitions. Hej. 766. A. D. 1365. By means of this new infantry, in 765, *Batha*, in *Asia*, and, in *Europe*, *Zagara* and *Gumürjina*, are reduced. Next year, *Andronicus Paleologus* (M), the Greek emperor, desires *Morâd's* aid against the king of *Bulgaria*. The *Soltân*, pursuant to his request, sends an army into *Europe*, under *Lala Shabân*; who, coming upon the enemy unexpectedly, in a place called *Zermen*, easily put them to flight. The same year, he orders to be built at *Prusa*, in the street *Kapluje*, a large *Jami*, or temple; a *Madraseh*, or college; and an *Imaret*, or hospital.

MORAD, to divide, and gain over to his interest, the other princes (N) of *Asia Minor*, in 783 marries his son *Bay yezîd* (or *Bajezet*) to a daughter of *Ghermian Oglî* (O); with whom he receives as a portion *Kutabia*, *Egrigoz*, and *Taufshanlik*. By his address, *Hamid Oglî* (P) offered to hold in fee of the *Othmân* empire the cities of *Elvadz*, *Enishahr*, *Arsherib*, *Karagais*, and *Seydishabri*; which example others followed.

Mohammedan miracle. Hej. 784. A. D. 1382. THE affairs of *Asia* being thus settled, next year *Morâd* passes the *Streights of Kallipolis* with a great army, and besieges the strong castle of *Bolina*: but, meeting with great opposition, is said to have implored the assistance of heaven, and that the same night part of the wall falling down (Q), the *Othmâns* entered by the breach, and put all the garrison to the sword. A great number of red hats (R) being found in the magazine, *Morâd* distributed them among his soldiers, and ordered others of the same colour to be made for the rest of his army. The same year, *Iskanderia*, *Darme*, and the strong town of *Kavalla*, with almost all *Arnaud* (or *Albania*) were subdued: as in the year 788, were the towns of *Zikne*, *Karaferia*, and *Monastir*.

Morâd invades Servia: Hej. 791. A. D. 1389. THE neighbouring states being alarmed at the great increase of the *Othmân* power under this *Soltân*, a league was formed against it by the *Walakhians*, *Hungarians*, *Dalmatians*, and *Triballians* (S), with those of *Arnaud* not yet subdued, under the conduct of *Lazarus*, prince of *Servia*. *Morâd*, having prepared to meet this storm, attacks the Christian army in the plain of *Kassova*, in *Servia*; where a fierce and doubtful battle is fought: but at length the confederates are put to flight, *Lazarus* himself is taken, his nobles are slain, and the run-aways long pursued by light-horse. The *Soltân*, walking over the field of battle and viewing the dead, told the *Wazîr*, he thought it strange, that among the enemy's slain he saw none but beardless youths. The *Wazîr* made an answer proper to flatter his prince. The latter, continuing his discourse, said, *it is still more strange how I should be deceived by a vision last night in my sleep: for methought I saw myself slain by the hand of an enemy*. At that instant, a Christian soldier, who concealed himself among the dead (T), perceiving it to be the *Soltân* by his talk, animated by thoughts of revenging his country, suddenly starts up, and plunges a dagger in his belly. The *Triballian* is instantly cut in pieces; and *Morâd* dying within two hours, his body is carried by the *Wazîr* and *Basbas* to the royal tent, and embalmed. After this, the great men assembling about the choice of a new emperor, *Ilderîm Bay yezîd*, his eldest son, is declared *Soltân*.

his character: THE *Turks* greatly extol *Morâd*, as a mirror of justice, a prince of invincible fortitude of mind, very regular in his devotions, and a lover of no conversation so much as of the learned.

(K) That is, with praise, or honour; as *black face* is a term of disgrace. *Cant.*

(L) Which is a white cap, or covering, called *Kiche*, in form of a sleeve; in which only they differ in dress from the rest of the infantry.

(M) *Andronicus* for a while usurped the throne from his father *John*.

(N) Called petty princes in *Cantemir's* authors.

(O) Prince of *Phrygia Major*, one of the *Persian* governors, who revolted at the time of *Jenghiz Khân's* expedition. *Cantemir*. He was rather the son or grandson of *Ghermian*, or *Karmian*, who resided at *Kutabia* (the *Kotyæum* of the *Greeks*); which it is strange he should give way to so formidable a neighbour as the *Othman Soltân* was become.

(P) He was one also of the *Persian* governors (so he calls the *Seljukian Turks*), who gave his name to the province called in the maps *Hamida*, as is customary with the *Turks*. *Cant.* *Hamid Oglî* was the son or descendant of *Hamid*, as the name imports.

(Q) The *Mohammedans*, as well as *Christians*, believe that God espouses their cause, and works miracles for the destruction of their enemies.

(R) *Ikuf* seems to have been formerly a covering for the head; but is at present disused by the *Turks*, who use neither helmet nor breast-plate, nor any other armour; in a belief, that if a man was made of adamant he could not escape the fate which is decreed for him. *Cant.*

(S) The people of *Bulgaria* and *Servia*.

(T) Most Christian writers say, this was a servant of *Lazarus*, *Despot of Servia*, and call him *Milash Kobilowitz*. *Khalkokondylas* makes him a *Triballian*. *Orbinus Raguzcus* pretends, that *Morâd* was slain in his own tent by *Lazarus*, which is highly improbable. *Cantemir*. What *Dukas* relates is more likely: that a young *Servian*, when the attack began, ran from the Christian army to the *Turks*; and that, being seized, said he came to discover to their *Soltân* a sure way of coming-off victorious in the war: that *Amurat* having made a sign with his hand for the soldier to advance, he approached; and, having plunged his sword into the *Soltân's* breast, was immediately cut in pieces. *Dukas*, c. 3.

a He is also praised for his remarkable abstinence; so that he was never seen clothed in any thing but *Sof* (U). He lived 71 years, and reigned 30^a. A. D. 1389.

We find but little relating to this *Soltân* in the *Greek* writers, and that delivered without order. The first enterprize of *Morâd*, or *Amurat*, according to *Khalkokondylas*, was against the *Triballians*; in which he defeated *Sufman*, *Despot* of *Servia*, and took the very opulent city of *Pherres*. The same authors say, that *Amurat* began this war for love of *Sufman's* beautiful daughter; whom by that means he hoped to have obtained. After this, he obliged *Drages*, son of *Zarkbus*, lord of *Mafia*, and *Bogdân*, or *Pogdin*, who commanded the *Triballians*, country about *Mount Rhodope*, to become tributary, and to attend him in his wars. He subdued other princes, who were *Triballians*, *Kroats*, or *Albanians*.

b A REBELLION rising in *Asia*, he passed over, and quelled it. Upon this, he received advice, that his eldest son *Sauz* (X) had joined in a conspiracy with *Andronikus*, eldest son of *John Paleologus*, to dethrone their fathers, and make perpetual peace. *Morâd* hastens back to *Europe*, and complains to the emperor, that *Andronikus* had corrupted his son. Then marching with his forces to *Apikridium*, the place where the princes were encamped, not far from *Constantinople*, he went to listen at their tent; and having heard their discourse, called to the officers, who were about them, by their names, and by an artful speech, drew part of them over. The rest fled with the princes to *Didymoticum*, where *Amurat* followed; and, seizing *Sauz*, had his eyes put out. *Andronikus* was served in the same manner by his father; who durst not refuse to do what *Amurat* required. Boiling hot vinegar was made use of on that occasion.

AFTER this, *Manuel*, the emperor's second son, who had the government of *Theffalonika*, formed a design to seize the city of *Pherres*; which *Amurat* hearing of, sent *Kharatin Basba* (Y) to take his city, and bring him bound to him. *Manuel*, unable to resist, fled: but his father not daring to receive him, he took a resolution to go and ask pardon of the *Soltân* himself; who, pleased with his behaviour, received him with embraces, and sent him back loaded with presents to *Constantinople*.

JOHN PALEOLOGUS, to put a stop to the growing power of the *Turks*, passed into *Italy*, and applied to the *Venetians* for aid; but met with nothing but fair words. Having borrowed a large sum there, he visited, to as little purpose, the other *Italian* princes, and then went to *France*; whose king (Z), by reason of the intestine broils, was in no condition to assist him. At his return to *Venice*, he was arrested for the money he had taken-up when there before. Hereupon, he sent to his son *Andronikus*, whom he had left regent, to raise the sum out of the revenues of the clergy, and by other means. *Andronikus*, not caring to part with his authority, sent word, that the people were averse to the proposal: but *Manuel*, raising all the money he possibly could, in haste set sail for *Italy*, with design to remain in his father's stead, in case that sum was not sufficient. This got him his father's love and his brother's hatred.

PRESENTLY after, *Amurat*, having discovered that *Manuel* was forming designs against him, *Kharatin* deprived him of his city and government: and as the emperor had forbidden him to retire within his territories, he fled to *Lesbos*; whence being ordered to depart, he passed by sea to *Troas*, and thence by post to *Prusa*.

THE *Soltân* delayed no longer to march against the *Triballians*, and their prince *Eleazer* (or *Amurat's Lazarus*), who was joined by the *Hungarians*. He gave one of his daughters to *Sufman* (A), lord of the *Odrysians*, or *Moldavians*. The other to *Bulkus*, son of *Brankas*, son of *Plandikas*, who held *Kastoria*, and that part of *Macedonia* called *Okbrida*, formerly belonging to *Nikolas*, son of *Zuppan*. Thus strengthened, he thought himself sure of victory. He had also, after the death of *Ungleses* and *Kbrates*, conquered *Pistrinum* and *Nistra*; and extended his borders as far as the river *Save*. He was encamped in the plain of *Kosoba*; where *Amurat* attacked him, and gained the victory, but lost his life.

f His death is variously reported. The *Turks* say, that as he followed *Eleazer*, who fled, a *Triballian* foot-soldier met and ran him through with a pike. The *Greeks* pretend, that before the battle, one *Milo*, having proposed to *Eleazer* to kill *Amurat*, rode up armed to the first ranks of the *Turks*, just going to give the charge; and desiring to speak with the *Soltân*, who was in the midst of his *Janizaries*, ran him through the body, and was then cut in pieces.

^a CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 36—45.

^r KHALKONDYLAS, l. i. c. 8—13.

(U) *Sof*, or *Sîf*, is a fine cloth made of wool, as fine and light as may be. It is chiefly worn by ecclesiastics, who are forbidden by their law the use of silk. The person who wears a garment of *Sof*, is called *Sofi*. *Contemir*. And hence *Shâh Ismael*, of *Persia*, was called *Sofi Ismael*, his father having been a religious person.

(X) *Dukas* calls him *Kuntuz*.

(Y) Or *Hayraddin*.

(Z) At the end of the chapter, the author says, these affairs happened before *Andronikus* and *Sauz* rebelled, as in fact they did. For want of chronology, the events are ranged out of order, and sometimes twice repeated.

(A) The same mentioned before perhaps.

A. D. 2389.

Andronicus
blinded :

A. D. 1387.

dethrones his
father ;

restores him.

Amurat slain
by a Servian.

A. D. 1389.

THE account which *Dukas* gives of these affairs, is as follows : When *Or Khân* died, *John Paleologus* (B), (who, after his return from *Italy*, had obliged *Kantakuzenus* to retire into a monastery), was 25 years of age. He had three sons, *Andronikus*, *Manuel*, and *Theodorus*. *Andronikus* surpassed all those of his time for stature, strength, and majesty of person. *Amurat* had the same number, *Yakub*, *Kuntuz*, and *Bajazet*. *Andronikus* and *Kuntuz*, who were of the same age, one day conspired against their fathers ; which coming to the knowledge of *Amurat*, he ordered his son's eyes to be put out, and threatened to declare war against *Paleologus*, if he did not do the same by his. The emperor, through fear, or some other weakness, did more than was required of him : for he caused the eyes, not only of *Andronikus*, but of his infant son, to be put out ; and then imprisoned him, with his wife, in the tower of *Anema*. From thence they escaped two years after by means of the *Genoese* of *Galata* ; who, glad of the occasion, assisted him with forces against his father. After a few days, *Andronikus* was admitted on certain conditions into the city : but, being entered, he, contrary to his oath, confined his father and brothers in the same prison.

Two years after, they having in their turn made their escape to *Skutari*, *Andronikus*, unwilling to involve the sinking state in a civil war, resigned the throne to his father, and obtained his pardon. He still saw with one eye, and his son with both. The emperor gave to *Andronikus*, *Selivrea*, *Dancion*, *Heraklea*, *Rodesto*, and *Panide* ; in the first of which he resided. Then he ordered *Manuel* to be crowned and proclaimed emperor.

To return to *Amurat*. This prince having reduced most of the cities of *Thrace*, besieged *Adrianople* ; which he took with all *Thessaly*, except *Thessalonika*. When he had conquered almost all the *Roman* dominions, he turned his arms against the *Servians*, ruined many of their towns, and carried off a multitude of prisoners. Hereupon *Lazarus*, son of *Stephen*, their *Král*, raising all his forces, fought a battle ; in which great numbers fell on both sides. During the engagement, a young *Servian* ran towards the *Turkish* army ; and, being seized, pretended he came to put the *Soltân* in a way how to gain the victory. *Amurat* making a sign with his hand to advance, he drew near ; and, plunging his dagger in that prince's breast, was immediately cut in pieces. The *Turks*, though astonished at the accident, yet did not lose their discretion. They erected his tent in the middle of the army, put him in it, and renewed the fight with extreme fury. The *Servians*, who knew nothing of what had happened, soon gave way ; and the *Král* being taken, with the chief men of the nation, were carried to the tent, and sacrificed at the feet of the expiring *Amurat*. All this was done without either of the two wings of their army knowing any thing of the matter. The right was commanded by *Yakúb* the elder, and the left by *Bajazet* the younger brother.

WE have chosen to give separate extracts from these two authors, that our readers may the better judge of their completeness or deficiency, as well as of their agreement or disagreement with themselves and the *Turkish* historians ; and from thence form a judgment of them in general.

* *Dukas*, c. 3, & 12.

(B) *Kantakuzenus* speaks of this emperor when fifteen, as a youth of great hopes, fine parts, and courage ; yet *Gregoras*, *Dukas*, and *Khalkondylas*, represent him as extremely debauched. *Dukas* imputes his going to *Italy* to the mild reproof given him by his colleague on that occasion. After two years rambling there and in *Germany*, he returned (with the money gathered to recover the throne) to *Tenedos*. There meeting with *Ga-*

teluzzio, a noble *Genoese*, who had two galleys, they sailed to *Constantinople*. The wind blowing hard, and the *Genoese*s pretending to be in great distress, the soldiers in garrison, with design to assist them, opened a door, through which 500 of *Paleologus*'s men entering, let in 2000 more who were at hand, and thus took the city ; which *Kantakuzenus* forthwith resigned.

C H A P. V.

The Reign of Ilderîm Bâ-yezîd (A).

YAKUB CHELEBI (B), the younger brother of *Bâ-yezîd*, not being pleased with his advancement to the throne, attempts to raise a sedition ; but the thing being seasonably discovered, he is, by the command of the *Soltân*, and consent of the chief men, strangled with a bow-string (C). *Lazarus* also, prince of *Servia*, being considered as the occasion of *Morád*'s

(A) Or *Yilderîm Bâ-yezîd*, vulgarly called *Abu Yazid*, as *Dr. Pocock* writes. *Sup. to Abulfaraj*, p. 45. *Arabshâh*, in his history of *Timûr*, uses *Abû Yezîd* for *Bâ-yezîd* ; which is by *Europeans* vulgarly spelt *Bajazet*.

(B) *Chelebi*, signifying nobly descended [or a gentleman], was formerly the title of the *Soltân*'s sons before they came to the empire : but this, not seeming lofty enough,

was changed to that of *Effendi*, from the *Greek* 'Αυθέντης. *Cant.*

(C) This death is the most honourable among the *Turks*, and only indulged to the great ; but beheading is infamous. *Cant.* *Dukas* says, that *Bajazet*, whom he makes the younger brother, seizing the throne, ordered *Yakúb*'s eyes to be put out.

death,

a death, was, by Bâ-yezîd's order, brought before him, and beheaded. After this, dismissing the army, he sends his father's body to be buried at *Prusa*, or *Bûrsab*, in the royal *Jâmi*; and, following himself, erects to his memory a most elegant marble *Kubbeh* (D), or monument. A. D. 1390.

THE next year, pursuing his father's conquests, he took, in *Europe*, *Karatova* and *Isseib*; and, in *Asia*, added *Aydin*, *Sari Khân*, *Kars* (E), and *Montesha* (F), to his dominions (G). After this, a dispute arising between him and his father-in-law *Gherman Ogli* (H), he vanquishes him; and, banishing him to *Ipsala*, seizes his kingdom (I). The prince of *Karamania* (who had married the Soltân's sister) would have shared the same fate, had he not resolved on the war against *Moldavia*; intending to revenge in person the defeat which his army, under *Surasfer Soleyman Basbâ*, received two years before at *Hierasus*. With this view, hastening back to *Europe*, he lays a bridge over the *Danube*, ravages all *Moldavia*, and encamps at *Razboe*, a village on the river *Siretus*. Soon after *Istefan* (K) (or *Stephen*), prince of that country, arriving with his army, fought a fierce battle, but was overthrown. On this, he fled to *Nemz*, where with a strong garrison he had left his mother; who, from the walls, denies him entrance, and bids him return, and retrieve his honour: saying, "She would rather see him perish by the hand of an enemy, than branded with the infamy of being saved by a woman." *Istefan*, stung with his mother's reproaches, departed from the city; and, by a trumpet, whom he met, gathered 12,000 *Moldavians*, who had escaped the sword. With these, falling on the enemy, dispersed over the field, and intent on spoil, he put them to flight. Then, at *Vasblui*, twenty miles from *Jassi*, capital of *Moldavia*, he routed the *Turkish* army (L), took the royal tents, and obliged the Soltân, who was before the terror of the world, to fly, with a few attendants, to *Adrianople*. Seljuk prince reduced. Defeats the Moldavians.

MEAN while, *Karamân Ogli* hearing of this great overthrow, and believing he had now a fair opportunity of crushing his power, besieges *Kutabia*, and ravages the *Othmân* dominions in *Asia*. Bâ-yezîd, more enraged at this than discouraged, with his usual speed (M) raises an army in *Europe*, and, before his arrival in *Asia* was suspected, meets the enemy divided into many parties, and defeats them at the first onset. *Karamân Ogli* (N) flying with his sons to *Akjami*, is taken by the pursuers; and, being brought before the Soltân, is, by his orders, beheaded, and his two sons condemned to perpetual imprisonment at *Prusa*. Thus all *Karamania* fell under the victor's power. Karamân Ogli slain.

d IN *Europe*, he takes *Nigheboli*, *Silistra*, and *Uruschik*, towns on the *Danube*; and next year, in *Asia*, reduces *Amasia*, *Tokâd*, *Niksar*, *Samsun*, and *Janik* (O); which had been subject to the Soltân *Burban Elledin* (P). Farther conquests.

AFTER

(D) It is a monument with a tower, placed over the graves of *Wazirs* and other great men.

(E) The same with *Karaz*, or *Karasia*.

(F) These countries bear the names of their first princes, who were *Seljuks*, as before-mentioned.

(G) *Dukas* relates, c. 4. that Bâ-yezîd first reduced the *Servians*, and then *Karmian*, prince of *Kotiakum* (or *Kotiaion*); next he made himself master of *Ionia*, and *Yisse*, son of *Atin* (or *Ayân*), and banished him to *Nicea*, where he died. He then seized *Karia* and *Lycia*, whose governor, *Eli*, fled to the *Persians*. In his way from *Sardes* to *Manissa* (or *Magnesia*), near mount *Sypzulus*, *Kheder*, son of *Sarkan*, prince of *Lydia* and *Æolia*, came to submit to him. Bâ-yezîd, after giving him his daughter in marriage, sent him to *Prusa*, and soon after dispatched him by poison. This done, he marched to *Philadelpia*, which had hitherto singly stood out; but wanting provisions was forced to capitulate. Returning to *Europe*, he rebuilt the fort of *Kallipolis*, which the *Turks* and *Catalans* had demolished; built a port for the galleys, and a tower for security of the port.

(H) Rather *Gherman*, or *Kermian Ogli*, that is, the son, or descendant of *Kermian*.

(I) *Dukas* says, c. 4. that after taking him, with *Kotiakum*, the capital of *Phrygia*, he sent him to *Prusa*; but that, instead of going, he fled into *Persia*.

(K) He was the greatest hero of his age, made great conquests from the *Hungarians* and *Poles*, subdued *Walakkia*, as far as *Bukurest*, the capital; *Basharabia*, now *Bujak*; the city of *Kili*, at the mouth of the *Danube*, and *Ak Kermân*, the *Alba Græca*, or *Oxia*, of the antients. He reigned 47 years. His son, *Bogdân*, made *Moldavia* tributary to the *Turks*, who now call the inhabitants, from him, *Bogdâni*, whom before they named *Ak Istak* (or vulgarly *Ak Vlakb*), that is, the *White Wa-*

lakkians, as they still call the *Walakkians Kara Istak*, or *Black Walakkians*. Cant.

(L) In this second battle he made a memorable slaughter; which seven vast piles of *Turkish* bodies, erected after the battle, witnessed, by the confession of *Hazarfen* himself, the faithful *Turkish* historian. Cant.

(M) The *Turkish* historians, to extol this Soltân's expedition in assembling troops, marching and attacking his enemies, represent the natural speed of the *Tatars*, when compared with his, as the creeping of a snail. He appeared in *Asia*, when thought to be in *Europe* and the country; his coming preventing report; whence they called him *Ilderim*, or *lightning*. He acquainted no person with his designs, and executed all matters of difficulty himself. Cant.

(N) *Cantemir* says, pref. p. 10, that the *Karamânian* princes are falsely reckoned *Oguzians*, the founder being one of the *Persian* governors who revolted on *Jenghiz Khân's* invasion. Not considering, or knowing, that those he calls *Persians* were *Seljukians*, and that the *Seljukians* derived their pedigree from *Oguz*; and in all probability the *Othmans* did it in imitation of them.

(O) He should have added *Siwâs*, or *Sebaste*, which fell into his possession, either this time or very soon after; for according to the *Turkish* annals of *Gaudier*, Bâ-yezîd marching to that city, in 797, an. 1394, the *Kâdi Burhân* surrendered it to him, and he left his son *Soleyman* governor of it.

(P) He seems to have been one of the *Persian* governors before-mentioned; his principality was part of *Armenia Major*. Cant. According to *Arab Shâh's Hist.* Tim. l. iv, his name was *Kadi Burhanoddin Abul Abbâs Ahmed*. He was lord of *Kayfariyah*, *Tukat*, and *Siwâs*, in *Asia Minor*; his father was chancellor to Soltân *Artatas*, lord of *Kayfariyah*, and certain countries of *Karamân*. Artates

A. D. 1391. AFTER this, he returned to *Europe*. But had no sooner passed the *Streights of Gallipolis*, a than he was informed, that *Kutrum* (Q) *Bâ-yezîd*, prince of *Kastamoni*, taking advantage of his absence, laid waste his provinces in *Asia Minor*. The *Soltân*, leaving *Europe* to his generals, with the greater part of his army repasses the streights: but before he came, *Kutrum* was dead, and his son *Isfindar Beg* (R) sent ambassadors to beg pardon for his father's offence, and promised submission. *Bâ-yezîd* hereupon receives him into favour; and, placing garrisons in the cities of *Kastamoni*, *Tarakli Borli*, and *Othmânjik* (S), hailes back to *Europe*, and in the same campaign takes *Selanîk*, or *Thessalonika*.

Christian princes defeated. A. D. 1394. THIS expedition over, he returns to *Prusa*; where news is presently brought, that *Sigismond*, king of *Hungary*, in conjunction with other Christian princes, having raised an army of 100,000 men, had entered the borders of the *Turkish* empire, and laid siege to *Nikopolis*. *Bâ-yezîd* in haste assembles his forces, not exceeding 60,000 men; and, passing into *Europe*, attacks the confederates with such fury, that they were defeated at the first charge with great slaughter. All *Sigismond's* partners in this expedition were taken or slain; himself only escaping first to *Constantinople* (T), and thence by water into his own territories. There were found in his camp many warlike engines, and a large treasure; with which the *Soltân* built both at *Adrianople* and at *Prusa* a noble *Jami*, with a *Madreseh* and a *Darush-shifa* (U), or hospital for the sick.

Guzelhissar built. Hejrah, 797. BA-YEZID, having now nothing to fear from the western princes, turns all his forces against *Thrace*; where he takes a castle situate on the *Euxine* sea, about 60 miles from *Constantinople*; and, to deprive the *Europeans* of the means to pass into *Asia*, builds a new city in a place called *Bogâz Kesen*. This he very strongly fortifies, and names *Guzelhissar* (X), or the beautiful castle. The same year he encamps with a great army under the walls of *Constantinople*, without opposition: but, when preparations were made for an assault, the prime *Wazîr* dissuaded him from the siege; representing the danger of a revolt in the new conquered cities, not yet settled, and of alarming the Christian princes into a confederacy. On these considerations, although he did not despair of taking the city, yet he advises that the siege should be deferred, lest by grasping too much, all should be lost; and that ambassadors should be sent to the *Istambol Tekkuri* (Y), upon a presumption, that, as he could have no hopes of saving the city, he would gladly submit to any terms that were imposed on him.

Emperor becomes tributary. Kâdi at Constantinople. HEREUPON *Bâ-yezîd* sends his ambassadors to *Paleologus* (Z) with a letter, requiring him to deliver up the city to him; telling him he had subdued the rest of his dominions, and that beyond the walls he had nothing left: but the ambassadors had orders, in case they found the *Greeks* averse to surrender the city, to conclude a peace on their paying a yearly tribute. This contrivance had the effect; and a truce is made for ten years, on condition that *Paleologus* pays annually 10,000 *Filuri Altun* (A); that the *Othmâns* be allowed to build a *Jami* (B) and *Mekieme* (C) in *Constantinople*; also to appoint a *Kâdi*, or judge, who was to decide between *Mohammedans*: but when the dispute was between a Christian and a *Mohammedan*, then

Artates dying, he was made one of the regents during the minority of his son; who dying, he seized the *Soltânat*. He was learned, courageous, and a friend to *Bâ-yezîd*; having put to death *Timûr's* ambassadors, who had summoned him to submit. But before *Timûr* invaded *Bâ-yezîd*, the *Kadi* was slain by *Othmân*, the *Turkmân*. *Sharîfo'ddin Ali*, in his *Persian* history of *Timûr*, l. v. c. 13. says, he was put to death by *Timûr*: but we prefer *Arab Shâh's* account, who gives the particulars of his death; and, being a mortal enemy to *Timûr*, would gladly have had that prince's death to lay to his charge.

(Q) His name intimates his being lame in his feet or joints, or weakened by some nervous or paralytic disorder. He was perhaps one of the *Persian* governors also. *Cant.* Very probably; for, on the fall of the *Seljukian* monarchy, the whole dominion came to be divided into lesser states, especially when the *Tatars* were withdrawn; whereof the *Greek* and *Turkish* historians only mention those which lay most westward.

(R) Or *Isfindar Beg*.

(S) A city, according to *Busbekius*, in *Bithynia*, beyond *Mount Olympus*, founded by *Othmân*, and therefore famous. Nor is there any other city in the whole *Turkish* empire besides this, which bears its founder's name, though many were built by order of the *Soltâns*. *Cant.* But there is another *Othmânjik* on the river *Kezil Ernak*, between *Tofia* and *Amasia*, not far from the *Black Sea*; if *Busbekius* has not mistaken the situation of the place.

(T) This is the common opinion of the Christian writers.

(U) That is, the gate of health, from *dâr*, a gate, and *shifa*, a remedy.

(X) At present called *Bogâzghiehid*, or the passage of the streights, between the *Propontis* and the *Imid Daglâri*, that is mountains of *Nicca*; from whence *Constantinople* is supplied with materials for building and shipping. *Cant.*

(Y) *Istambol* seems to be a corruption of *Constantinople*; for the more learned *Turks*, and the emperor in his mandates, write *Constantaniyeh*. *Tekkur* (or *Teggur*) signifies governor: but they sometimes call the emperor *Kayser*, or *Cæsar*. It is their insulence to call him only governor of *Constantinople*, though at that time he had nothing left without the walls of the city.

(Z) This was *Manuel*, who began his reign in 1384.

(A) It is a peculiar appellation of the *Turkish* rufps, or the *Venetian* golden crown, in value 300 aspers. *Cant.*

(B) The *Jami* of *Darwd Pashâ* was built on this occasion. *Cant.*

(C) This is the hall of judgment, where causes were heard and determined. There are more than 20 *Mekieme* in *Constantinople*; the chief is that of *Mehemet Pashâ*. *Cant.*

a the patriarch was to determine it. The same regulation was to take place also at *Adri-* A. D. 1394.
anople^a.

THIS is the account given by the *Turkish* historians relating to the *Greek* affairs. Let us *The isles ra-*
now see what the *Greeks* themselves say upon the subject. According to *Dukas* (D), after *Bâ-* *vaged.*
yezîd had made himself master of *Bitbynia*, *Phrygia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Karia* (E), he sent to require
the emperor *John Paleologus* to pay tribute, and order his son *Manuel* with 100 men to fol-
low him in his war against the *Turks* of *Pamphilia*. *John*, who had no expectation of suc-
cours from any state whatever, was obliged to comply. After this the *Soltân* prohibited the
exportation of corn, which was annually made from *Asia* to the isles of *Lesbos*, *Kbio*, *Lemnos*,
and *Rhodes*. Having also fitted out a fleet, he sent 60 great vessels to *Kbio*, burned the city,
b and towns about it, ravaged the isles of the *Archipelago*, *Euboë*, and part of *Attika*. The
emperor, still more alarmed at these proceedings, resolved to fortify the city on the south side
along the shore, and built two towers on the side of the *Golden Gate* with the stones of a church
which he had pulled down for that purpose.

BUT, as soon as the war in *Pamphilia* was finished, *Bâ-yezîd* having sent to tell him, that, if *Manuel*, em-
peror was forced to do what was required; and soon after died, as much of grief for the bad
state of his affairs, as of his distemper. *Manuel*, being informed of his father's death, escaped
from *Prusa*, and got to *Constantinople*. When this news came to the ears of *Bâ-yezîd*, who
had a design to slay him, he sent to make several unjust demands; and, among the rest, to have
c a *K'idi* established in that city, to decide the differences between the *Musulmans* settled there
on account of trade; adding this threat, *If you will not obey my commands, shut yourself up*
within the walls of your city; for I am in possession of all without.

THE tyrant, after this, passing from *Bitbynia* into *Thrace*, ruined all the villages between *Thessalonika*
Panida and *Constantinople*, carrying off all the inhabitants. Next, he took *Thessalonika*, and *taken.*
all the neighbouring places. He sent *Abramsus* into the *Morea*, to ravage *Akhaia* and *Lacede-*
mon; while *Tarkhân* was detached towards the *Euxine* sea, to put every thing on that side to fire
and sword. He likewise shut up all the avenues to *Constantinople*, that the inhabitants might
neither go in or out, nor be supplied with provisions; which soon produced such a scarcity,
that they were forced to pull down the houses for wood to make fires.

d THE emperor hereupon wrote to the pope, the king of *France*, and *Krâl* of *Hungary*, to let *Christian*
them know the extremity he was reduced to; and the danger which the city was in of falling *princes join;*
into the hands of the enemies of the cross, unless immediately assisted. The princes of the
west, touched with *Manuel's* letter, armed in his defence; and, in the beginning of spring, the
duke of *Burgundy*, besides several *English*, *French*, and *Italians*, met in *Hungary*; where
being joined by *Sigismund*, *Krâl* of that country, and king of the *Romans*, they passed the
Danube at *Nikopolis*. *Bâ-yezîd*, having drawn all the forces of his empire together, not omitting
those which guarded *Constantinople*, marched along by *Philipopolis*, and the mountains near
the marshes; where he waited for them.

NEXT day the Christians appeared; and, having made the *Tortoise*, broke the main body *but are defeat-*
e of the enemy, and penetrated to their rear. When the *Flemmings* saw that the *Turks* (who *ed.*
fought with slings or bows) began to fly, they pursued them in disorder, and made a great
slaughter. Then the guards of the palace (F), gathered out of several Christian nations, issued
forth of their ambuscade; and, falling impetuously, with a great cry upon the *French* and
Hungarians, inclosed them; and, having cut them in pieces, put the rest to flight. The
Flemmings, seeing their friends defeated, fled themselves, and were pursued to the *Danube*;
where such as escaped the sword were drowned. Several lords of great quality were taken;
among the rest the duke of *Burgundy*, count of *Flanders*; whom *Bâ-yezîd* sent to *Prusa*, and
afterwards released for a great ransom.

THE *Soltân*, elated with this success, sent to summon the emperor to surrender *Constantino-* *Manuel re-*
f *ple*; who did not vouchsafe to send him an answer. Hereupon *Bâ-yezîd*, affecting to support *signs to his ne-*
the right which *John*, the son of *Andronikus* (G), had to the empire, told him, that, in case he *phew John.*
would yield the throne to the lawful heir, he would lay down his arms, and maintain peace A. D. 1393.

^a CANTEMIR'S Othm. Hist. p. 47, & seqq.

(D) What *Khalkondylas* has written with regard to
Bâ-yezîd and his wars looks more like a romance than a
history; being made up chiefly of framed speeches,
letters, and answers, to supply the want of good mate-
rials; very few facts being mentioned by him, nor are
those related with any accuracy or order.

(E) Of which *Melassus* was the capital. *Dukas*,
cap. 17.

(F) This is to be understood of the *Janizaries*,
who guarded the palace; which our author calls the
Porte.

(G) A son of *John Paleologus*, and brother of *Manuel*,
who had *Seliwrea*, the only place which his son *John*
had left at his father's death.

A. D. 1394. with the city. *Manuel*, being a very wise prince, and fearing the people, who began to divide in parties on this occasion, might be constrained by the scarcity, which increased every day, to renounce their religion, and give up their country, sent to his nephew *John*, who was then in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, with 10,000 *Turks*; offering to yield the city to him, provided he would only let him take the galleys, which were then in the port, and retire with them whither he pleased. This being agreed on, *Manuel* put *John* in possession of the palace; and, going on board with his wife and children, departed.

MANUEL arriving in the *Morea*, left his wife and two young children, *John* and *Theodorus*, at *Modon*. Then, sending back the galleys, went on board a large ship for *Venice*. From thence, passing through *Italy*, he went to *France* and *Germany*. The princes received him every-where with great honour, and made him rich presents. He afterwards returned to *Venice*, and from thence to *Modon*; where he abode, expecting to see the ruin of the empire.

BA-YEZID imagined that *John* would have surrendered *Constantinople* to him, as had been agreed on, in consideration of the *Morea*, and a treaty of peace. But *John* found means to compound the matter by delivering up *Selivrea*, and admitting a judge into the city, to which his empire was confined.

Timûr's invasion.
A. D. 1397.

WHILE *Bâ-yezîd* proposed, after so many conquests, to take a little rest, news came that *Timûr Bek*, or *Tamerlan* (H), was advancing to invade his dominions. Some authors pretend, that *Paleologus* had in his distress written to this *Tatar* prince; promising for his assistance to hold his empire of him; but that he refused to accept thereof, though at the same time he engaged to succour him; and this is thought to be one reason of *Timûr's* expedition^b. But *Dukas*, the *Greek* historian, who has written best on these affairs, far from assigning any such reason for it, writes, that *Timûr* made this war in behalf of the *Mohammedan* princes, whom *Bâ-yezîd* had stripped of their dominions; and that he commended the *Soltân* for spoiling the Christians, at the same time he condemned him for invading the *Musulmans*^c; which we find is nearly the truth of the case, as delivered by the oriental historians.

The occasion of it.
Hejrah, 800.

ACCORDING to the *Turkish* writers, *Abmed Halamîr* (I), *Khân* of *Baghdâd*, having, in the year 800, revolted from the *Soltân* of *Egypt* to *Bâ-yezîd*, this latter, by his means, wrests from the *Egyptians* *Ilbistân*, *Malatia*, *Diyurgbe* (K), and *Nebbi*. In his return, he enters the province of *Arzingân* (L), subject to *Tabrin Beg*; and, defeating the governors thereof, imposes on him a heavy tribute. Shortly after, suspecting his fidelity, he carries his wife and two sons in hostage to *Prusa*. Some historians of less authority say, that the motive of this action was his being enamoured with the lady, whom he forced from her husband. *Tabrin Beg* (M), not brooking the injury, puts himself under *Timûr's* protection, and excites him to make war on *Bâ-yezîd*.

Bâ-yezîd defeated.
Hejrah, 804.
A. D. 1401.

ACCORDINGLY, in 804, that conqueror moves against him; and, being met by *Ilderîm* near *Prusa*, a fierce battle is fought, in which there fell on both sides more than 340,000 men. At length the *Turks* are defeated; *Mustâfa*, *Bâ-yezîd's* eldest son, is slain, fighting gallantly; and the *Soltân* himself, being taken prisoner, is shut up in an iron cage, where he ends his days. *Timûr* hereupon enters *Prusa*, and forces the rest of the *Asiatic* countries to submit to his yoke^d.

^b CANTEMIR'S Othm. Hist. p. 53.

^c DUKAS, c. 15.

^d CANT. ubi sup. p. 54, & seqq.

(H) As the Europeans call him. It is a corruption of *Timûr leng* (or *Timûr lenk*) which, in *Persian*, signifies one lame in his thigh. Cant. *Timûr lenk* signifies lame *Timûr*, a nickname given him by the *Persians* and *Turks*. *Timûr*, which was his proper name, signifies iron. His empire began in *Mawara'nâhr*, or *Great Bukhâria*, the capital whereof was *Samarkând*; which he usurped from the successors of *Jagatay*, or *Zagatay Khân*, son of *Jenghîz Khân*, and whose limits he extended over *Tartary*, part of *India*, *Persia*, and the countries westward as far as the *Archipelago*. See his history, vol. ii. p. 498.

(I) *Halamîr* imports, in the *Arabic*, present, or perpetual lord. He was one of those princes who sat up for themselves in *Persia*, after the death of *Abusâid Khân*, from whom he descended. He was the son of *Sheykh Avis*, or *Wêis*; who became *Soltân* of *Baghdâd* by usurpation, and fled to *Malek Al Nasser*, son of *Barkok*, *Mamlûk Soltân* of *Egypt*, on the approach of *Timûr*; after whose death he was released, and returned to *Baghdâd*,

the seat of his kingdom. See *D'Herb.* p. 149. art. *Avis Abmed ben Avis*. *Sharîfo'ddin's Hist. Timûr*, l. iii. c. 50. & seqq. Also before, vol. ii. p. 494.

(K) Rather *Diwrigbi*.

(L) Prince *Cantemir* propagating an error before taken notice of, reads *Azerbijân*, which is the antient *Media Atropatia*; whereas *Arzingân* is a city on the *Euphrates*, towards *Arzerûm*.

(M) He is called *Taberten* in *Sharîfo'ddin's History of Timûr*, who, in 1387, sent to *Arzenjân* (or *Arzengân*) of which he was prince, to summon him to become tributary; which he did. Thereupon *Timûr* sent him the patents of investiture. *Hist. Timûr*, l. ii. c. 58, 59. About the year 1400, *Bâ-yezîd* sent to order *Taberten* to repair to his court, and remit him the tributes of *Arzenjân*, *Arzerum*, and their dependencies. *Taberten* gave notice to *Timûr* of this summons; which, according to *Sharîfo'ddin*, was the chief cause of the war. *Ibid.* l. v. c. 13, & seq.

- a THE foregoing account of this war is so very short and inaccurate (for neither the time nor the place of the battle, nor the treatment *Bâ-yezîd* met with, are truly related), that one would imagine the *Turks* have no good memoirs among them concerning it. The place of battle indeed seems to have been inserted by prince *Cantemir* by conjecture; for, in a note, after telling us that most Christian writers (N) say the battle was fought on the banks of the *Euphrates*, he alleges, that, as all the *Turkish* historians affirm, that *Timûr*, immediately after the battle, entered *Prusa*, it is a clear proof that it was fought on the plains of that city. But this is contradicted by the oriental (O) as well as *Greek* historians; and even by the *Turkish* author of the annals of *Gaudier* ^c (which he so much runs down); who all agree to make the field of battle, the plain of *Enguri*, or *Ancyra*.
- b HOWEVER that be, we presume it will not be unacceptable to our readers to add a relation of that memorable event, extracted from an oriental author, who has written the life of *Timûr*'s *Timûr Bek* (P) with great minuteness, judgment, and accuracy.
- THE occasion of the war between *Timûr* and *Bâ-yezîd*, according to *Sharîfo'ddîn ali Yezdi*, was this. *Bâ-yezîd* having, after the death of the *Kadi Burbano'ddîn*, made himself master of *Siwâs* (or *Sebasté*) and *Malatîyah*, sent in very haughty terms to summon *Taberten* (Q), prince of *Arzenjin*, to come to his court, and remit the tributes of that city, *Arzerûm*, and their dependencies, to his treasury. *Taberten* immediately sent advice of this to *Timûr* (R); who was surprised at the boldness of the *Othmân*, knowing that *Taberten* was under his protection; and sent him a very mortifying letter (S), in which he calls him a *pismire*, a little prince; and (what doubtless gave most offence of all) a *Turkmân*. *Bâ-yezîd* answered the ambassadors, that he wanted to be at war with their master; and that if *Timûr* did not come to seek him, he would go seek *Timûr* into the very heart of *Persia*. At the return of the ambassadors, *Timûr*, who was then in *Georgia*, set forward towards *Asia Minor*, which he entered the first of *Mobarram*, 803; and, marching to *Siwâs* (or *Sebasté*), sent in pursuit of *Mehemed Chelebi*, surnamed *Kerîshchi*; whose troops, being overtaken, were cut in pieces. He then besieged the city, the walls of which were so ruined by battering and sapping in eighteen days, that the inhabitants, driving out *Mostafa* the governor, implored the mercy of *Timûr*, who granted it to the *Musulmans*, but made slaves of the Christians. He ordered also 4000 *Armenian* cavalry of the garrison to be thrown into pits, dug for the purpose, and covered with earth; razing at the same time the walls (T) of *Siwâs*.
- Timûr, after this (loth perhaps to crush *Bâ-yezîd*, for the reason hereafter given), instead of penetrating farther into *Rûm*, turned off towards *Syria*; which he conquered from the *Soltân* of *Egypt*, in revenge for giving refuge to *Soltân Ahmed Jelayr* (U), and *Kara Yusuf*, the *Turkmân* (X); after which he went and subdued *Baghdâd*. While *Timûr* was thus employed, *Bâ-yezîd*, at the instigation of those two princes to revenge the ruin of *Siwâs*, went and took *Arzenjân*, after routing *Taberten*, and sent that prince's wife and children prisoners to *Brusa*, or *Prusa*. *Timûr*, on this news, detached a large body of troops, under the command of his son, the *Mirza Shâh Rukb*, to attack *Bâ-yezîd*. But this *Soltân* having sent ambassadors to *Timûr*, with a letter full of submission, and prevailed on *Taberten* himself, on promise of releasing his family, to intercede for him in person, the *Tatar* monarch was appeased. However, he told the ambassador that he expected two things of his master, if he intended to remove the cause of quarrel between them; one was, to deliver to him the fortrefs of *Kemak* (Y), which he said belonged to the countries under his obedience; the other was, either to

^c GAUDIER annal. p. 23.

^f SHARIFO'D. Hist. Tim. l. v. c. 13, & seqq.

(N) He must have consulted very bad writers then; for the best say, it was fought near *Ancyra*, or *Enguri*.

(O) As *Arab Shâh* and *Sharîfo'ddîn*. See also *D'Herb. art. Timûr*.

(P) Two authors, who have written the history of *Timûr*, or *Tamerlan*, have come to our hands. The first, *Ahmed ebn Arab Shâh*, who published it in *Arabic*. He was a famous doctor of the *Mohammedan* law, a native of *Damaskus*; and died, *Hejrah* 854, an. 1450. It is translated into *French* by M. *Vatier*. The other is *Mulla Sharîfo'ddîn Ali*, a native of *Yezd*, in *Proper Persia*. He wrote in *Persian*, and published his work at *Shirâz*, capital of the same country, by order of *Ibrâhîm Soltân*, grandson of *Timûr*, in the year 1424; that is, 19 years after that conqueror's death. It was translated into *French* by M. *Petit de la Croix* junior, interpreter to *Lewis XIV.* of *France*; and from thence into *English*; and published in 1723, in two volumes, octavo.

(Q) The same *Tebrîn Beg*, in the *Turkish* history. The difference is doubtless owing to some mistake in pointing the characters.

(R) According to the annals of the *Othmân Soltâns*, translated by *Gaudier*, *Germian*, *Duzinon Beg*, prince of *Aydin* and *Mentakbia*, joined with *Tebrîn Beg* in sending an embassy to *Timûr*. *Annal. Turc.* p. 22.

(S) It was directed to the *Pâdisbâh*, or emperor, of *Rûm*, *Bâ-yezîd*, the thunderer.

(T) *Dukas* gives nearly the same account; only he says, the walls, being undermined quite round, fell down at once, when the props or shorings came to be burned; and that the principal inhabitants were thus buried alive, tied neck and heels. *Dukas*, c. 15. *Timûr* conferred the government of the city on *Kara Ozmân*, son of the *Kâdi Burbano'ddîn*, before-mentioned. *Hist. Timûr*, l. v. c. 64. in a note.

(U) The same with *Ahmed Halamîr*.

(X) He was the first of the dynasty of the *Kara Kyonlu*, or black sheep.

(Y) *Kamab*, or *Kamakh*, a very strong castle, situated on a high rock, on the west side of the *Euphrates*, 21 miles south of *Arzenjân*.

A. D. 1402. put *Kara Yusuf* to death, to send that robber and murderer of merchants, the worst of villains, a in chains to him, or at least to expel him out of his dominions. He promised, in case of his compliance, not only to make peace with him, but also to send him powerful succours against the infidels whom he was at war with; on account of which wars, he said, it was that he had forborne so long to invade his territories.

Bâ-yezîd's ob- TIMUR, having treated the *Othmân* ambassadors with great honour, sent one of his own in sinacy. their company, with a letter to Bâ-yezîd; and afterwards another.

Hejrah, 804. WHEN two months beyond the time agreed on for their return were passed, he grew impatient, and marched towards *Anatolia*. Being arrived at the castle of *Kemak*, he besieged it; and, having taken it, gave the government of it to prince *Taberten*.

FROM thence he marched to *Siwâs*, where one of his ambassadors met him with fresh ambaf- b fadors from Bâ-yezîd, and an answer to his letter, conceived in very haughty terms, which provoked *Timûr*. However, at dismissing those officers, he told them, that, considering their master employed his whole strength against the infidels, he was sorry to be constrained to invade his dominions; and that he was still willing to live at peace with him, provided he only restored the officers belonging to prince *Taberten*; and sent him one of his sons, who should be treated with as much regard as his own.

Comes to An- TIMUR, having reviewed his troops in the plain of *Siwâs*, was informed that Bâ-yezîd was gori. arrived at *Tokat*; but because the road thither was full of forests, he took that of *Kaysariyah*, from whence he marched towards *Ankora* (Y), which he vigorously attacked. There advice being brought that Bâ-yezîd was advanced within four leagues, to relieve the place, he raised c the siege; and halting after a short march, caused his camp to be inclosed by a trench fortified with bucklers and palisades. He had the river which waters the city behind him (Z); and as the *Othmâns* had no water, but that of a little spring at the foot of a hill, near the passage of their army, he sent to destroy it.

Order of Ti- TIMUR having spent the night in prayer to God for victory, in the morning ranged his mûr's army (A) in order of battle. The three bodies into which it was divided were commanded by the *Mirzas*, his sons and grandchildren (B), assisted by his most experienced captains, who acted as lieutenants-general under them. The *Mirzas Shâb Rukh* and *Kalîl Soltân* were at the head of the left wing; the van whereof was led by the *Mirza Soltân Housseyn*. The right wing was under the command of the *Mirza Mirân Shâb*; and its van of the *Mirza Abubekr*. d The main body consisted of a vast number of the greatest lords of *Asia*. Forty colonels were at the head of their regiments on the right, and as many on the left. The *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* was general of the whole body; and before him was carried the great staff, on whose top was a red horse-tail, and on that a half-moon (C). He had for his lieutenants-general the *Mirzas Pîr Mehemed*, *Omar Shейkh*, *Eskânder*, and other princes, his brothers (D). *Timûr* himself commanded the body of reserve, composed of forty complete companies. He ordered several ranks of elephants, with splendid trappings and towers on their backs filled with archers, to be posted at the head of the whole army, as well to intimidate the enemy, as to serve for trophies of his *Indian* victories.

and Bâ-ye- BÂ-YEZID also took care to draw up his army in order. The right wing was commanded by e zîd's wings. *Pasir Laus*, an *European* (E), his wife's brother, with 20,000 cavalry of *Europe*, all armed in steel from head to foot; so that nothing could be seen but their eyes. Their armour was fastened below the foot by a padlock, which was to be opened before their cuirass or helmet could be taken off. The left was conducted by *Musulmân* (F) *Chelebi*, son of Bâ-yezîd, and composed of the troops of *Anatolia*. The main body was commanded by Bâ-yezîd himself, having for his lieutenants-general his three sons, *Musa*, *Aysa* (G), and *Mostafa*. *Mehemed Chelebi*, surnamed *Kirishchi*, the most skilful of his five sons, was at the head of the rear, and had for his lieutenants six Pâshâs, with a great number of other brave officers.

f SHARIF O'D. Hist. Tim. l. v. c. 34—46.

(Y) *Anguri*, or *Enguri*, the ancient *Ancyra* (rather *Ankûra*). The Greek historians also make this the place of battle.

(Z) *Dukas* tells us, that Bâ-yezîd had encamped in a plain, by a river, while *Timûr*'s army was posted on a dry spot of ground; but that the *Soltân* leaving his commodious station to take the diversion of hunting with his troops, *Timûr* went and took possession of it. Mean time the heat being so extreme, that 5000 *Turks* died with thirst, he was obliged to give the *Tatars* battle the next day. *Duk.* c. 15.

(A) *Khalkondylas* makes the army of *Timûr* 800,000, and of Bâ-yezîd only 120,000: but *Schilperger*, who

was in the battle, says the first had 1,600,000, and the latter 400,000. *Khalk.* l. iii. c. 10.

(B) *Dukas* says, c. 15. That he gave the right wing to his son, the left to his grandson, and commanded the rear himself.

(C) The ensigns of the *Othmâns* themselves.

(D) *Timûr* had four sons, and 32 grandsons living, when he died, all denoted by the title of *Mirza*.

(E) This was *Stephen*, son of *Lazarus*, Bâ-yezîd's brother-in-law, according to *Dukas*.

(F) *Cant. mir* supposes him to be the same with *Soleyman*. *Leunclavius Pandect.* N^o. 59, endeavours to prove it.

(G) By others written *Iffa*.

a ABOUT ten in the morning (H) the *Tatar* infantry, with their bucklers before them, posted themselves on the neighbouring hills; and while the *Othmâns* advanced in good order, and full of spirits, the drum was beaten for the battle to begin, and the great cry, *Sûrûn*, made (I) at the sound of the huge trumpet *Kerrenay*. In this interval *Timûr* got off his horse to go to prayers; then remounting, gave orders for attacking the enemy. A. D. 1402.
The battle begins.

THE *Mirza Abûbekr*, at the head of the van-guard of the right wing, began the battle by a discharge of arrows on the *Turk's* left wing, commanded by *Musulman Chelebi*. *Bâ-yezîd's* eldest son (K) who performed noble actions; but not being able to withstand the strength and intrepidity of the *Tatar* troops, was forced to fly. The *Mirza Soltân Housseyn*, who commanded the van of *Timûr's* left wing, fell on the enemy's right, and made a cruel slaughter: but *Timûr* perceiving that he had advanced too far, sent the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân*, at the head of all the *Rebâids* (or forlorn hope), to support him.

THESE rushing full speed into the *Othmân* army, broke the ranks, and put them into great disorder. The *Europeans*, on the other hand, gave marks of prodigious valour, each party repulsing its adversary by turns: but at length the *Tatars* gained the advantage, by the death of *Pir Lous* (L), and the slaughter of the infantry of the *Turk's* right wing. The *Mirzas Mehemed Soltân*, chased the *Othmân* infantry from the hills where they were posted. *Timûr* perceiving the enemy began to give way, ordered the *Mirzas* and *Amîrs* (M) to fall upon them with the whole army. These generals accordingly advanced, sword in hand, and having made a terrible slaughter of part of them, the rest fled.

WHILE the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* routed the right wing, six companies of his soldiers ascended a hill (N), which properly was their post. *Bâ-yezîd* observing their small number, attacked them at the head of his main body; and having driven them from thence, drew up his own men there. The six companies having joined the *Mirza*, rallied; and being reinforced with several regiments, returned, with design to attack *Bâ-yezîd's* main body. The *Othmân* emperor having from the hill carefully examined the disposition of his army, and perceiving the disorder, or rather defeat, of his two wings (O), whose soldiers fled to join him, he was seized with fear. Mean while *Timûr* having advanced with the *Mirza Shâh Rukh*, entered into the midst of the enemy. The *Mirzas* and *Amîrs* of the right and left wings hastened thither likewise; and being come up, all the troops falling upon *Bâ-yezîd*, surrounded him, with his army, like beasts inclosed in the circle of a chace (P). Are quite overthrown.

THE *Soltân*, notwithstanding the miserable state to which he was reduced, maintained his ground all day, like a brave hero, and skilful warrior; and when night came on, he descended from the hill, and fled (Q): but being vigorously pursued, he was at last overtaken and seized by *Soltân Mahmûd Khân* (R); and, at sun-set, presented by the *Great Amîrs* to *Timûr*; who, moved to see so great a prince in that condition, ordered him to be unbound, and brought before him with respect (S). He went to receive him at the door of his tent with great ceremony; Bâ-yezîd flies, and is taken.

(H) This battle was fought on Friday the 19th of *Zilkadeh* (or *Dhuikadeh*); which answers to the 11th of July, N. S. The year of the *Hejrah* 804, answers to the *Mogol* year of the horse; which is the 7th of their cycle of 12 years.

(I) *Dukas* says they began the fight with profound silence.

(K) The *Turkish* historians make *Muslafa* the eldest, according to *Cantemir*.

(L) *Dukas* relates, that *Stephen*, son of *Lazarus*, *Bâ-yezîd's* son-in-law, enraged at the treachery of the deserters, at the head of 5000 *Servians*, rushed first on the enemy, who opened their ranks to let them pass, and then discharged their arrows, which did them no harm, their armour being proof. Thus they were treated on a second attack; whence *Stephen* perceiving no good could be done against them, whispered *Bâ-yezîd* to retire. Finding the *Soltân* deaf to his advice, he set *Musulmân*, that prince's eldest son, in the middle of his troops; and breaking through the thick ranks of the *Scythians*, with his sword opened himself a passage to go to *Prusa*.

(M) These were the great commanders who served as lieutenants-general under the *Mirzas*, or princes, sons of *Timûr*.

(N) *Dukas* also takes notice of this: he says, that *Bâ-yezîd* ascended a hill with 10,000 *Janizaries*, the rest of his army, who fled, being slain: that the *Scythians*, seeing the *Soltân* taken as in a net, agreed to send the soldiers home naked, according to an ancient custom

among the *Romans*, *Persians*, *Servians*, and *Scythians*, not to kill their enemies, on account of religion, nor keep them prisoners, but only to strip them, and send them back: but the *Janizaries* falling on them like lions, and being not above one to ten, were all cut in pieces. Then the enemy calling to *Bâ-yezîd* to dismount, and come and speak to *Tamerlan*, who called for him, he alighted; and being set on a little horse for that purpose, was carried to the victor's tent.

(O) *Dukas*, c. 15, imputes the overthrow of *Bâ-yezîd* to the desertion of some of the conquered princes. He says, that one of the chief commanders, who had formerly served *Atin*, hearing that he was in *Tamerlan's* army, went over to it with 500 horse; whose example was followed by the troops of *Sarkhân*, *Mantakbia*, and *Karmian*, moved thereto by the voice and gesture of their princes: after which the *Tatars* surrounded the *Turks*.

(P) Alluding to the *Tatar* way of hunting.

(Q) The weather was so hot, that most of the soldiers died for thirst, they having no water in the place where they went to rest themselves. *Dukas* says, 500 *Turks* died of thirst.

(R) The *Great Khân* of *Jakatay*, now called *Great Bukharia*, who had the title of *Khân*, while *Timûr* possessed all the power.

(S) *Dukas* says, that *Tamerlan* kept him a long time standing at his tent door, while he played at chess with his son *Siacruc* (*Shâh Rukh*), the soldiers shouting for joy; and saying, *Here is Bâ-yezîd, general of the Turks, reduced*

A.D. 1402.

mony ; and making him sit down by him, in mild terms accused him with being the cause of his own misfortune, by refusing to comply with his reasonable demands. *Bâ-yezîd* having confessed the charge, and asked pardon, the conqueror gave him a splendid vest, promised to use neither him nor his friends ill ; and treated him as a great emperor. The captive *Soltân* perceiving *Timûr*'s generosity, besought him to order search to be made for his sons *Musa* and *Mostafa* (I), who were with him in the battle. Search was accordingly made, but only *Musa* found (U). This prince, *Timûr*, after presenting him a vest, sent to his father ; for whom he ordered a royal pavilion (X) to be erected near his own ^a.

Anatolia laid waste.

AFTER this victory, *Yakûb*, governor of *Sirwâs*, delivered the city and castle to *Timûr*, who then sent out several detachments to scour the country on every side, and ravage all *Anatolia* ; where the *Tatars* found such store of wealth, that every man became rich with his share of the plunder. b

Timûr's generosity.

THE *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* was sent to *Prusa*, to seize the treasure of *Bâ-yezîd* ; but *Musulmân Chelebi* had got thither before him, and carried them off. However, he seized the *Soltân*'s wife and two daughters, who had hidden themselves at *Yenishahr* (Y) ; with the daughters of *Soltân Ahmed Jelayr*, king of *Baghdâd*, whom *Bâ-yezîd* had demanded in marriage for his son *Mostafa* : but *Kara Yusuf* had fled before the battle into *Arabia*.

PRUSA was burned, *Nicea* pillaged, and the country ravaged as far as the *Thracian Bosphorus*, over which *Musulmân Chelebi* fled ; leaving his wife and effects a prey to his pursuers. *Timûr* was then at *Kyutakiehb* (Z), a delightful city, two days journey from *Prusa*, where he staid a month ; during that time he sent *Bâ-yezîd* his wife *Destina* (A), daughter of *Laus* before-mentioned, with his daughter, and all his domestics : but was desirous that that prince's, who till then had been tolerated in the Christian religion, even in the *saray*, or *seraglio*, should embrace *Mohammedism*. On the other hand, *Amîr Mehemed*, son of *Karamân*, who for twelve years had been kept in chains by *Bâ-yezîd*, being brought to court, *Timûr* honoured him with a vest and belt, and gave him the government of the whole province of *Karamânia*, with *Koniyab*, *Laranda*, *Ak Saray*, *Anzarya*, *Alaya*, and their dependencies ^b.

TIMUR, marching from *Kyutakiehb* to *Tangûrlîk*, made feasts and balls, to which *Bâ-yezîd* was invited for his entertainment. *Timûr* did every thing to please him, and even bestowed on him the kingdom of *Anatolia*, which he possessed before, by placing the crown on his head, and granting him the patents usual on those occasions. d

Greek emperor submits.

TIMUR from hence sent ambassadors to *Constantinople*, to summon the *Tekkûr*, or Greek emperor, to pay the tribute and customs ; also two messengers to *Musulmân Chelebi*, *Bâ-yezîd*'s son, who resided at *Guzelbissar*, built by his father, opposite to *Constantinople*, to tell him that he must either repair to court, or send *Timûr* some money ; and that otherwise he would cross the streights in quest of him. Some time after the ambassadors returned, with two from the Greek *Tekkûr*, to notify their master's submission. The messengers likewise arrived with *Sheykh Ramadân*, prime minister to *Bâ-yezîd*, and Grand Kâdi of the empire, who brought a letter from *Musulmân Chelebi*, signifying his obligations for the favours shewn his father, and his readiness to wait on *Timûr*, if it was his pleasure.

Christian Smyrna ruined.

AFTER this, *Timûr* understanding that there were on the sea-coast two strong fortresses, e named *Ezmîr* (or *Smyrna*) one inhabited by *Musulmân*s, the other by Christians ; he, out of zeal to religion, went and besieged the latter (B), which he took in 14 days, not without great opposition : for it was built so strongly with freestone and mortar, that *Soltân Morâd* had several times attempted it, and *Bâ-yezîd* besieged it seven years in vain. To attack the place on the side of the sea, as well as land, they built, in the midst of the water, great scaffolds, near

^a SHARIFO'D. l. v. c. 47—49.^b Ibid. l. v. c. 50—52. DUKAS, c. 16, & seq.

reduced under your power, and loaded with chains. At last, *Tamerlan* breaking off the game, and looking at his prisoner, said, *Is this he who ordered us to separate our wives from our wives, if we did not make war upon him ?* *Bâ-yezîd* answered, he was the person ; but that the victor ought not to insult the vanquished. The conqueror then made him sit opposite to him, and comforted him ; promising not to put him to death, or treat him with the same cruelty as he had done others.

(T) According to *Dukas*, *Bâ-yezîd* had with him in the battle four sons, *Musulmân*, *Esses* (or *Iffa*), *Mahomet*, and *Moses*, or *Musa*, besides *Mostafa* and *Orkhân*, who were left at home, being children. *Dukas*, c. 17. *Musulmân* seems to be *Soleyman*.

(U) Nor did he ever afterwards appear ; which procured him the epithet of *Nabedid*, or *the lost*. Some Christian authors call him *Erdogul*. *Cant*.

(X) *Dukas* relates, that his son *Mahomet* attempted to

deliver him by a passage made under-ground to the tent ; which was discovered by the guards, who observed the earth to move. But neither he nor *Kbalkondylas* mention any thing of the iron cage, which appears to be a Turkish fiction, to dishonour *Timûr*, by dishonouring their emperor. However, some of those who relate that fact, whether true or spurious, own it was done, upon *Bâ-yezîd*'s telling *Timûr*, that he would have served him in the same manner, had he fallen into his hands. See *Annal. Soltan. Othm.* p. 25.

(Y) A city four leagues from *Prusa*.

(Z) *Dukas* calls it *Koituyon*.

(A) European romancers call her *Roxana* ; and pretend *Timûr* kept her for his own use.

(B) *Dukas* calls it a little city, which the knights of *Rhodes* had fortified in the time of *Amir*, and says, the inhabitants thought it impregnable because *Bâ-yezîd* had been obliged to turn the siege into a blockade.

- a one another, each supported by three feet. From thence, to the two sides of the castle, they made an even way, which they secured on each side; so that the *Musulmâns*, armed with their bucklers, fought on those scaffolds, and made their attacks as securely as on land: besides, the passage to the sea being by this means shut up (C), there was no possibility of bringing any succour to the place. Mean time, they at once battered and undermined the walls and towers: when the sapping was finished, they set fire to the props, and, of a sudden, the bastions and curtains fell down. The *Musulmans* then entering the town, put the inhabitants to the sword, after they had made a most brave defence; never ceasing to throw pots of naphta and wild-fire, arrows and stones, on the besiegers: a few escaped, by swimming to the ships (D). Their houses were all demolished. Those of *Foja*, or *Phocæa*, avoided the same misfortune, by submitting to pay tribute (E). At the same time *Shaykh Ramadân* having come a second time from *Musulmân Chelebi*, with rich presents and humble submissions; *Timûr* confirmed him in the principality of *Ifra Yaka* (F), by patents sealed with his red hand, and sent him a vest woven with gold, a crown, and a belt. An ambassador from *Issa Chelebi* (G), another of *Bâ-yezîd*'s sons, was soon after received with honour.

TIMUR, before he left *Ezmîr*, furnished the inhabitants of the *Mohammedan* fortrefs with arms, and ordered them to build a strong citadel near the place where the Christian town stood, in order to hinder the *Europeans* from ever settling there any more. Being come to *Soltân Hissar*, he gave the cities of *Kyutabiyeh*, *Tangûzlik*, and *Kara Shahr*, with the province of *Ghermianeyli*, to *Takûb Chelebi*, to whom they belonged by right of succession. Then he went and took the town of *Egridur* (H), situate on the lake *Falak Abâd* (I), in the county of *Hâmid Eyli*. Afterwards he marched on to *Ak Shahr*. At this place *Bâ-yezîd*, who had fallen ill at *Egridur*, died of an apoplexy the 14th of *Shaaban* 805; which misfortune *Timûr* bewailed with tears; having resolved, after the conquest of *Anatolia*, to restore him. He gave largesses to *Bâ-yezîd*'s officers; and dismissed *Musa Chelebi*, with a royal vest, a belt, a sword, and a quiver inlaid with precious stones, a load of gold, and 30 horses; telling him, that his father's corpse should be conveyed to *Prusa* (K), with pomp becoming the greatest king, to be interred in the mausoleum built there by himself.

TIMUR, in leaving *Anatolia*, the conquest of which he atchieved in one year, carried with him the *Kara Tatars*, settled about *Kaysariyâb* and *Amasia*, in order to re-people some lands in *Tartary*.

BA-YEZID reigned 14 years three months, and lived 58. He was famous for his firmness of mind, and quickness of action; subject to anger, but soon softened into clemency: so great a lover of architecture, that temples, academies, and hospitals, were erected by him every year. He was the first of the *Othmân* race who waged naval wars; having built about 300 long vessels for that purpose.

CONCERNING his sons, under the corrupted names of *Erdogrul*, *Issa*, *Kalepin*, *Cyricelebis*, and *Cibelin*, many things are related by the Christian writers (L), which appear to be fictitious, both from the course of the history, and testimony of the *Turkish* authors. These latter unanimously ascribe to *Bâ-yezîd* four sons, *Mostafa*, who fell in the battle, *Soleymân*, *Musa*, and *Mohammed*. Altho' the three last swayed the *Turkish* sceptre, yet *Mohammed* only is reckoned

^c SHARIFO'D. I. V. C. 53—63.

(C) *Dukas* says, *Tamerlan* shut up the port, by ordering every part of his army to throw every man a stone into the mouth of it: that this was effectually done in an hour or two; and that if the besieged had not gotten out their ships to sea before hand, they would all have been destroyed.

(D) The knights of *Rhodes* fled first into the castle, and then into the gallies, which were near it. The Christians, who had taken refuge in the place, followed into the sea, with their wives and children; some laid hold of the rudders, others of the oars, praying and crying to be taken on board: but the compassionate knights thrust them off with forks, leaving them half dead, and put to sea. Being seized by the *Scythians*, to the number of 1000, *Tamerlan* ordered their heads to be cut off, and a tower to be built with them and stones mixed. *Dukas*, c. 17.

(E) Of these two *Phocæas*, the old and new, the latter belonging to the *Genoefes*, the first to the prince of *Lesbos* they sent early to *Tamerlan*, who received their presents, and made peace with them. After that, having sent his grandson to observe the strength of those places, the prince of *Lesbos* went in a galley to receive him; enter-

tained him magnificently; and, having shewn him all sorts of diversions, sent him back with very rich presents. *Dukas*, c. 17.

(F) That is, *Turkey* in *Europe*.

(G) He is mentioned by *Dukas* in a former note.

(H) Or *Igridi*.

(I) This lake is five leagues long and four broad, with two isles in it, called *Gbulistân* and *Nasibîn*.

(K) *Dukas* says, that *Bâ-yezîd* died in *Phrygia Salutaris*, called by the *Turks* *Karâfâr*: that it was reported he poisoned himself, to avoid being led in triumph: that, when near his death, he sent to desire of *Tamerlan*, that his body might be buried in the tomb which he had built at *Prusa*; which request was granted.

(L) *Khaikondylas* mentions *Orthobules*, who, he says, was taken in *Sebastæ*, or *Sivvâs*, and put to death by *Timûr*'s order. *Issa* is mentioned by *Dukas*, and is the *Josua* of the former. The third and fifth seem to be corruptions of *Chelebi*, the title formerly of the *Othmân* princes; and *Cyricelebis* is, doubtless, *Kirîschî Chelebi*, the surname of *Muhamet*. *George Phranza*, l. i. c. 82. calls him *Cyritzis*.

among

A. D. 1403. among the *Othmân* emperors : because he enjoyed the whole empire, which neither of the other two did ; one governing in *Europe*, while the other reigned in *Asia*^d.

^d CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 56, & seq.

Interregnum under Soleyman Chelcibi (A).

Soleyman
Chelcibi.

SOLEYMAN, second son of *Bâ-yezîd*, having escaped out of the battle with his father's prime Wazîr, *Ali Bâshâ*, fled first to *Nicea*, from whence, shortly after, he repaired to *Adrianople*, where he was saluted emperor by the remains of the *European* army^a.

THE *Greek* writer *Dukas* relates this matter after another manner, and with circumstances which make his account credible. According to him, *Musulmân* (who is the *Soleyman* of the *Turkish* historians) passing over from *Asia* to *Constantinople*, implores the protection of the emperor *Manuel* (who, on the defeat of *Bâ-yezîd*, resumed the sovereign power (B), with the consent of the great officers) : and desiring only the government of *Thrace*, with some other provinces, agreed to give up *Thessalonika* ; the cities along the *Strymon*, as far as *Zetunion*, together with the *Morea* ; the places from *Panida* to the sacred entrance, and the forts on the *Euxine* sea, as far as *Varna*. After matters were concluded, the emperor sent him to *Adrianople*, and dispatched proper persons to receive the above-mentioned cities in his name, and drive out the *Turks*. Thus far *Dukas*^b.

Disobliges Ti-
mur.

TIMUR, on his arrival at *Prusa*, sends ambassadors to that prince, with a letter, importing, " That he was sorry for his father's unexpected death ; and that, provided *Bâ-yezîd*'s family would only acknowledge his clemency, he would, instead of an enemy, be a friend, nay, a father, to them." *Soleyman*, instead of complying with the conqueror's proposal, treated his ambassadors injuriously ; and returned him a proud answer (C). Hereupon *Timûr* sent for his brother *Musa Chelcibi*, and conferred the empire on him ; saying, *Receive thy father's inheritance, for it is not kingdoms, but a kingly mind, I seek*^c.

State of Ana-
tolia.

HERE we shall break off the thread of the *Othmân* history again, as delivered by the *Turkish* historians, to connect with it that of the *Greeks* : which yet we shall do, without confounding one with the other, and in such a manner, that the reader may peruse the account on each side, without interruption. According to *Dukas*, after the *Scythian* (or *Tatar*) invasion, while *Thrace* enjoyed a profound peace, the provinces of *Asia* were in great confusion, as well as afflicted with the plague and famine. *Karmian*, surnamed *Alisâr*, by consent of *Tamerlan*, took possession of the countries which belonged to his ancestors. *Sarkhân* re-entered *Lydia* ; *Or Khân*, and the two sons of *Atin* (or *Aydin*), *Amîr* and *Isa*, had *Ionia* ; while *Eli*, son of *Mantakbia*, enjoyed *Karia* and *Lycia*.

Mohammed
defeats Isa.

MOHAMMED, son of *Bâ-yezîd*, remained at *Ancyra*, with *Musa*, his youngest brother, in a private condition, without any sovereign power ; nor was *Mostafa* in a better state. However, *Mohammed* sent *Temirta*, who had been one of his father's generals, to attack *Isa*, whom he took and slew ; which raised both the reputation and power of his master in *Galatia*.

Exploits of
Chuneid beg.

MEAN time one *Cineis* (D), whose father, *Kara Su Bâshâ*, having been for a long time governor of *Smyrna*, was highly esteemed by the people of *Ionia*, made war against the two sons of *Atin* (or *Aydin*), who possessed *Ephesus*, which he took in a few days ; and then sends to tell *Musulmân*, it was for him he had conquered the principality of *Atin*. At the same time he demanded succours to make head against his enemies ; which being sent him from *Kallipolis*, the sons of *Atin* were quite driven out of the country.

His father
taken.

In the spring, two years after the *Scythian* invasion, *Amîr*, whose brother was dead, retired to the court of *Mantakbia Elie Beg*, prince of *Karia*, his uncle ; who, at his request, marched with him, at the head of 6000 men, towards *Ephesus*, where *Kara Su* commanded with 3000 men, and made a stout defence. But the enemy having fired the city, the inhabitants surrendered it ; and *Kara Su Bâshâ* retired into the citadel, where he held out till autumn, expecting relief from his son *Cineis*, who was at *Smyrna*. He then yielded the place to the conqueror, who carried him into his dominions ; and imprisoned him, with others, in the fort of *Mamala*.

^a CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 58, & seq.

^b DUKAS, c. 18.

^c CANT. p. 59.

(A) This *Soleyman Chelcibi* is the same whom others call *Musulmân Chelcibi*, and some, *Calepin*, which is a corruption of *Chelcibi*.

(B) Banishing *John* to *Lesbos*.

(C) The tenor of these letters is not given by the

Turkish writers ; but they own *Timûr* was justly offended with them.

(D) This is the same with *Tzuncit*, or *Tzuneites beg*, in *Leunclavius* ; which may be read *Chuneid*, whereof *Cineis* is a corruption.

- a ALTHOUGH *Cineis* could not succour his father by land, he did by sea: for arriving at the fort in a galley, he gave notice to the prisoners; who, making their guards drunk, let themselves down by ropes in the night, and escaped to *Smyrna*. Towards winter, *Cineis* marched to attack *Ephesus*; which, on *Amir*'s retiring into the citadel, he plundered, and committed unheard of cruelties. At length, on promise of his daughter in marriage, *Amir* came forth, and embraced *Cineis*; who proclaimed him lieutenant-general of the country of *Atin* (or *Aydin*), and shook off *Musfulmân*'s yoke. Soleymân
Chelebi.
Set at liberty.
Agrees with
Amir.
- CINEIS afterwards, accompanied by *Amir*, visited his territories, and drew over to his interest the cities situated on the *Menander*, with those of *Philadelphia*, *Sardes*, and *Nymphaea*, as far as the river *Hermon*; making his relations and friends governors. In short, while he was at *Ephesus* with his future son-in-law, it was reported of a sudden that the duke (E) was dead; and next morning his corpse was carried to *Fort Pirgion*, near *Mount Tmolus*, there to be buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors. Seizes Aydin.
- b THEN *Cineis*, taking on him the government as an inheritance, set up for a sovereign prince in *Asia*: but *Musfulmân* not being able to bear this, resolved to humble him; and crossing over to *Prusa*, was received with great joy. While he was raising forces for that purpose, in the beginning of spring, *Cineis* hastes first to *Karamân*, at *Kogni* (or *Ikonium*), and then to *Karmian*, at *Kotiayon* (or *Kotiaum*); whom, after putting them in mind of what they had suffered from *Bâ-yezîd*, he advised not to wait till the serpent he had left behind swallowed them all up, but to crush him before he grew any bigger. Excites the
Seljuk princes
against Mu-
fulmân.
- c INDUCED by these reasons, they accompanied him to *Ephesus*, with their forces. *Karamân* brought 30,000 men, *Karmian* 10,000, and *Cineis* had 5,000. Mean time, *Musfulmân*, with 25,000 troops, marched by *Lopadion*, and the field of *Monomene*, to *Smyrna*. Being somewhat disturbed at the junction of those two princes, he proceeded to *Mesaulion*, near *Ephesus*, where he intrenched himself, for fear of the enemy; and kept in the midst of his camp. The two armies were but six leagues asunder, yet durst not venture to approach nearer one another.
- d DURING this suspension, *Cineis* was informed by an intimate friend, that *Karamân* and *Karmian* intended to seize him that night, and make their peace with *Musfulmân*, by delivering him up. *Cineis*, on this advice, orders candles to be lighted in his tent, and rides post-haste to the citadel, of which his brother *Bâ-yezîd* was governor; and exhorts him to defend the place till next day: then in the night repairs to the camp of *Musfulmân*, with a cord about his neck, and confessing his guilt, submits to his mercy. *Musfulmân* forgives, and presents him with a rich vest; then marches towards *Ephesus*. The two princes having been to look for *Cineis* at midnight, in his tent, and not finding him, were in fear of being surprised. The army, in confusion, began to pack up their baggage; and, at sun-rise, while they forded the *Menander* on one side, *Musfulmân* crossed it with his army over a bridge near *Mount Galefus*, and entered *Ephesus*. *Cineis* would have had him pursue the enemy; but not caring to trust him, would not follow his advice. In short, he encamped thereabout, and stayed four months, wholly plunged in debauchery and pleasures, to which he was strangely addicted.
- e LET us now return to the *Turkish* historians. *Soleymân*, upon the news that *Timûr* had advanced his brother *Musa* to the throne (F) passes into *Asia* with the *European* forces, and marches directly to *Prusa* (G). From thence *Musa*, being much inferior in strength (as the *Asiatic* troops could not be so soon recruited) fled to *Karamân Oglî* (H): but not thinking himself safe there, resolved to retire to *Isfendar Beg* (I); from which he was diverted by the ambassadors of that prince, who apprehended *Soleymân*'s resentment. Nor did he judge amiss, for *Soleymân* presently advanced towards *Isfendar Beg*'s dominions: but being made sensible that his brother was not there, he returns to *Prusa*; where, despising *Musa*'s attempts, he Flies to Mu-
fulmân.
Defeats Musa.

^d DUKAS, c. 18.

(E) That is, *Amir*.

(F) *Dukas* mentions nothing of *Timûr*'s setting up *Musa*; but says, he fled from *Ancyra*, where he dwelt, with *Mahomet*, to *Spintiar* (that is *Isfandiar*) a *Turkman*, who possessed *Sinope*, and that *Spintiar* permitted him to cross the *Euxine* sea, to go into *Walakhia*; where he gathered forces. The rest of his relation agrees very well with the *Turkish* account, except in a few passages inserted in the notes.

(G) This we conceive was at the same time, when, as hath been before related, he was on his expedition against *Cineis*; against whom he marched, finding *Musa* fled from *Prusa*.

(H) The *Turkish* writers make the *Karamânian* kingdom more ancient than the *Othmân*; and even coeval

with that of *Ikonium*, under *Aladdin*. Hence *Cantemir* censures the *Greek* writers, who refer the division of the *Persian* provinces to the time of *Othmân*: but he runs upon a false scheme for want of being acquainted with *Seljukian* history; from whence it appears, that the division happened at the time of *Othmân*'s appearance, or not long before. The same author says, *Karamânia* contains the greater part of the *Old Kappadocia* and *Galatia*: he might have added part of *Phrygia* and *Cilicia*; which last alone is considered by most *Christian* authors as the kingdom of *Karamân*.

(I) Or *Isfandiar Beg*. He was son of *Kutrum Bâ-yezîd*, prince of *Kastamona*, before mentioned. *Phranza* writes, *Sfentiar*.

Soleymân
Chelebi.

gives himself wholly up to gluttony and drunkenness (K). His brother *Mohammed*, prince of *Amasia*, having sent ambassadors to salute him emperor, and offer presents, he speaks very sharply to them, and dismisses them without any answer; which imprudent conduct alienated *Mohammed's* affection from him, and proved extremely prejudicial to his affairs.

His luxury.

MEAN while, *Musa Chelebi*, who, after *Isfandiar Beg's* repulse, crossed into *Europe* in a little boat, which he found near *Nicea*, wandered through several countries, and at last stopped in *Walakbia*: there assembling a great number of soldiers who were in his interest; and being assisted by *Walakbian* troops, he re-enters the *Turkish* empire, and becomes master of

Hejrah, 809.
A. D. 1406.

Adrianople. This news awaking *Soleymân* from his dream of luxury (L), he, in 809, assembles the *Asiatic* army, and passes into *Europe*. But *Musa*, either through natural timorousness, or distrust of his strength, not daring to stand a battle, returns to *Walakbia*: while *Soleymân*, ascribing his successes wholly to his own bravery and prudence, returns to his former vices (M). Military discipline is neglected; honours are conferred on wine-sellers and pimps; in a word, the court has the appearance of a brothel-house rather than a school of virtue.

He is killed.

MUSA CHELEBI, thinking he might turn his brother's luxury to his advantage, applies secretly, by letters, to the generals and great men (N); who, offended with *Soleymân's* excesses, are easily persuaded to revolt. In effect, *Musa* re-assembling an army, by long marches arrives at *Adrianople*, before his brother knew any thing of the matter; who being wholly unprepared to oppose him, left the city, in order to fly to *Constantinople*: but loitering by the way, to get drunk at every house, he is taken in a bath at a certain village, and slain by one of the soldiers of *Musa*; who ordered the body to be buried in the sepulchre of his grandfather *Morâd*, called *Kholavendikar*.

On what occasion.

DUKAS relates the death of *Musulmân*, or *Soleymân*, in a different manner. According to him, that prince departing from *Adrianople* to go to *Constantinople*, with only a few horse, they deserted him on the road to join *Musa's* party; so that entering alone into a small town, whose inhabitants, from the richness of his habit, judged him to be a prince, five young men ran to meet him with their bows. At this being surprised, he shot two of them dead: hereupon, the other three making a stand, to revenge the loss of their brothers, shot at him all together; and having brought him off his horse, cut off his head.

MUSA, who was received with acclamations at *Adrianople*, bewailed his brother's death, and had his body pompously buried at *Prusa*. He likewise caused the three young men, who had killed him, to be apprehended; and having assembled the inhabitants of the place, commanded them to be bound, and burnt in their respective houses, with their wives and children.

His Character.

SOLEYMAN ruled affairs seven years and 10 months. He was a young man, far exceeding the rest of his brothers both in good and bad qualities; a valiant and most fortunate general; a prince of great clemency and generosity (O); but ruined by his luxury.

* CANT. ubi supr. p. 60—63.

† DUKAS, c. 19.

‡ CANT. ubi supr. p. 63.

(K) All the *Turkish* emperors were perfectly sober men, and religious observers of their law, excepting this *Soleymân Soltân Selim*, called *Mest*, or drunkard; and *Morâd*, who took *Baghdâd*. They reckon only two others, who have been remarkably addicted to vice, *Mossâfa I.* who, unfit to govern, was twice deposed; and *Îbrahim*, boundless in his lust, and for that reason strangled. CANT. p. 61, note 9; and p. 63, note 14.

(L) *Dukas* uses nearly the same expression.

(M) *Dukas* takes notice of the luxury of *Musulmân*, or *Soleymân*; and says, he would sit whole days at the table.

(N) *Dukas* says the same.

(O) *Dukas* says he gained the affections of the people of every town he came to, if he stayed there ever so short a time, by the wealth he distributed among the poor and indigent; raising many from beggary into a condition of living comfortably.

Interregnum under Musa Chelebi.

Musa Che-
lebi.

WHILE *Musa* reaped the reward of his labours at *Adrianople*, by being saluted emperor by the *European* army, *Mohammed*, lord of *Amasia*, raising what forces he was able, in order to revenge the murder of *Soleymân*, who was his brother by the same venter, goes and seizes *Prusa*; where he is created emperor by his army. But thinking it prudent to settle the affairs of *Asia* before he published his resolution to depose *Musa*, he marches against the plundering *Tatars* (not yet quite expelled), and other bands of robbers, who, since *Timûr's* invasion, infested *Anatolia*; these he extirpates in the first year of his reign, in which he surprises, takes, and beheads *Karadewlet Shâb*, the only surviving leader of those *Tatars*; who, in his absence, was destroying the country about *Amasia*: so that in a short time peace is restored to the land, which gained him much reputation.

* CANT. ubi supr. p. 64, 65, 78.

- a MUSA CHELEBI, alarmed at *Mohammed's* successes, to divert him from any attempts against the western part of the empire, offers to resign to him all the east; and, to shew that his proposal was sincere, in 814 turns his arms against the Christians. Fortune proving favourable to him, he that year took the towns of *Paraverd* and *Matruna*, in the *Morea*. Elated with this success, he, the next year, attempts greater things; and, assembling a stronger army, attacks the *Hungarians*, under their king *Sigismond* (A), near the city of *Samandria*, not far from the *Danube*, and defeats them with such a slaughter, that scarce a man is left to carry back the news. It is said, that nothing incumbered the enemy so much as the immense quantity of riches they brought with them; so that the *Janizaries* measured the gold and silver, which was found in their tents, in bowls and hats. The rest of the spoil supplied the charge of building a large temple called *Jami Alik*, or *the old Jami*, which is inscribed with *Musa's* name.

Musa Chelebi.
Defeats the Hungarians;
Hej 814.
A. D. 1411.

- b BUT this great honour gained to the *Turkish* arms could not secure *Musa Chelebi*, otherwise a prince of an excellent disposition, great justice, and moderation, from the frowns of fortune: for, about this time, *Korshâb Muluk* (B), and the famous general *Ornûs Beg* (C), without any provocation, revolt to *Mohammed*; signifying to him by letters, that the *Othmân* empire, weakened by two civil dissensions, would not bear to be governed by two heads; and that the whole army, observing *Musa's* timorous nature, were of opinion the empire should be conferred on him alone. They therefore desired him to hasten over, promising to put the whole into his possession.

betrayed by his officers;

- c MOHAMMED CHELEBI, at the receipt of these letters, prepares to cross into *Europe*. On the other hand, *Musa* assembles his army, in order to secure the *Streights of Kallipolis* before his brother's arrival: but, finding his generals only made a shew of fighting, he, in the very heat of the battle, withdraws out of the field, and escapes into *Laz Vilayeti* (or *Servia*); while *Mohammed*, prevented by the season from proceeding any farther, returns with his army, to winter at *Prusa*. *Musa Chelebi*, assisted by his old friend the prince of *Servia* (D) with warlike stores and forces, returns the same winter into his empire, and becomes master of *Adrianople*, which was destitute of a garrison. There he finds *Korshâb* and *Ornûs Beg*, whom *Mohammed* left designedly in *Europe*; and either because he saw that they could not effect their intentions, or led to it by his merciful temper, he both pardons and receives them into favour.

defeated by Mohammed;

- d BUT the event shewed, that however good it may be in a prince to pardon, he ought never to trust a traitor. For these ungrateful generals invite *Mohammed* a second time to seize the empire; who, coming from *Nicea* with a greater army, passes the *Bosphorus* by the permission of the *Iytambol Kayseri* (or *Greek emperor*) under the walls of *Constantinople*. The same day he enters (E) the city, and is honourably received by the emperor, who makes him rich presents. On the third day he sets out for *Adrianople*, and in the second day's march is met by *Korshâb Muluk* and *Ornûs Beg*: who, having withdrawn from thence in the night, fell prostrate at his feet; and kissing, according to custom, the ground, salute him emperor in the name of the *European* army.

ruined by mercy;

- e MUSA CHELEBI, deserted by his people, with a few attendants, resolved to retire to his old sanctuary *Servia*: but, being scarce out of the suburbs, he is surprised by *Mohammed*, who had advanced before with a select band of soldiers. Despair rendering him valiant, he draws up his men, and fights with great bravery: but being overpowered by numbers, at last betakes himself to flight, yet is soon overtaken by a horseman, and brought to his brother, who instantly puts him to death; after he had administered the *Turkish* affairs in *Europe* three years and six months (F). This event happened in the year of the *Hejrab* 816. *Mohammed*, to reward the soldier, made him one of his counsellors, and at last advanced him to the prime wazîrship. He afterwards became a famous general.

taken, and slain.

Hej. 816.
A. D. 1413.

^b CANT. ubi sup. p. 65—68.

(A) Most of the Christian writers ascribe this expedition to *Cyric lebi*, whom *Cantemir* takes to be *Soleyman*, and places it in the year 1409.

(B) *Muluk*, *Mulk*, or *Molk*, is the proper name; *Korshâb* signifies the *One-eyed king*.

(C) Others read *Ewrenus* for *Ornus*; that is, *Honorius*, who seems to have been a convert from the *Greeks*.

(D) The *Turkish* writers seldom give the names of Christian princes, only mention their titles and dominions: as *Majar Kirâli*, king of *Hungary*; *Nmche Kirâli*, king of *Germany*; *Rûm Tekkuri*, emperor (or governor) of the *Romans*, &c. But it appears from the Christian historians, that this was *George*, *Despot* of *Servia*, whose daughter *Morâd II.* married, and after deprived her two brothers of their sight. *Cant.*

(E) Prince *Cantemir* says, that the passage of *Mohammed* through *Constantinople*, and the honours paid him there, are not mentioned by any *Greek* or *Latin* writer, except *Phranza*: but we shall see hereafter that *Dukas* mentions them; and ascribes his last expedition wholly to the invitation of the emperor *Manuel*.

(F) The Christian writers differ much from the *Turkish* in the years assigned to the reign of these three sons of *Eâ-yezîd*. They give to *Soleyman* six years; to *Or Khân*, *Musa* (his pretended uncle), and *Mohammed*, fourteen years; whereas the *Turks*, assigning to the last eight years and ten months, allow to the three twenty years two months: so that the interregnum lasted eleven years and four months. *Cant.*

Musa Che-
lebi.

Designs a-
gainst Greece;

Subdues Ser-
via;

Besieges Con-
stantinople.

Mahomet sent
for.

Musa defeat-
ed, and slain.

Remark.

THE story of *Musa* is told by *Dukas* so differently in almost every circumstance, that we shall give it from that author separately, not fearing to disgust the reader by repetitions. This prince, after the death of *Musulmân* (or *Soleymân*), having assembled all the great men of *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and other provinces, told them, that none but the emperor and the *Greeks* had brought the *Scythians*, *Persians*, and other foreign nations down upon them: that it was not just that *Constantinople* should extend its empire so wide, and possess so great a number of cities, especially *Theffalonika*, which had cost his father *Bâ-yezid* so much trouble to subdue: that therefore he was resolved, if possible, to take the mother of cities, and change the temples of idols into temples of God and their prophet.

His resolution being applauded by the assembly, he marched and subdued *Servîa*, which *Stephen*, son of *Lazarus*, had abandoned at the news of his approach. There he ravaged the country, carried off the handsomest young men, and put the rest to the sword, feasting his great officers over the dead bodies of Christians.

SOON after his return he sent to besiege *Theffalonika*; and, having taken every thing which is beyond the *Strymon*, except *Seturion*, marched towards *Constantinople*. As he found the towns through which he passed empty of people, whom *Manuel* had brought into the city, he reduced them to ashes. The besieged were so fortunate in their sallies, that they killed three *Turks* for every friend they lost: but as *Musa* could better spare ten soldiers than the emperor one, and, finding he carried on the attack with great vigour, *Manuel* sent to *Mahomet* his brother, who was at *Prusa*, to come to his assistance, and try to obtain the *Othmân* empire at the same time. *Mahomet* being arrived with his troops at *Skutari*, the emperor went with his galleys and brought him over to *Constantinople*, where he was received with great magnificence. *Mahomet* having been defeated in two sallies, he intreated *Manuel* to let him lead his troops towards *Adrianople*; from which course he proposed more advantage to both their affairs than by continuing in the city. The emperor, embracing him, gave his consent; and next day *Mahomet* set out, sending one half of his forces towards the *Euxine* sea, and directing his march with the other half to *Adrianople*.

As soon as *Musa* was informed of his departure, he pursued the troops which went towards the *Euxine* sea, and came up with them; but, being defeated, his soldiers lifted under *Mahomet*'s ensigns. *Musa* fled, and fell in a marsh, where he killed an officer of the enemy, who pursued him. One of the officer's servants, willing to revenge his master's death, ran at the prince, and, having cut-off one of his arms, went and informed the emperor of what had happened. *Musa* had lost so great a quantity of blood from the wound, that when they came to look for him, they found him fallen-off his horse and dead. The body was carried to *Mahomet*, who having wept over it, according to custom, sent it to be buried at *Prusa*; after which he returned to *Adrianople*, where he received the homage of the great men.

WE must leave the reader to judge at his leisure, which history deserves belief most, with regard to the affair in question, the *Turkish* or the *Greek*; and shall only observe, that as *Dukas* seems to deserve full credit, especially with regard to the manner of *Mohammed*'s obtaining the crown by means of the emperor *Manuel*'s invitation, as well as of *Musa*'s death (that author having been upon the spot when those affairs happened): his account as to *Mohammed* appears confirmed by the considerable cessions made by that *Soltân* to the emperor, and the regard he paid him during his reign.

* DUKAS, c. 19.

CHAP. VI.

The Reign of Mohammed I.

A. D. 1413.

5 Soltân, Mo-
hammed I.
Hejran 816.

MOHAMMED, immediately after the death of his brother *Musa*, is proclaimed at *Adrianople* emperor of the *Ali Othmân* dominions (A), in the 39th year of his age. But he is scarce warm in the throne before he is threatened to be pulled off it: for *Karamân Oglî* (B) thinking this a proper juncture, when the *Othmâns* were embroiled in civil wars, to crush their power, assembles his forces; and, laying waste all *Bitbunya*, encamps under

(A) That is, the dominions of the sons or posterity of *Othmân*: *Ali Othmân* denoting not only the imperial race descended from *Othmân*, but also the whole *Turkish* nation in general. Hence *Tevayfi Ali Othmân*; that is, the *Ali Othmân* kords, or tribes. The emperors are stiled *Ali Othmân Padishâb*; that is, the emperors of the sons of *Othmân*. For this reason, prince *Cantemir*

intituled his, *The Ali Othmân History*. *Cantemir*, p. 2. Note †.

(B) That is, the son or descendant of *Karamân*: which vague expression is made use of, instead of the name of the prince, through the whole race: so that there is no distinguishing one from another; but the history seems to be speaking always of the same prince.

A

^a under the walls of *Prusa*, burns the suburbs, and closely besieges the city one-and-thirty days. *Mohammed* on this news crosses the *Streights of Kallipolis* with his army, and strengthens his forces with those of *Sab Beg* and *Ghermian Oglî*: but *Karamân*, being informed of his coming, instantly withdraws from before *Prusa*, puts on the *Nekkerchief* (C), and entering the emperor's camp, confesses his fault on his knees, and asks pardon; which is granted him on certain conditions.

^b NEXT year *Mohammed* erects at *Prusa* a large *Jâmi Imaret*, and *Madresch*, with a spacious *Khân*, or exchange, for the use of merchants. But whilst he thought to take some repose, *Karamân*, hearing that his forces were dismissed, breaks the treaty without cause, and invades his dominions. The emperor, full of indignation, marches against him with chosen troops, and puts him to flight, though he fought bravely. Both the aggressing prince and his son were taken prisoners, and brought before *Mohammed*; who, reproaching him for his breach of faith, said, *It was thy part to commit the treachery, and it is mine to act agreeably to my dignity: for it is inconsistent with the imperial honour to return like for like to wicked and profligate men.* This spoken, the emperor dismissed him, and restores him his provinces; only placing garrisons in *Sivrihissar*, *Nukteydak*, *Enishâbri*, *Sedi Shâbri*, *Numâd*, and *Ayn*.

^c KARAMAN being thus humbled, *Mohammed* thinks it proper to chastise *Isfander Beg*, prince of *Kastamoni*, who was his confederate in the expedition. Accordingly, marching against him, he takes the principal towns of that country and *Janik*. Next year he reduces other places, as *Buri*, *Jigba*, *Tosia*, *Bakirkuresi*, with *Changbîri*, where *Isfandiar* resided, and distributes that prince's great treasures among the soldiers (D). At the same time he builds a stately palace (E) at *Amasia* ^d.

DUKAS places this transaction somewhat later in time. According to that historian, the emperor *Manuel*, presently after *Mohammed's* elevation to the empire, sent some of his chief officers to put him in mind of the promises he had made him while at *Constantinople*. The new *Soltân* faithfully discharged his engagements, restoring the forts about the *Euxine* sea and the *Propontis*, with those of *Thessaly*. And at dismissing the ambassadors, loaded with presents, said, *Tell the emperor my father, that having been established by his succours and the grace of God in the throne of my ancestors, I shall for the time to come be as obedient to his will as a son ought to be to the will of his father; nor will ever fail to acknowledge his favours.* ^{performs his treaty.}

^d *Whatever he orders me to do, I shall execute with pleasure and dispatch.* He gave likewise a kind reception to the ambassadors of *Servia*, *Walakbia*, *Bulgaria*, of duke *Joannina*, the *Despot* of *Lacedemon*, and the prince of *Akkaia*; did them the honour to make them eat at his table, drank to their health; and at their audience of leave said, *Tell your masters that I offer them peace; that I accept of that which they offer me, and that I hope the God of peace will punish those who violate it.*

AFTERWARDS *Manuel*, sailing to the *Morea*, reduced to his obedience the prince of *Akkaia* and the *Navarrois*. Then leaving his son the *Despot* (F) behind, in his return conferred, at *Kallipoli*, with *Soltân Mahomet*, who went aboard his galley, and dined with him. ^{Morea reduced.}

^e IT is here *Dukas* tells us, that *Mahomet*, having settled the affairs of *Europe*, passed into *Asia*, and rebuilt the edifices which had been burned at *Prusa* by *Karamân*; who had plundered that city, and burnt the body of *Bâ-yezîd*, in revenge for having put his father to death at *Kogni*. But this invasion, he says, happened while the *Soltân* was at war with *Musa*; which is consistent enough with the *Turkish* account; and he places the chastisement of it some years (G) after. ^{Prusa rebuilt.}

MOHAMMED after this marches against *Cineis*; who, a little before the *Soltân* had declared himself against his brother *Musa*, fled from *Thrace* (H); and, passing into *Asia*, raised an army of *Smyrnians* and *Thyreans* (I), with which he took *Ephesus*; and, putting *Musulmân's* governor to death, resumed the power of a sovereign prince. The refusal of *Cineis* to surrender the places which he had seized, was the occasion of this expedition of the *Soltân*; ^{Chuneid takes Ephesus.}

^d CANT. ubi supr. p. 72.

A most barbarous practice; as if, instead of giving our kings since the conquest their proper names, we should call them all by one general appellation, *the sons of William*.

(C) A *Turkish* phrase, signifying *surrender*, or a *petition for grace and favour*, called *Aman*. Hence the saying, *he put on the Nekkerchief*; that is, *he declared himself his subject for the future.* CANT.

(D) It is common to promise the soldiers all the goods of the enemy, unless the city is taken by surrender; the walls only, and government of it, being reserved to the emperor. CANT. The marginal note of prince *Cantemir's* history says *Isfandiar* was taken and slain.

(E) For a place of retirement and diversion; this city having been an appendage for younger children.

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

(F) This was *Theodore*, who, as well as his elder brother *Jçôn*, had been proclaimed emperor; and was made *Despot* of *Lacedemon* in the *Morea*.

(G) In or after the year 1419, and the expedition against *Cineis*. He says, that *Mahomet*, to revenge the ashes of his ancestors, went and took *Kogni* (or *Ikonium*), burning several towns and villages in his way: but that, afterwards, he pardoned *Karamân*, who had fled, and restored him his province, on promise of fidelity to the *Othmân* family. *Dukas*, c. 22.

(H) *Musulmân*, or *Soleyman*, had made him governor of *Bulgaria*.

(I) *Thyra*, or *Tyrea*, a city near *Smyrna*. *Dukas* 19. It is still in being.

A a a

who,

A. D. 1419. who, having taken from him the city *Cima*, the fort of *Archangel*, called by the *Turks* *Kag-biasfik*, situate in the field of *Menomena*, with the city of *Nymphæum*, at length sat down before *Smyrna*, where *Cineis* had left his mother, his children, and *Bâ-yezîd* his brother, being retired himself to *Ephesus*. On the first news of the *Soltân's* arrival, the governors of the neighbouring islands, who hated *Cineis*, ran to receive him. The princes of *Phoceæ*, *Karmiân* prince of the *Higher Phrygia*, *Mentakbia* prince of *Karia*, the prince of *Lesbos*, the prince of *Khio*, the great master of *Rhodes*, and others, came to wait on him, and were received as kindly as if they had been his brethren. The city having been surrendered to him on the 10th day of the siege, in which he was assisted by those princes, he demolished the fortifications, and beat down the walls in several places; but suffered the inhabitants to continue there.

The citadel demolished.

He likewise, during the night, ordered the citadel to be ruined; which, having been destroyed by *Timûr*, the grand master of *Rhodes* had half rebuilt, in spite of *Cineis*. He was excited to this by the *Mohammedans* in those parts, who complained that it served to encourage the *Ionian* slaves to run away from their masters. The great master, who was very angry at this proceeding, threatened to make reprisals on his coasts, unless he suffered him to rebuild that fort. *Mohammed* answered with great moderation; and, after shewing the necessity there was of destroying that fort, as it was a continual cause of quarrels between the knights of *Rhodes* and the *Turks*, gave him leave to build another fort on the borders of *Karia* and *Lycea* (K). He heard no less favourably the demands of the princes of *Khio*, *Lesbos*, and the *Phoceans*, sending them all away well satisfied. He likewise pardoned *Cineis*; who came and took the oath of fidelity to him. Then giving the government of that province to the son of *Alexander Susman*, whom he had brought over to his religion, he returned into *Europe*.

Chuncid Beg submits.

Turkish fleet destroyed by the Venetians.

WHEN *Mohammed* came to *Kallipoli*, he sent a fleet against the duke of *Naxos* and other islands in the *Archipelago*, because he had not been to salute him, either at *Smyrna*, or since his return. The fleet, consisting of thirty gallies, both of two and three banks of oars, commanded by *Ghiali Beg*, landed at the isles of *Andros*, *Paros*, and *Milos*, where they did great mischief. The *Venetians* in the spring came to assist the duke, who was in their interest, with ten gallies, seven of which passed up the *Streights of Hellespont* as far as *Lampsakus*, in order to meet the *Turks*; who, coming out of the harbour of *Kallipolis*, the *Venetians* began the attack on the admiral-galley, and slew all the men with the admiral himself: they served the rest of the vessels in the same manner, in sight of the wives and children of the *Turks*, who stood on shore. In the evening they sounded a retreat, and carried back to *Tenedos* twenty-seven gallies of the enemy; where they put to death all the *Turks*, and such Christians as were in their pay.

NEXT spring the *Venetian* fleet came to attack a tower of *Lampsakus*, built by *Musu'mân*: but, being hindered to land by *Khamfas*, brother of the grand wazîr *Bâ-yezîd*, who commanded a body of 10,000 men, they went to *Constantinople*, after having beat down half of the tower from their ships.

Pretended prophet taken and slain.

ABOUT the same one *Preklighia Mostafa*, a *Turkish* peasant, signalized himself by preaching up a voluntary poverty, and the having every thing in common, except women. He wore only a single coat, and went with his head and feet bare. He appeared near the mountain *Stilairum*, at the mouth of the *Ionian* gulf, opposite the isle of *Khio*. His disciples pretended to be very fond of Christians, and even to believe the same faith. Two of them were sent by him to an old *Greek* monk in *Kandia*; who, after that, cried up *Preklighia*, pretending he was in the same monastery with himself at *Samos*, and that he crossed the sea (I) every day to converse with him. *Susman's* son, who had the government of *Ionian*, marching against *Preklighia*, was defeated by the inhabitants of the mountain, who gathered to the number of six thousand. They in like manner put to flight *Hali Beg*, governor of *Lydia*, and killed a great number of his men.

On this news *Soltân Mohammed* sent his son *Amurat* (or *Morâd*), only twelve years old, accompanied by his grand wazîr *Bâ-yezîd*; who, forcing the passes of the mountains with their troops, put all the inhabitants to the sword, till they came to the place which was guarded by men with one coat, where they met with stout resistance: but, after losing a great many men, the false monk and his disciples were obliged to surrender. They were all put to death, not one of them recanting. The impostor himself, after enduring various torments, was nailed to a cross, and carried through the streets of *Ephesus*. They believed he would come

(K) Accordingly we are told afterwards, that the grand master of *Rhodes*, having carried materials by sea into *Karia*, went and built the fort *St. Peter* on a mountain there. *Mentakbia Eiebeg* advanced, with design to hinder the work; but returned without doing any thing. The grand master left several knights of

his order to guard it, and receive the *Turkish* slaves who escaped thither; who are called *the freed of St. Peter* to this day. *Dukas*, c. 22. This by the *Greek* chronology seems to be referred to the year 1419.

(I) It is to be understood, that he crossed the sea on foot, as he sent the *Greek* monk word he would do.

a again; and *Dukas*, our author, met with a monk who affirmed that he was not dead. *Bâ-yezîd* A. D. 1419. led his army back through *Asia* and *Lydia*, where he slew all the *Turkish* monks he met with, who made profession of voluntary poverty.

AT his return to *Adrianople*, *Mohammed* gave his son *Morâd*, though so young, the govern- *Morâd at As-*
ment of *Amasia*, under the direction of an able counsellor, named *Georgei Beg*. This govern- *masia.*
ment bordered on the *Persian Turks*, who were neighbours to the *Zazians* and *Persians*, and
lived under the command of *Karayuluk*, son-in-law of *Alexis*, emperor of *Trebizond* ^a.

LET us now in our turn have recourse to the *Turkish* historians. *Mohammed*, having weak- *Walakhians*
ened his enemies in *Asia*, repairs to *Adrianople*, and from thence marches against the *Walak-* *bridged.*
bians, whom he routs: then, ravaging the country, takes *Severîn* (K), with the castles *Sakche* *Hej. 820.*
and *Kala* (L), situate beyond the *Danube*. He likewise fortifies *Gbirghiow* with new works, *A. D. 1418.]*
and a garrison; so that the *Walakhians* could no more pass that river. Being thus pent up,
and despairing to preserve their liberty, they submit to pay an annual tribute; the sons of
the prince and of three great men being given as hostages. But the fruits of all his victories had *Mostafa, an*
like to have been wrested from him by an impostor, the domestic of a petty prince, called *impostor;*
Peder Ulledin and *Semadin Ogli* (M). This man pretending to be *Mostafa*, *Bâ-yezîd's* eldest
son, who fell in the battle with *Timûr*, and, being assisted by his master, gathered a numer-
ous band of followers, with whom he destroyed *Zagara* (N) and the neighbouring countries.
Next spring he besieged *Nicea*; which alarming the court, *Mohammed* crosses over into *Asia*
with his forces. The counterfeit *Mostafa* raises the siege, and boldly marches with his fol-
c lowers against the emperor: but at the first charge is put to flight, and being taken with his
lord, they are both hanged ^e.

THIS interesting affair is very differently related by *Dukas*; and, from the circumstances, *appears in Wa-*
we should think with more truth. This historian informs us, that in spring *Mohammed* passed *Walakhia.*
with a great army into *Asia* (O); and being informed, at his return to *Adrianople*, that *Mos-* *A. D. 1419.]*
tafa, the youngest of *Bâ-yezîd's* sons was in *Walakhia*, he sent two trusty persons to take off
the head of *Cineis*, whom he had made governor of *Nikopolis*, on the *Danube*, in order to
defend the frontiers on that side. But that crafty traitor had fled before hand to *Mostafa*,
and taken the oath of fidelity to him. These two having crossed the *Danube*, and entered
Thessaly with a considerable force of *Turks* and *Walakhians*, *Mohammed* marched in quest of
d them: and, having routed their army, pursued them to the gates of *Thessalonika*, where
they were very kindly received by *Demetricus Laskaris*. *Leontarius* and *Mohammed* next day
sent to demand them, threatening otherwise to besiege the city; yet he refused to comply;
without acquainting the emperor with the affair.

THE *Soltân* thought that no more than reasonable, and at the same time wrote to the *Manuel pro-*
emperor, desiring that what had happened might not disturb the good understanding which *tests him.*
was between them. *Manuel*, after shewing that he could not without dishonour deliver up
a refugee, promised to detain *Mostafa* and *Cineis* prisoners so long as *Mohammed* lived; who,
on the emperor's demand, allowed 300,000 aspers a year for their maintenance, and gave him
liberty to dispose of them after his own death, as he, the emperor should think fit, or his
e successors should deserve. This agreement was reduced to writing, and confirmed by the
emperor's oath. *Mostafa* and *Cineis* were hereupon sent up to *Constantinople*, where they
were confined; but, for fear they should escape, were some time after, for more security,
transmitted to *Lemnos*. The same author also places the invasion of *Walakhia* after the rebel-
lion of *Mostafa*, as a punishment for encouraging his designs: but only says, the army sent *A. D. 1420.]*
by *Mohammed* ravaged that country with fire and sword, without mentioning its submission to
become tributary.

AT this time a native of *Philadelphia*, a cunning knave, who, during the *Scythian* invasion, *Treacherous*
informed against the rich Christians (many of whom were tortured and put to death, for not *interpreter.*
paying the sums demanded) put himself into the service of an officer of the court; and, for
f want of an interpreter, was employed soon after in that capacity. By this means this person,
who was called the *Theologian*, contracted an intimacy with *Bâ-yezîd* (P), *Mohammed's* prime
Wazîr,

^a DUKAS, c. 20, & seqq.

^e CANT. ubi sup. p. 74, & seqq.

(K) A tower, now decayed, where is still seen, at the bottom of the *Danube*, the foundations of a stone bridge, of admirable workmanship, said to be built by *Trajan* when he marched against the *Scythians*. *Cant.*—This author promises to enlarge on it in his description of *Moldavia*; which his translator informs us was printing in *Holland* in 1744.

(L) No city of this name is now to be met with; but as it is placed between *Sakche* and *Gbirghiow*, it seems to be either the town of *Taia* or castle of *Tulche*. *Cant.*

(M) As being the son of *Semadin*. *Cantemir* supposes him to be one of the *Persian* governors who revolted in the time of *Jenghiz Khân*.

(N) There is a *Zagra* in *Europe* also, near *Philippolis*, called *Eski Zagara*, or *Old Zagara*. *Cant.*

(O) This was in his expedition against *Karamân*, as mentioned in a former note.

(P) This *Bâ-yezîd*, according to *Dukas*, was an *Albanian* slave, who had followed *Mohammed* in all his misfortunes. He suffered incredible fatigues to serve him; when,

A. D. 1421. *Wazîr*, to whom he betrayed the secrets of the *Romans*; whereby he arrived to such a degree of honour that he became the emperor's chief interpreter, and often dined with *Bâ-yezîd*, and *Mohammed* himself: yet although he was suspected by the *Romans*, the emperor never had the least distrust of him. But the sudden death of *Mohammed* ruined all his evil designs ^f.

Mohammed dies. Hej 824. WE must return once more to the *Turkish* historians, to finish the reign of *Mohammed*. According to them, the rebellion being quelled, that prince, in 824, takes *Eski Gbeliboli*, or *Old Kallipolis* (Q), *Tarkli* (R), and *Hergbe*: but at his return from this expedition he is seized with a flux, of which he died (S). *Morâd*, his eldest son, whom he had appointed by will for his successor, being then at war with part of the army in *Rum-ili* (or *Thrace*), the prime wazîr *Ibrahim* (T) conceals the emperor's death for one-and-forty days, in such a manner that not one of the lords of the court had the least intimation of it, whilst himself directed affairs as if by his order. At *Morâd*'s return he delivers up to him the army and kingdom. This *Ibrahim* is called by the *Turks* their *Ulysses*, and had the title of *Khân* (U) given him by the new emperor for this piece of service ^g.

His sons. ACCORDING to *Dukas*, when *Mohammed* was near his end, he sent for his wazîr *Bâ-yezîd*, and conjured him to set his son *Morâd* on the throne. The two youngest, one eight, the other but seven years old, he assigned to the care of the emperor *Manuel*, for fear *Morâd* should strangle them; as he afterwards did. The *Soltân* thought by this means he had secured the throne to his eldest son, and the lives of the younger; while the emperor conceived great hopes of keeping *Amurat* within bounds, by threatening him with his hostages, or making them his friends in case they succeeded to the *Othmân* empire; but the event shewed that both were mistaken in their conjectures ^h.

Reign and character. MOHAMMED lived forty-seven years, and reigned eight years ten months. A *Soltân* famed for justice and clemency. He is extolled not only for restoring the *Othmân* empire from the low condition it was reduced to by the invasion of *Timûr*, and more destructive quarrel of his brothers (X); but also for leaving it enlarged to his successors ⁱ.

DUKAS observes, that all his predecessors had died violent deaths; and imputes his easy departure as a reward for his keeping his engagements with the *Greeks*, and treating with so much gentleness other Christian nations; having been at peace with all except the *Venetians* ^k.

^f *DUKAS*, c. 21, 22. p. 77.

^g *CANT.* ubi supr. p. 76.

^h *DUKAS*, c. 22.

ⁱ *CANT.* ubi supr.

^k *DUKAS*, c. 22.

when, after the death of his father, he was briskly pursued by the forces of *Tamerlan* in the mountains of *Galatia*, near *Ancyra*. His feet being so swelled with walking that he could no longer go, *Bâ-yezîd* carried him on his shoulders for several days, till he got into his father's dominions. He almost famished himself to supply *Mohammed*, and went in the habit of a monk through the towns and villages, begging bread for him to eat.

(Q) The antient *Kallipolis* seems to have been a fortress placed at the *Hellepont*; but is now either destroyed, or lost under another name. *Cant.*

(R) Or *Tarakli*, as elsewhere written.

(S) According to *Dukas*, he was taken with an apoplexy as he was hunting, and died of a second fit the next day.

(T) *Dukas* makes two *Wazîrs*, this *Ibrahim* and *Bâ-yezîd*, above mentioned, whom he represents as the

prime *Wazîr*. The same author says, that *Mahomet*'s body was concealed for forty days, from all but the two *Wazîrs* and two physicians, who made a shew of visiting him every day, and used many arts to amuse the great officers of the court with an account of the state of his health.

(U) Prince *Cantemir*, in a note, gives a large account of the family of this *Ibrahim Khân*, and the great privileges which they enjoy. Among which are those of making use only of concubines instead of wives; of being visited twice a year by the *Soltân*; and of the *Soltân*'s rising a little from his seat when they enter.

(X) Both Christian and *Turkish* historians agree, that after the defeat of *Bâ-yezîd* the *Othmân* affairs were reduced to so low an ebb, that had the Christian princes united, they might at least have driven the *Turks* out of *Europe*. *Cant.*

C H A P. VII.

The Reign of Morâd II.

A. D. 1422. **6 Soltân, Morâd II. Hej. 825.** MORAD was but eighteen years of age in 825, when his father died, and he ascended the throne. Soon after an obscure person (different from the other impostor) (A) assumed the name of *Mostafa*, son of *Bâ-yezîd*. This man, who first appeared about *Saloniki* (or *Thessalonika*), soon gained so much credit by his name, that he persuaded not only the common people, but the *European* soldiers, with many officers, that he was the very person ^d

(A) Prince *Cantemir* affirms this without any proof; and supposes the *Greeks* favoured the imposture, in order to avert the last danger, as he phrases it. But it appears from the *Greek* account, that he was the same

person who opposed *Mohammed*; who, in the treaty made between him and the emperor, seems to consider him as his real brother. Nay, *Cantemir* himself confesses in his history, p. 83, note (11), that the *Turks* allow

a person he pretended to be. After he had allured to his interest all *Rumelia*, and assembled a considerable army, he, with the connivance of the Greek emperor (B), passed into *Asia*, in order to seize *Prusa*, the seat of the *Othmân* empire. A. D. 1422.

MORAD sends the prime *Wazîr Bâ-yezîd* into *Asia*, with chosen troops, to stifle the flame in its birth: but, being met by *Mostafa*, he is killed, and his forces routed. The *Soltân* upon this repairs to *Seyd Bekbar*, a holy man, who, in the opinion of *Turks*, could obtain of God whatever he prayed for; and desires his mediation for a blessing on his arms. The saint having gained his point by the intercession of *Mohammed* the prophet (C), girds the *Soltân* with a sword, and sends him forth with a go on and prosper, most august emperor, for victory attends you. *Morâd*, on this encouragement, leads his army against the counterfeit *Mostafa*; who undauntedly waited his coming near *Ulubâd* (D), the bridge of which he ordered to be broken down. The *Soltân* encamps on the other side of the river, in expectation of the promised assistance from heaven, and perhaps to extinguish by delay the first heat of sedition. However that be, on the seventh day of this suspension of hostilities, the impostor was seized with a violent bleeding of the nose, which held him three days. His soldiers, considering this accident as sent from God to blast his designs, desert him in the night. This obliges him to follow: but, not being able, by reason of his great weakness, caused by loss of blood, to fly fast enough, he was over-taken, extremely ill, in the town of *Kara Agaj*, by *Morâd*; by whose command he was instantly beheaded¹. Another Mostafa rises: is put to death.

THE history of *Mostafa*, and the occasion of his appearance, may be better understood, we conceive, from the Greek than the Turkish historians; who seem to have concealed some facts, and altered others, to serve their partial views. According to *Dukas*, *Mohammed* being interred at *Prusa*, and *Amurat* proclaimed, their next care was to secure peace in the east, by a treaty with *Karamân*, and then settle matters with the emperor. But *Manuel* prevented them, by sending ambassadors to compliment *Morâd*, and demand his two brothers, of whom he was left guardian by *Mohammed*'s will. They had orders also to let him know, that if he refused, they had another successor to establish in his place, who would soon be master of *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, as well as of *Asia* and the east, in a little time after. The emperor communicated this design to *Mostafa* himself. The emperor disobliged:

BA-YEZID answered, in the name of the young *Soltân*, that they were very desirous to preserve peace with the emperor; but could not consent to deliver the children, as it was contrary both to reason and the laws of their prophet, to suffer the sons of *Musulmâns* to be educated by *Kaburs* (E). The emperor, piqued with this answer, resolved to act pursuant to the conditions on which, as hath been already mentioned, he received *Mostafa*. Accordingly he sent *Demetrius Laskaris Leontarius* with six galleys to *Lemnos*, to bring up that prince and *Cineis*, and then with the troops which were in the galleys to make him governor of *Thrace*. sets up Mostafa, on certain conditions.

ON this occasion *Mostafa* swore never to act contrary to the emperor's will, to obey him as a father, and give his son in pledge of his performance. He promised likewise to deliver *Kallipolis* in the *Kbersonesus*, the countries adjoining to the *Euxine* sea as far as *Walakkia*, and certain places of *Thessaly* as far as *Erissus* and mount *Athos*; which, however, it was no easy matter for him to give, because he was first to take them from the enemy. The conditions being agreed to, they sailed for *Kallipolis*; which city, upon a speech made by *Mostafa*, mixed with promises and threats, surrendered. Then, leaving *Cineis* to attack the citadel, he marched to *Hexamilion*, where he was saluted sovereign by all the country.

¹ CANT. p. 78—81.

allow that the counterfeit *Mostafa* so exactly resembled the true, that they who had before been about the latter as his guards, affirmed that he was the same. Neither was the emperor under the necessity which *Cantemir* supposes to set up a pretender; since the empire was much enlarged, and himself raised in credit, since the death of *Bâ-yezîd*; in whose time his dominions were confined to the walls of *Constantinople*. Besides, it would have been both base and impolitic in him to have espoused the part of one he knew to be an impostor against his benefactor *Mohammed*.

(B) *Cantemir* says, he should have taken this for a calumny of the *Turks*, for a pretence to make war against the *Grecians*, did not *Phranza*, lib. i. c. 39 and 40, tell us, that *Mostafa* was brought by *John Paleologus* out of *Peloponnesus* (or the *Morea*) to *Kallipolis*, and set over the western parts of the (*Turkish*) empire, tho' earnestly desired by *Morâd* not to lend him any assistance. *Cant.* *Dukas* writes to the same effect.

(C) The history relates, that *Seyd Bekbar* being, by way of extasy, snatched up the following night into hea-

ven, sees the pure and immaculate spirit of *Mohammed*; and, thrice kissing the dust of his feet, beseeches him as often to obtain victory for *Morâd*. To this petition *Mohammed* at length answers, for my sake the divine majesty has heard *Morâd*'s prayers; and therefore tell him, God will be with him, and give him victory. This idle passage, which would dishonour the text, may deserve a place in our notes, to shew to what silly extravagances the great as well as small are carried by the frenzy of superstition. Prince *Cantemir* observes on this occasion, that the *Turks*, though they hold the dead give no assistance to the living (from whence, say he, the heretics of our age have sucked their poison), yet believe, that *Mohammed*'s soul, by a peculiar privilege, hears and conveys the prayers of men to the throne of God.

(D) Or *Loupadion*, about 30 miles from *Prusa* to the south-west.

(E) A corruption of *Gaurs*; that is, *infidels*; for so they call Christians, in the same manner as Christians call them.

A. D. :422.

Moſtafa de-
feats and kills
Bâ-yezîd.

WHEN news of this was brought to *Prusa*, the great men about *Amurat* advised him to a
send *Bâ-yezîd*, whom they hated for his pride as well as good fortune, against *Moſtafa*. The
Wazîr, having poſted to *Adrianople*, raiſed an army of 30,000 men; and had not marched
far from the city, when he was informed by his ſouts, that *Moſtafa*, who advanced at the head
of very numerous forces by the way of *Kariopolis*, a very populous city lately built by the
Turks, was near at hand. The armies being in ſight, *Bâ-yezîd* made a ſpeech againſt *Moſtafa*;
telling them, that he heard the Grand Signor ſay that he was *not the real ſon of Iltrim* (F)
Bâ-yezîd; but an impoſtor. *Moſtafa*, on the other hand, leaving the command of the army
to *Cineis* one of the moſt brave and able commanders of his time, retired to an eminence,
and from thence harangued the enemy; telling them, among other things, that it would be
eaſy to make-appear he was the ſon of *Ilderîm*, and was ready to decide the diſpute with his b
nephew *Amurat* by ſingle combat. He afterwards exhorted them, with promiſes of great
rewards, to join his intereſts.

THIS ſpeech had ſuch an effect, that the generals (G) who commanded the two wings of
the enemy's army, went over to him. *Bâ-yezîd*, finding things take ſo ſtrange a turn, thought
it his ſafeſt way to ſubmit too; and, a lighting from his horſe, with his brother *Kamzas*, went
and threw himſelf at the feet of *Moſtafa*. But *Cineis*, who owed him a grudge, ordered him
to be carried out of the camp, and beheaded; ſaying at the time of execution, *wicked as*
you are, you cauſe men to be deprived of thoſe parts which make them men: for he had formerly
ordered *Adulas*, *Cineis*'s ſon-in-law, to be caſtrated (H): however he ſpared *Kamzas* on account
of his youth, and made him his ſlave, little thinking that he would prove his ruin. *Moſtafa* c
on this ſucceſs marched to *Adrianople*, where he was joyfully received; and the gariſon of
the fortrefs of *Kallipolis*, deſpairing to defend themſelves, gave it up by capitulation.

DEMETRIUS LEONTARIUS, who expected to be put immediately in poſſeſſion of the place,
according to agreement, was landing the arms and ammunition out of the galley to carry them
into the citadel, when *Cineis* arrived unexpectedly; and, ſeeing the *Turks* uneaſy at ſo ſudden
an alteration, told *Demetrius* very roundly, “ that he was not to imagine that they had fought
“ and run ſo many dangers for his ſake; or expect that they would give up the citadels and
“ towns: that he ought to be content with ſome preſents for his ſervices; and be well ſatisfied
“ that they ſuffered him to return to *Conſtantinople*, conſidering the ill treatment they had
“ received at *Lemnos*, and the outrages committed by the monks of a *Pammakarifte* mona- d
“ ſtery.”

By Chuncid's
advice breaks
his promiſe
with the em-
peror; who
drops him.

DEMETRIUS, no leſs irritated than ſurprized at this diſcourſe of *Cineis*, who had no buſineſs,
he ſaid, to take upon him to talk in ſuch a ſtrain of matters which did not belong to him,
went immediately on board his gallies, and waited for the answer of *Moſtafa*. This latter ſoon
after came on board, and made an apology for not delivering up *Kallipolis*; alleging, *that it*
was better to break his oath than injure religion, by putting the pious and faithful into the hands
of the wicked and infidels; or ſubjecting a people, who ſerve the Deity, under the dominion of
others, who are perfect ſtrangers to the God of heaven and earth. He added, *that, ſhould he*
commit ſuch a horrid impiety, the Muſulmâns would not ſuffer him to reign over them.

DEMETRIUS heard this diſcourſe in the ſame poſture as a lion, whoſe prey has eſcaped out e
of his paws, holding down his head, and for rage beating the earth with his tail *. By way
of answer he reproached the *Othmân* family with breach of faith. He ſaid, “ Or *Khân* kept
“ neither his treaties nor oaths: that *Iltrim Bâ-yezîd* imitated his perfidy, and was puniſhed for
“ it, as well as *Muſulmân* and *Muſa*, his (*Moſtafa*'s) two brothers: that none but his brother
“ *Mahomet* had obſerved his intreaties, and found an eaſy death: that he could not long
“ eſcape divine vengeance, if he did not alter his conduct.” Then he put him in mind of
his obligations to the emperor; telling him, “ that he would have been ſtrangled, if *Manuel*
“ had delivered him up to his brother *Mahomet*: that the *Romans* had, for his ſake, borne
“ the reproach of doing what was unjuſt and criminal; but that, however, they had aſſiſted
“ him, and even raiſed him to the throne.” *Demetrius* after this ſet ſail for *Conſtantinople* ¹. f

THE emperor *Manuel*, grieved as well as enraged at this diſappointment, at length ſent to
Morâd; offering to re-eſtabliſh his intereſt, provided he would perform his father's will, and

* DUKAS, c. 24.

¹ Ibid. c. 23, & ſeq.(F) A corruption of *Ilderîm*; which ſignifies light-
ening or thunder.(G) In the original, *Soltâns* is put inſtead of generals,
by a cuſtom among the *Greeks*, of confounding diſtinc-
tions of dignity.(H) When *Mohammed* was preparing to go and attack
Smyrna, about 1415, *Bâ-yezîd*, who was his *Wazîr*,
wrote to tell *Cineis*, that in caſe he would let him have
his daughter in marriage, he ſhould enjoy *Ionia* in peace.*Cineis*, to ſhew that he rejected this propoſal with the
greater contempt, gave his daughter in marriage to
Adulas his ſlave, firſt making him free. At the ſame
time uttering reproachful expreſſions againſt *Bâ-yezîd*;
which he bade the meſſenger tell him. The *Wazîr*
having ſoon after taking *Nymphæum*, of which *Adulas*
was governor, in revenge to *Cineis*, had him caſtrated.
Dukas, c. 21.

a give him his two young brothers in hostage. Mean time *Mostafa*, having put things in order at *Kallipolis*, returns to *Adrianople*: where finding in his brother's palace inestimable treasures, as well as beautiful women, he gave himself up to pleasure; while *Amurat*, who was not yet turned of twenty, committed the same kinds of excesses at *Prusa*. However, he did not so wholly abandon himself to voluptuousness, as to neglect the means of recovering what was lost. He had still a great number of able counsellors about him; who, being informed of *Mostafa's* indolence, and in what manner he had served *Leontarias*, they advised him to send *Abraham* (rather *Ibrahim*), son of *Ali*, a wise and virtuous man, who succeeded *Bâ-yezîd* as prime *Wazîr*, ambassador to *Constantinople*. Being admitted to audience, after mentioning the assistance which he had given *Mohammed* against *Musa*, he desired that the emperor would afford *Amurat* the same succour; promising, in recompence, to deliver whatever he should demand, excepting *Kallipolis* and his two brothers. But, as the emperor would not agree to those exceptions, the ambassador staid a long time at *Constantinople* without doing any thing.

MEAN time *Cineis*, being informed of the preparations made by *Amurat*, and that he had *Mostafa* not only sent an embassy to the emperor, but had obtained a promise from *John Adorno*, grows indolent; governor of *New Focea*, to assist him with ships to carry over his forces into *Europe*; he went and reproached *Mostafa* with neglecting his affairs, advised him to prevent the enemy, and pass the straits with pretty numerous forces. As soon as *Amurat* knew that *Mostafa* had taken the field, he marched to *Lopadion* with a small army. Besides other good officers, c he had with him *Hamza Beg*, brother of *Cineis*, who had followed him from his youth. As they arrived first at the bridge, they broke it down; so that *Mostafa*, not being able to cross the marsh, encamped on the side of it. By this means *Amurat* gained time to assemble his forces, while *Mostafa* could neither pass the morass, which was deep, nor march round it, on account of the length of the way and interposition of mountains.

THE two armies being situated in such a manner, as not to be able to offend each other, d deserted by some of *Amurat's* officers told *Hamza*, that in case his brother *Cineis* could be prevailed on to *Cineis*; quit *Mostafa's* interest, they would procure the province of *Atin* (or *Aydin*) for him and his descendants, only swearing fealty to *Amurat*. Next night *Hamza* sent one of his servants, who, by swimming over the marsh, got to the tent of *Cineis*, and proposed an interview from d his brother. They met at the place appointed. *Cineis* was not well pleased that they should offer him for his friendship nothing but what was his own before: however, he told his brother, that since he had taken the trouble to come to talk to him about the affair, he would for the future serve *Amurat* faithfully, and fulfil his promise the next night. Adding, that if it had not been for his coming, he intended to have gone into *Ionia*, and perhaps have come to blows with *Atin's* grandson.

THE night following, *Cineis* having ordered his candles to be lighted up in his tent, departed secretly with seventy chosen persons, and made such haste, that he arrived at *Smyrna* in the who takes close of the next day; where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants. *Mostafa*, *Atin's* grandson, being informed of this, marched from *Ephesus*, with design to give him battle: e but *Cineis*, having gathered an army of about 2,000 *Turks*, his antient friends in that neighbourhood, met the enemy at *Mausalion*, and defeated them, killing *Mostafa* himself with a blow of his iron mace. Hereupon his troops submitted, and conducted the victor in triumph to *Ephesus*; where he ordered the corpse of the dead prince to be buried in the tower with those of his ancestors^m.

As soon as the flight of *Cineis* was known in the camp of the other *Mostafa*, the army, *Mostafa flies*; concluding he was gone over to *Amurat*, began to retreat in great confusion; while the enemy cried out to them, *Dur, dur Katlan*; that is, *Stop, and don't fly*: for as the bridge was broken, they could not come near them. However, *Amurat* having repaired it the same day with long beams of timber, got over and pursued the enemy, many of whom joined him; while f *Mostafa*, posting to *Lampsakus*, crossed over to *Kallipolis* with only four servants, and there gathered what soldiers he could. Mean time, *Amurath* dispatched a courier to *Focea* to inform *Adorno* of what had happened, and order him to repair to the straits with all his ships; which being ready, were at *Lampsakus* as soon as the *Soltân*. This prince with his troops immediately went on board, to the great chagrin of *Mostafa*: who, seeing seven great ships with a number of barks advancing towards his coast, sent to offer *Adorno* 50,000 crowns not to land *Amurat* in *Europe*; which he refused. In spite of opposition he put on shore 500 *Franks* at *Kallipolis*; who advancing a mile from the coast, gave opportunity to *Amurat* to land with the rest of the troops; which, falling on the enemy, soon routed them, with great slaughter. *Mostafa* retired to *Adrianople*; and carrying off the treasure, fled into *Walakhia*.

^m DUKAS, c. 25.

A. D. 1422.

but is taken,
and slain.

AMURAT having staid three days at *Kallipolis*, halted to *Adrianople*, at the head of a numerous army. There he feasted *Adorno* and his 2000 *Italians*; remitted him the arrears due for alom (F); gave him the fort of *Peritheorion* in the west; and the commerce of *Foceæ* for life. He likewise gave them all presents; and with the greatest testimonies of gratitude sent them home. At the same time, to pursue his blow, he sent several bold young men after *Mostafa*; who, coming up with him at the *Danube*, brought him back to the city. *Amurat* ordered him to be hanged in the public market-place, to confirm by the ignomy of his punishment the common opinion of people, that he was no other than an impostor, set up by the emperor *Manuel*; although in reality he was the son of *Bâ-yezîd*."

Hint to historians.

FROM this and many other instances of the great disagreement there is between the *Turkish* and *Greek* writers, the reader may perceive the absolute necessity which an author is often under of varying his method of compiling history: for such incompatible accounts of affairs will not admit of being blended together. On the other hand, to give the history only from one side; or sometimes from one, sometimes from the other, at the compiler's pleasure, would be attended with partiality and imperfection, as we find too often the case to be. The only way therefore to avoid those blemishes, is to give, as we have done, their accounts separately, where they happen to differ so irreconcilably: being sure that every judicious reader will rather pardon a little prolixity, than a conciseness which renders the history defective or obscure. Let us now return to the *Turkish* authors.

Karamân
Ogli chastised.

THE rebellion thus quashed, the *Soltân* resolves to chastise *Karamân Oglî*, named *Mehemed Beg*; who, on the *Wazîr Bâ yezîd*'s defeat before-mentioned, thinking the *Othmân* affairs in a desperate state, resolved to seize part at least of *Morâd*'s dominions. With this view he attacked *Andalia*, in hopes it would quickly surrender for want of relief: but being killed from the walls by a cannon ball, the *Karamânians* choose another general of the same name, and hastily raise the siege. *Gamze Beg*, governor of the city, seeing the enemy retiring in disorder, sallies out to pursue them. In taking the enemy's camp he finds *Othmân Beg*, sovereign of *Tekke* (G), who was come to *Karamân*'s assistance, just dead of an acute distemper (H); but not suffering him to breathe his last, cuts off his head, and then subdues his territories.

Mostafa's
rebellion.

MORAD at his return to *Adrianople* intends to settle the state of the empire; but is prevented by the rebellion of his younger brother *Mostafa Chelebi* (I): who, allured by the deceitful counsels of the *Greeks*, rebels in *Asia*, seizes *Nicea*, but weakly garrisoned; and, being supplied with all necessaries by his abettors, strongly fortifies it. *Mostafa* (who besides the *Greek* soldiers had only a few plunderers), not daring to meet his brother in the field, shuts himself up in that city: but, being vigorously besieged by *Morâd*, on the 25th day it was taken, with his brother; whom he ordered to be strangled in his presence^o.

Constanti-
nople besieged.

THE occasion of this rebellion is set forth by *Dukas*; who, introductory to it, relates a very material piece of history, omitted likewise by the *Turkish* writers. *Morâd*, says that author, having ascended the throne in the beginning of winter, made great preparations the spring following to besiege *Constantinople*. Hereupon, *John Paleologus*, to whom for a long time *Manuel*, on account of his great age, had left the management of his affairs, sent ambassadors to try to make up the breach between the two courts, laying the fault on the late *Wazîr Bâ-yezîd*, who had refused to put the two young princes into the emperor's hands, pursuant to their father's will; and treated his ambassadors very unworthily. But *Morâd*, without hearing or even seeing those ambassadors, kept them till all things were ready for the siege, and then dismissed them; saying, *Assure your master that I will be with him presently*. In short, not many days after he invested *Constantinople* with 200,000 men. The inhabitants suspecting that *Korax* the theologian, before-mentioned, had contrived some plot against the city, to be revenged for not being sent with the ambassadors to the *Turkish* court, with which he kept a close correspondence; the emperor *Manuel*, to remove those suspicions, and appease the tumult, sent *Korax* to *Morâd*, to dispose him to peace.

Korax sus-
pected.

SOME say he was able to obtain no terms in the emperor's favour: others pretend that he promised to deliver up the city, on condition to have the government of it; and that one of his intimate friends heard the proposal. In effect, after he had given account of his embassy, the person who had discovered the treason declared it, and produced his witnesses. Hereupon

^a DUKAS, c. 27.^o CANT. Othmân Hist. p. 82, & seq.(F) This alom is got in a mountain to the east of *New Focea*; of which *Dukas* gives a large account, cap. 23.(G) A country not far from *Kutabiyah*. So called perhaps from some *Tekke* (or monastery). *Othmân Beg* seems to be one of the *Pe-ri-ian* (or *Seljuk*) governors so often mentioned. *Cant.*(H) The *Turks* will have this to be a miracle, in confirmation of *Shaykh Bekhar*'s prediction. So strangely are men prepossessed with any prevailing superstition. *Cant.*(I) The same whom *Phranza* calls *Muslaphopolus*; and who, he says, came into *Constantinople* after the siege was raised by *Morâd*. *Cant.*

a the emperor commanded both parties to be confined till next day; and, at the request of the *Kandiots*, who were his guards, delivered *Korax* to be examined by them, and condemned, if culpable. After having forced a confession by torture, they carried him before the palace-gate, and plucked out his eyes, with unheard-of inhumanity. He died three days after in prison. His rich moveables were pillaged by the populace, and his house burned. *Morâd* was greatly concerned at the death of *Korax*; and being informed, that *Mikbael Pilla*, a native of *Ephesus*, of noble descent, but of very profligate morals, was the only occasion of it, the *Turks* seized him; and, after tormenting him without pity, would have burned him, if he had not prevented punishment by turning *Mohammedan*. *is cruelly butchered.*

ALTHOUGH *Manuel* was almost reduced to death by extreme weakness, yet he studied how to embarrass *Amurat*. This *Soltân* having put to death one of his two brothers, *Eliâz*, cup-bearer to his father, fled with the other named *Mostafa*, into *Paphlagonia*. The old emperor being informed of this, sent to *Eliâz* to bring the young king to *Prusa*, and remitted him money to raise troops. While *Amurat* amused himself with preparing machines, and making slight skirmishes before *Constantinople*, a courier brings him news, that *Mostafa* was acknowledged *Soltân* by the inhabitants of *Prusa*, and that *Eliâz* had carried him to *Nicea*: hereupon he broke up the siege, after three months leaguer, and returned to *Adrianople*. At which time, *Manuel*, a very mild and wise prince, died, and left the empire to his son *John*; who, though the last of the *Roman* emperors in order of time, was one of the first on account of his merit. *rebellion:*

c *AMURAT* staid but three days at *Adrianople*; when, taking with him a small number of horse and foot, he passed over secretly into *Asia*; and being come near to *Nicea*, gave notice to his friends in that city, who, having raised a tumult in his favour, opened the gates, and received him in with his followers. There seizing his brother *Mostafa*, no more than six years old, he had him strangled, and his guards slain. He ordered the body, after he had viewed it, to be carried to *Prusa*; there to be buried. Thus far *Dukas* ^{p.} *taken and strangled.*

IN 827, *Morâd* marries the daughter of *Laz Ogli* (I), the *Helena* of the *Servians*, and of *Isfandiar Beg* her time. Next year, he marches against *Isfandiar Beg*, prince of *Sinab* (K) (or *Sinope*); who, fearing the *Othmân* power, resolves to attempt to weaken it. As he could not do it by force, he tries policy. To amuse *Morâd*, he makes peace with him, and gives his son *Kasim* Beg in hostage: but as soon as the *Soltân* had disbanded his army, he rushes out with forces he had long been preparing, and destroys the neighbouring cities of *Tarakli* and *Burni*. *Morâd* instantly assembles his troops; and passing into *Asia*, is met at *Bolova* by the nobles of *Sinab*; who, disclaiming the rashness of their prince, intreat him to depose *Isfandiar Beg*, and make his hostage-son their governor. *Isfandiar Beg*, alarmed at this unexpected proceeding, repairs forthwith to the *Soltân*, begs pardon, and offers his second son in hostage, with his only daughter, of incomparable beauty, in marriage (L); and thus appeases the storm. *defeated:*

MORAD, in his return from this expedition, takes *Izmîr* (or *Smyrna*), and the adjacent countries of *Montesba*, *Aydin* (M), and *Sarikbân* (N), with all the territories belonging to *Hamid Ogli* ^{q.} *taken:*

c To this time must be referred *Morad's* expedition against *Chuneid Beg*, or *Cineis*, though *Chuneid Beg* not mentioned by *Saadi Effendi*. The *Soltân*, says *Dukas*, on his return to *Adrianople*, studied how to reduce *Cineis*; to whom he dispatched an order, requiring him to send him his son immediately according to agreement, in case he desired to preserve his friendship; for that he was going to pass the *Danube*; letting him know, if he disobeyed, that he would treat him as it should please God. *Cineis* only returned this short answer, *Do what pleases yourself; the success depends on God.* *summoned:*

WHEN the *Soltân* had assembled all his forces, he placed at the head of them one *Halil* (or *Khalil*), a *Roman* by birth, who had espoused the sister of the *Wâzir Bâ-yezîd*, slain by *Cineis*. This last, hearing that *Halil* was on his march to *Philadelphia*, advanced to meet him as far as *Thiatyra*. His youngest son, named *Kûrt*, or *The Wolf*, began the battle by attacking the main body of the *Soltân's* army; which opening to let them pass, received no damage. *Halil*, presuming that the young unexperienced commander would return the same way, ordered his soldiers to hide their white turbâns. Mean time, *Cineis* stood ready to attack the front of *Halil's* army, while his son *Kûrt* charged it in the rear. As this last returned with a slow pace, slaying all in his way, he heard the sound of trumpets, and saw upon a hill, troops, with *he is defeated:*

^p *DUKAS*, c. 28.

^q *CANT.* ubi sup. p. 87.

(I) The son or descendant of *Lazarus*, *Despot* of *Servia*.

(K) It is in the oriental *Siphab*: which prince *Cantemir*, in a note, says, is a country of *Asia Minor*; but we find no such there. It is written *Sinope* afterwards.

(L) He did not marry her till four years after: and of

her was born, *Hej.* 838, A. D. 1438, the Great *Mohammed*, conqueror of *Constantinople*, and scourge of *Christendom.* *Cant.* p. 85.

(M) A town of the province of *Montesba.* *Cant.*

(N) Or *Citron-Linn*, a town of the same country, and the country itself. *Cant.*

A. D. 1424.

flies to Karamân:

ensigns resembling his father's, who he concluded had routed the enemy; but finding, when a he drew near, that they were *Halil's* troops, he fled; and being hotly pursued, was taken.

As soon as this was known to *Cineis*, he retired with his army towards the mountains of *Smyrna*, and arrived at length at *Hypsela*, a small city on the *Ionian Sea*, over-against *Samos*, where he had ships and military stores ready to serve him in case of need. *Halil* sent *Kürt* to *Morâd*, who imprisoned him and his uncle *Hamza*; and making *Halil* governor of the province he had reduced, sent *Kamza*, his brother-in-law, the brother of *Bâ-yezîd*, the late *Wazîr*, to command the army in his room, with orders to pursue *Cineis*. Mean time, *Cineis* went to *Amorium*, with a view to persuade *Karamân*, *Soltân* of *Kogni* (or *Ikonium*) to join him against *Morâd*; but as that prince could not trust him since his desertion to *Musulmân*, the other could not prevail. However, he obtained of him a large sum of money, and 500 b men.

returns to Hypsela:

WITH this recruit, *Cineis* returned to *Hypsela*, and held out bravely against the enemy, who were 25,000 men. Their general *Kamza*, finding that he made no progress against a fort, which stood on a hill, desired *Morâd* to send him some *Genoese* vessels to attack the place by sea, toward which it lay open. *Adorno* being dead, one *Palavicini* undertook the affair; and appearing before the place with three ships, struck the inhabitants with terror: so that *Cineis* finding the day after that his soldiers began to mutiny, sent to offer to surrender the place to *Halil*, who commanded in *Kamza's* absence, on condition that he should save his life, and either carry or send him to *Morâd*. These terms being sworn to, *Cineis* and his brother *Bâ-yezîd* waited on *Halil*; who received them civilly, and gave them a tent to repose in. But c *Kamza* returning to the camp in the evening, and being informed by *Halil* of what had happened, sent four executioners, who knocked *Cineis* in the head while he was asleep, and cut off the head of his brother; not sparing a little child of his. As soon as those heads arrived at *Adrianople*, *Amurat* sent to inflict the same punishment on *Kürt* and his uncle *Hamza*; which put an end to the family of *Cineis*.

yields, and is slain.

Hejrah, 830.
A. D. 1426.
Venetians
attacked.

LET us now return to the *Turkish* historians. The east being thus quieted, in 830 he turns his arms against the *Venetians*, lays waste the island of *Janta* (or *Zante*), takes the castle called *Ghiogherjinlik*, or *Pidgeon-house*; and returns to *Adrianople* with great spoils. The same year, near *Ergbene* (O), he orders to be built, at a vast expence, a bridge of cut-stone, with 72 d arches; and on the west side a *Jami*, *Bath*, *Imaret*, and *Khân*.

Ghermian
Ogli sur-
renders.
A. D. 1427.

IN the year 831, *Ghermian Oglî* repairs to *Morâd's* court, and voluntarily delivers to him the keys of all his towns: in return, the *Soltân*, after an honourable reception given him, loaded him with royal presents, and makes him perpetual *Sanjâk* of *Ipsalam*.

AFTER this, in order to subdue what yet remained in *Greece*, under the dominion of the emperor of *Constantinople*, he assembles both his *Asiatic* and *European* forces; with which, meeting no opposition, he takes *Selanik* (or *Thessalonika*), *Atineb* (*Athens*), and *Kartineb*. All *Greece* being thus subdued, he, with a great number of captives and cattle, returns to *Ederneb* (or *Adrianople*).

Greece subdued.

HERE again the *Greek* historian must be called in to supply the deficiency, if not to rectify the mistakes of the *Turkish*. At the time that *Amurat* sent an army against *Cineis*, he dispatched ambassadors into *Walakbia* and *Servia*, to notify his advancement, and concluded a peace with the *Waywodes* of those countries: but conceived an irreconcilable hatred against the emperor *John*. Not being able to take *Constantinople*, he turned his arms against the *Morea*, and the maritime places about the mouth of the *Strymon*. He sent also a numerous army to invest *Thessalonika*, and ruin the neighbouring parts about that city and *Setunion*. However, at length, the emperor obtained a peace by giving up to him the cities and towns on the *Euxine* sea; likewise the forts which he had not been able to take by force, as *Mesembria*, *Derkos*, *Setunion*, and some others on the *Strymon*: besides which, he was to pay him 300,000 e aspers yearly.

Emperor pays tribute.

THE *Soltân*, being now freed from enemies, passed over to *Prusa*, and from thence marched f to *Ephesus*; where he received ambassadors from all parts. The *Venetians* were the only Christian nation who sent none. The reason was this: during the time that the *Despot Andronikus*, third son of the emperor *Manuel*, commanded at *Thessalonika*, after *Mostafa* left *Lemnos*, and before *Amurat* besieged *Constantinople*, *Thessalonika* was so straitly besieged by the governors of the neighbouring *Turkish* provinces, that the inhabitants, reduced to the last extremity, without hopes of relief, against the will of the *Despot*, sent to the *Venetians*, and delivered

* DUKAS, c. 28.

* CANT. p. 84.

(O) A marshy place, half way between *Constantaniyeh* and *Ederne*. Cant. Or *Edrene*; that is *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*.

a up the city to them. The *Turks*, vexed to see the prey thus snatched out of their hands, A. D. 1427. redoubled their attacks; and the scarcity beginning to be very great in the city, the *Venetians* ^{the Venetians} fearing that the inhabitants, pressed with hunger, would drive them out again and receive the *Turks*, sent off the principal citizens to different parts of their dominions, under pretence that there were not provisions in the place sufficient for their subsistence; and put several to death in their passage, as if guilty of treason.

WHEN *Morâd* returned to *Adrianople*, the *Venetians* sent to demand peace of him: but he Saloniki sent word, that he would grant them none, unless they would abandon *Theffalonika*. Soon ^{taken} after, he dispatched *Kamza*, with the troops of the east, to besiege that city; and followed himself, to be present at the general assault. The garrison being in no proportion to the com- A. D. 1429. pass of the walls, and the besiegers at least a hundred to one, they scaled them without much opposition; and opening the gates, let in the whole army: who plundered the town, enslaved the inhabitants, and committed all sorts of violences. The *Venetians* fearing to lose *Eubea* also, on *Amurat*'s return to his capital, made it their business to conclude a peace with him.

At this time, *Dragul*, a natural son of *Miltza*, late *Waywode* of *Walakhia*, entering that ^{Dragul fixes} country with some young men, natives thereof, whom he picked up at *Constantinople*, where ^{Walakhia:} he served the emperor as a soldier, in a little time grew very formidable by the numbers which joined him; and marching against *Dam*, nephew of *Miltza*, the then *Waywode* defeated him, and having cut off his head, usurped the state, *Amurat*, who had made peace with *Dam*, on his paying a small tribute, incensed at this proceeding, proclaimed a brother of the deceased for his successor, and sent him into *Walakhia* with a considerable force: but *Dragul* raising a great army, defeated and killed him also. Thus far *Dukas* ¹.

IN 838, *Karamân Oglî Ibrahim Beg* (P) rebels in *Asia*; where *Morâd*, crossing over with ^{Hejrah, 838.} his forces, takes *Akshabri* and *Koniyab*, each at the first attack. *Ibrahim Beg*, finding himself ^{A. D. 1434.} too weak to resist the imperial army, by the intercession of *Menla Gamzeh* (Q), at that time ^{Karaman} the most celebrated saint among the *Turks*, is pardoned and restored to his former state ^{rebels:}.

DUKAS, who ascribes this mediation to *Karamân*'s wife, who was *Amurat*'s sister, relates the cause of the war, and its consequences, in the following manner.

AMURAT, hearing that *Karamân* had an excellent *Arabian* horse in his stables, sent to him ^{war with} for it; not believing that he would refuse the person, who often used to ravage his territories, ^{Karaman:} and threaten farther acts of hostility: but *Karamân*, far from complying, asked the envoy, on shewing him the horse, if his master could mount him? The envoy not being able to answer the question, *Karamân* said, Tell your master that horse is so mettlesome he will never be able to mount him, for that is as much as I can do myself; and for the same reason I will not send it him. *Amurat*, enraged at this answer, immediately raised an army; and, passing over into *Asia*, entered *Karamân*'s dominions, where he took *Aksiari* and *Pegsiari* (R), two small cities; the last but two days journey from *Kogni* (or *Koniyab*). *Karamân*, having no forces to resist the invader, sent the chief men of his court with the horse, and a great sum of money; offering also to relinquish the cities which he had taken ².

THE affairs of *Asia* being settled, in 839, a new enemy arises in *Europe*. *Mora Krâli*, ^{defeats Mora} brother of the *Greek* emperor (S), as he was besieging *Ghiogherjinlik*, before-mentioned, *Kassim* ^{Krâli,} *Basba*, *Beglerbeg* of *Rum-eli*, with a select band of men, unexpectedly attacks, and puts him ^{A. D. 1435.} to flight; slaying or taking most of his soldiers, with the spoils of their camp.

MEAN while a fierce war breaks out with the king of *Hungary*, whose forces prevailed ^{and the Hun-} oftener than the *Turkish*. At last, *Mikhal ali Beg*, the brave *Othmân* general, unexpectedly ^{garians:} invading the country, over-ran the richer provinces, carried away the inhabitants, and returned with great booty ([†]). The *Hungarians* taking *Ali Beg*'s departure for a flight, rush again into the *Turkish* dominions, destroying all with fire and sword. *Morâd*, to check their boldness, after passing the *Danube* near *Widdin*, and laying waste the country, attempts to take *Belgrade* ^{attacks} (T), the great bulwark of *Hungary*; but the brave defence of the garrison, and the approach ^{Belgrade:}

¹ Cap. 28, & seq.

² CANT. p. 85.

³ DUCAS, c. 29.

(P) The same prince of *Karamânia* who surrendered his country to *Soltân Morâd*, and married his eldest sister. But how he came to fly out of *Rûm-eli* (or *Thrace*) into *Asia*, is not known. *Cant.* From this note *Ghermian Oglî* ought to be inserted in the text, instead of *Karamân Oglî*. But as to either of their being in *Europe*, we heard nothing before.

(Q) Or *Mola Gamzeh*, whose cell in *Karamânia* is religiously visited to this day. *Cant.*

(R) *Akshabri* and *Begshabri*.

(S) He seems to have been the *Despot Demetrius*; who about that time, according to *Phranza*, governed the

greater part of the *Morea*. He is called the emperor's brother from the affinity he had with him. *Cant.* His affinity was that of brother to *John Paleologus*; who then reigned.

(†) The Christian annals ascribe glorious victories in those days to *John Huniades*, general of the *Hungarians*; but mention nothing of *Mikhal Oglî*'s irruption into *Hungary*, and the calamities which attended it. *Cant.*

(T) *Alba Graca*, formerly *Taurunum*. From the places taken by *Morâd* in his return, it may be doubted, whether the *Turkish* losses in this siege were so great as the Christians represent them. *Cant.*

A. D. 1435. of winter, forced him to raise the siege, when he seemed be very near taking the city. However, in his way back, he subdues *Sofia* (U), with some other towns of *Bulgaria*.

MORAD was the more concerned at his disappointment before *Belgrade*, as he judged it owing, not so much to the valour of the besieged, as to the treachery of *Valak Oglî* (X); who was nearly allied to him by blood, and shared his friendship. On examination, it appeared, that he had not only discovered the *Othmân* councils to the king of *Hungary*, but also done his utmost to prevent the taking of *Belgrade*. The *Soltân*, therefore, to punish his perfidy, first commands the eyes of his two hostage-sons to be put out: then, marching with an army into *Servia*, takes the city of *Semendra*, on the *Danube*, seizes the territory of *Zerîn Oglî* (Y), and subjects the whole country to his dominion. *Valak Oglî*, escaping by flight, excites the king of *Hungary* (Z) against the *Turks*, and breaks off a treaty of peace; whereby he became the occasion of the following slaughters, and that king's death. This is the *Turkish* account of that expedition: let us now hear the *Greek* report.

Peace with
Servia:

AMURAT being informed, that *Stephen*, *Despot* of *Servia*, the son of *Lazarus*, and brother-in-law of *Bâ-yezîd*, was dead, sent ambassadors to his successor *George*, son of *Vulk* (A), to demand *Servia*; because *Stephen* had left no children, excepting a nephew of his sister *Mary*. *George*, to avoid a war, gave the *Soltân* his sister in marriage, with part of *Servia*, and a prodigious sum of money; and in return obtained leave to build a fort upon the *Danube* (called *Sendrew*).

enters Hun-
gary.

A. D. 1429.

A. D. 1436.

WHILE *Amurat* was at *Prusa* on his expedition against *Karamân*, *Dragul*, *Waywode* of *Walakbia*, waited on him, and offered to give him a passage into *Hungary* as often as he would; also to conduct him to the borders of *Germany* and *Russia*. The *Soltân*, pleased with those tenders of service, caressed him extremely, made him sit at table with him, and gave presents not only to him but all his attendants; who were no fewer than 300. Towards the end of spring, *Amurat* having passed the *Danube* at *Nikopolis*, was gladly received by *Dragul*; who, in four days, conducted him to the frontiers of *Hungary*, which was all a desert, the inhabitants having, on his approach, abandoned the towns and villages. Being arrived near *Zipene*, a famous city, they durst not attempt it. The inhabitants, far from being afraid, set open their gates, and sallied out upon them. When they came to the *Danube*, they repassed it, and *Amurat* returned to *Adrianople*.

Invades
Servia:

SOON after, he sent to demand of *George*, *Despot* of *Servia*, the fort of *Sendrew*, which he had built. This he did by the advice of his *Wazîr Fadulak*; for he was very sincere and not given to malice. The *Despot* remonstrating, that he had a right to it by the faith of treaties, the *Soltân* besieged it; and, in three months, took it on capitulation. The eldest son of the *Despot*, who was in the place, was afterwards, with his brother, then at court, sent to *Amastris*, and had their eyes put out by the *Wazîr's* advice. The same summer he took *Novopride*, and returned to *Adrianople*: there *Dragul* coming to pay his respects to the *Soltân*, was sent in irons to the tower of *Kalliopolis*, under pretence, that he designed to have betrayed him in *Hungary*. Some time after, on giving his two sons in hostage, and taking a new oath of fidelity, he was discharged.

besieges
Belgrade.

THE beginning of next spring, *Amurat*, raising a numerous army, marched to besiege *Belgrade*; which *George*, *Despot* of *Servia*, having been apprehensive of, had given to the *Hungarians*, who were more powerful than he (B), and better able to defend it. The *Soltân* made great efforts against the city: but after six months siege, both by land and water, instead of gaining any advantage, lost abundance of his soldiers, not only by the plague, but by engines cast in the form of tubes; which, by means of a dust, composed of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal, shot out balls of lead, five or ten together, each as big as a walnut (C).

THE

† CANT. p. 85, & seqq.

(U) The capital of *Bulgaria*, and the residence of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm-eli*. It is a city without walls. Cant.

(X) This seems to be *George*, *Despot* of *Servia*; who, according to the Christian writers, gave his daughter in marriage to *Morâd* for the confirmation of the peace: and whose sons, after the rupture between their father and the *Soltân*, were deprived of their sight. The Christian authors are more accurate in giving the names of princes than the *Turks*. Cant.

(Y) The country along the river *Savve*, from its conflux with the *Danube*, to *Peterwaradin*, is so called by the *Turks*. Cant.

(Z) *Ladislaus*, king of *Hungary* and *Poland*, chiefly known by the slaughter at *Varna*. Cant.

(A) Hence called by the *Turkish* writers *Valak Oglî*, or the son of *Valak*; that is, *Vulk*.

(B) He had retired into *Hungary* during the siege of *Sendrew*; and garrisoned the cities which he had in that country with *Hungarians*.

(C) The reader must see, that guns and powder are here to be understood. As this is the first time the *Greeks* seem to have heard of either, the account which *Dukas* gives of the powder and ball, with their effects, may not be unacceptable. That author says, this composition smelt like bitumen and sparks of fire: that it was very apt to take fire; and that the fire, being restrained as it were by the balls, pushed the first ball, that the second, and so on successively to the last; which commonly flew a mile, and made its way through a man

^a THE emperor *John* this year failed to *Italy*, with the patriarch *Joseph*, and the other prelates, ^{A. D. 1433.} to assist at the council of *Florence*, in order to unite the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. The pope was at the whole expence of the voyage, and the decree of the union was signed: but the ^{Emperor in} *Greeks*, at their return, recanted, although some of the archbishops would not put pen to paper till the money promised them was paid down. Reports having been spread in the emperor's absence, that he was gone to stir up the Christian princes against the *Turks*, he, at his return, sent ambassadors to *Amurat*, to assure him of the contrary, and that he intended inviolably to preserve peace with him.

^b MEAN time the *Despot George*, perceiving that the enemy advanced daily into his dominions, applied for succour to the queen of *Hungary*; who governed during the minority of her son. The queen, considering that if the *Turks* were suffered to subdue *Servia*, they would invade her dominions next, ordered her general, *John Huniades*, to assist him. As the *Despot* had a great treasure, they soon raised 25,000 men, both horse and foot; and, crossing the *Danube*, advanced to *Sofia*; which they burned, with the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, casting the spoil into the river. *Amurat*, who had not time to assemble the troops of the east, set forward with those of the west. Both armies approached a town midway between *Sofia* and *Philippopolis*, called by the *Bulgarians*, *Islatu*, that is, *gold*, through very difficult roads.

^c THE *Turks* perceiving the *Hungarian* camp, durst not descend into the plain. Hereupon *Servia* the enemy, encouraged by their fear, ascended the mountain through clouds of arrows; but both parties, finding the situation incommodious for fighting, retired to their former posts. Then *Amurat*, reflecting that the *Hungarians*, who had never before passed the *Danube*, had passed it this time to assist the *Despot* of *Servia*, restored all the places he had taken from him, and even the fort of *Sendrew*: he likewise sent him his two sons, who had been deprived of their sight. He did the same by *Drâgul's* sons; and concluded a peace with the queen of *Hungary* and king of *Poland*, as guardians of the young king: whereby it was stipulated, that the *Hungarians* should not cross the *Danube* to make war against the *Turks*, nor the *Turks* pass it to make war on the *Hungarians*.

^d IT is observable, that our *Turkish* historians do not mention any thing of this restitution of *Servia*, made by *Amurat*, though confirmed by the other Christian writers; who likewise inform us, that he gave up his claim to *Moldavia*, and that part of *Bulgaria* which had been conquered from him. In like manner, they omit the recovery of *Transylvania* by *John Huniades*, and several other victories obtained against them by him, or but slightly touch on them. This shews them to be partial to their nation, and that neither a complete nor accurate history of their affairs is to be had solely from their writers; to whom we shall, in their turn, have recourse.

^e IN 845, *Karamân Oglî Ibrahim Beg*, the inveterate enemy of the *Othmân* empire, breaking the late faith confirmed by oath, miserably lays waste the *Asian* provinces, then destitute of defence (D). *Morâd* on this advice, flies over to *Asia*; and, having assembled an army at *Prusa*, sends before some chosen troops. These being met by *Karamân's* wife, the *Soltân's* eldest sister, she bids them halt till she spoke to her brother; who, by her eloquence and tears, was prevailed on to be reconciled with him: she engaging, that her husband should bind himself by oath never to act in the least against the *Othmân* empire, nor suffer his subjects on any account to enter it.

THE *Othmân* dominions being now in profound peace, and a treaty concluded with the *Hungarians*, *Morâd*, tired with reigning, in 847, voluntarily resigns the empire to his son *Mohammed*, and retires to *Magnesia* (E), with design to lead a private life. *Karamân Oglî*, who but the year before had obtained his pardon, thinking this a proper time to destroy the *Othmân* empire, which he had so long meditated, writes to the king of *Hungary* to take advantage of the present juncture, assuring him, that, if they attacked the *Othmân* dominions, both in

^z DUKAS, c. 29—32.

mian or horse, though covered with iron: that its force did not cease after passing through the body of a man; on the contrary, another behind him might be wounded by it: that when the ball is made of iron, and has been under the hammer, in hitting any thing, it takes a long figure, and penetrates like a stream of fire.

(D) *Dukas* informs us, that *Karamân*, during the *Hungarian* war, recovered the places *Amurat* had taken from him: that *Amurat* plundered *Kogni*, and carried away a prodigious quantity of gold and silver; that he created the city of *Laranda* with the utmost cruelty,

and ravaged all the country of *Karamân* without sparing the *Turks* themselves.

(E) No Christian writer, whom I have seen, mentions this first abdication of *Morâd*. Cant. It is mentioned by *Dukas*, who observes, that he was scarce returned to *Adrianople* from the *Karamânian* war, when news brought, that his son *Aladin*, governor of *Amasia*, who had been at the plundering of *Kogni*, was dead; a handsome valiant prince, of 18 years; and that soon after, he, in an assembly of the great men, resigned the throne to his son *Mohammed*, and retired to *Prusa*.

A. D. 1443. *Europe and Asia* at the same time, they should quickly root out the whole *Othmân* race, and restore the injured and dispossessed princes to their former happiness. a

resumes the
Scepter :

battle of
Varna :

THE king of *Hungary* had lately, with his hand on the gospel, sworn by the immortal body of Christ to observe the conditions of the peace : but, by the instigation of the pope, who absolved him from his oath, he assembles an army ; and, being joined by the *Chechi* (or *Bohemian*), *Pole*, *Latin*, and *Bulgarian*, *Valak Oglî's* auxiliaries, he leads them into the *Musulmân* dominions. The *Turks*, frightened at so great armies of warlike nations, with *Mohammed's* consent, send ambassadors to beseech *Morâd* to resume the reins of government, and defend the state in this critical juncture : *Morâd*, loth to leave the sweets of retirement, refused at first : but, on a second application, at length consents ; and, with the utmost speed, passes through *Kallipolis* (F) into *Europe*. The third day after his arrival at *Adrianople*, taking on him the office of general, he leads out his army ; and, by long marches, proceeds towards *Varna*, where the *Hungarian* king was incamped. For greater expedition, he marches before with the horse ; and, in three days coming in sight of the enemy, falls on them (G) : but not with the success he expected ; for the right wing being unable, for want of infantry, to stand the first shock, was put into disorder, and pursued above a mile. The young king of *Hungary*, who now thought the victory his own, in the heat of the battle challenges *Morâd* to single combat. The *Soltân*, accidentally meeting him, pierced his horse with a *Jerîd* (H). Hereupon, the king falling to the ground, the *Janizaries*, who were now arrived, instantly cut off his head ; and shewing it to the enemy on the point of a spear, cried out, *Behold the head of your king*. At the same time, the scattered horse rallying, they renew the fight, and defeat the Christians at the first charge (I). b

Christians
overthrown.
Hej. 850.
A. D. 1446.

THEY made indeed some stands afterwards ; but night coming on, and wanting a leader (K), they are entirely routed, excepting some few who escaped in the dark, all the rest are slain, or taken prisoners (L), while *Morâd* leads back his army not much lessened, and laden with spoil ; after which he retires again to a private life at *Magnesia*. But, in 850, on account of a sedition of the *Janizaries*, who, for little or no cause, robbed or murdered all persons they met, without distinction of age or sex, he was prevailed on a second time to mount the throne (M) ; and sends *Mohammed*, who was too young to curb the mutineers, to *Magnesia*.

Expels Scân-
der Beg.
Hej. 851.
A. D. 1447.

THE sedition being presently appeased, he next year turns his arms against the rebellious *Kastriot*, *Iskânder Beg* (N), drives him out of his kingdom, lays waste all *Greece* and *Arnaud* (O) ; and in the *Morea*, takes by storm *Balibadri* and *Akchebissar* (P). In requital for *Iskânder Beg's* breach of faith, and causeless desertion of the *Mohammedan* religion, he converts all the churches of *Arnaud* into *Jâmis*, or *mosks*, and orders all the *Epirots* to be circumcised, or put to d

(F) *Dukas* says, that 125 gallies appearing before *Kallipolis*, to hinder his passage there, he crossed over near the sacred mouth (of the *Bosphorus*), altho' others were stationed for the same purpose on that side. According to other writers, these were the gallies of the *Venetians* and Pope ; who, by cardinal *Julian*, absolved *Ladislaus* from his oath, and precipitated the war to the king's destruction and his own ; for he was killed among the rest.

(G) Christian writers fix this battle to the 10th of November, 1444.

(H) A sort of light missive javelin, or dart ; with which they hit the mark with an exactness scarce to be matched by the most skilful gunners. Cant.

(I) The *Turks* have a tradition, as well as the Christians, that in the very engagement *Morâd* ordered the writing which he received from the king of *Hungary*, in confirmation of the peace, to be carried on the point of a spear through the ranks ; crying out, *Let the Gaur* (or infidels) *come on against their God and sacrament ; and, if their belief of those things be certain, let them, O just God, declare themselves their own avengers, and punishers of their ignominy*.

(K) *Ladislaus* being slain, *Huniades*, knowing all was thereby lost, retired hastily, but in good order, towards the *Danube* ; which having passed, his followers all dispersed. By this means he fell into the hands of *Drakula*, (or *Dragul*), lord of *Moldavia*, his mortal enemy ; who would have slain him immediately, had not he been prevented by the offer of a great sum for his prisoner's ransom, and an embassy from the *Hungarians*, threatening war if he did not deliver their general. On this, *Drakula* made great apologies for his treatment, and conducted him to the frontiers of *Hun-*

gary : but some time after, *Huniades*, in the expedition he made to put *Danus*, prince of *Walakhia*, in possession of *Moldavia*, in his turn took *Drakula*, with his son, and put them both to death. *Kbalk*. l. vii. c. 3 & 8.

(L) *Dukas*, agreeable to other Christian writers, tells us, that of the princes and generals scarce *Huniades* himself escaped. The same author relates this battle (in which he says, the *Turks* made a terrible slaughter, and gained a remarkable victory) much after the same manner as in the text. He says, the fight was very furious from day-break till nine o'clock, in which time the Christians slew a great number of *Turks* ; and that at 10 o'clock, *Ladislaus*, surrounded by 500 men, would needs fall upon the enemy, in spite of all that *Huniades* could do to hinder him ; but that, as he advanced, his horse, receiving a wound, threw him, &c.

(M) Christian writers say, *Morâd*, after the battle of *Varna*, retired to a monastic life at *Prusa* ; but impute his quitting it again to the successes of *Huniades* in *Hungary*, and rebellion of *Skânder Beg*. Cant. *Dukas* says, all this was done by the means of *Halil*.

(N) That is, lord *Alexander*, the name given *George Kastriot*, youngest son of *John*, prince of *Epirus* ; who, being delivered in hostage to *Morâd*, was by him bred in the *Mohammedan* religion, and much beloved : but while the *Soltân* was engaged in the *Hungarian* wars, he withdrew into *Epirus* ; where, according to the Christian historians, he performed wonders against the *Turks*. He died at *Lissa*, in the *Venetian* dominions, in January, 1467, being 63 years of age. Cant.

(O) By *Arnaud* are signified *Albania* and *Macedonia*. Cant.

(P) The city *Alba*. Cant. *Akchebissar* signifies the white, or rather whitish city.

death ;

- a death; whereby the whole country, in a short time, changed her faith^a. To this place may ^{A. D. 1447.} be referred what the Christian historians relate concerning the war in the *Morea*, and the exploits of *Skânder Beg*. With regard to the war in the *Morea*, according to *Dukas*, although that author puts it later in time (Q), the reason of *Amurat*'s march to that country was to recover the places taken by *Constantine*, Despot of *Lacedemon* (R); who, while he was at war with the *Hungarians*, had reduced *Thebes* and the neighbouring towns. On the Despot's refusing those places, the Soltân sat down before *Hexamilion* (S); which *Constantine* had repaired four years before, and behind which he then was with 60,000 men. But he was betrayed by the *Albanians*, whose treason however he escaped, as well as his son *Thomas*, Despot of *Akbaia*. *Amurat* having ruined *Hexamilion*, and laid waste the country as far as *Patrus* and *Klarenka*;
- b carried off with him 60,000 prisoners^b.

Khalkondylas is more particular in his account of this expedition. According to him, *Constantine*, having invaded the *Turkish* territories, took the city of *Pindus*, with the country of *Beotia*, and part of *Akbaia*; penetrating as far as *Attika*. *Morâd*, informed hereof by *Neri*, prince of *Athens* and *Thurakân*, governor of *Thessaly*, marched with all his forces to *Pherres*. On this news, *Constantine* assembled all the people of the *Morea* to defend the wall (or *Hexamilion*); which presently was ranged from one end to the other by the *Turkish* army. The duke, unable to oppose so great a force, sent to make proposals of peace: but, instead of moderating matters, demanded the rest of the *Morea*, with other lands adjoining to it; which *Amurat* had conquered in war.

- c THE Soltân returned no answer to so wild a demand; but sent the ambassador (who was our author's father), bound hands and feet to *Pherres*. Although it was then the depth of winter, he went with 6000 horse to view the wall, and see where he might best make his approaches, and plant his batteries. After this, his army lodged themselves on the side of the fosse; and the cannonading began fiercely on both sides. On the 7th day, the *Turks* gave a general assault, and became masters of the wall, with very little opposition from the *Greeks*, effeminated by luxury and corruption. While *Thurakân* was sent to ravage the heart of the country, *Amurat* took and sacked the city of *Sicyon*. Then marching to *Patras*, a rich city of *Akbaia*, found it deserted, excepting the castle, which made a brave defence; and before it was taken, peace was concluded with the *Greeks*, whereby the *Morea* first became tributary^c.
- d As to *Skânder Beg*, although the *Turkish* historians scarce take notice of him, the Christian writers, who call him prince of *Epirus*, have ascribed to him exploits equal to those of the greatest heroes of antiquity: but as most of them have apparently exaggerated matters, we chose to follow *Khalkondylas*, who is more moderate in his account of him. *Morâd*, says this author, the spring after his expedition into the *Morea*, marched against *Skender*, or *Skânder Beg*, son of *Ivan* (T). This lord having been, it is said, abused by the Soltân, at whose court he was educated, without changing his religion, retired into *Epirus*; where having married the princess *Donik*, daughter of *Arienetes*, he openly revolted. *Amurat*, on this news, marched with all his forces, and ravaged the country; while *Skânder Beg*, after sending his family and the useless people into the *Venetian* territories, retired with the rest into the passes of the mountains, towards the sea coast, watching the motions of the enemy; who at length besieged *Sfetigrade*, and took it by assault, killing all the men, and plundering the goods (U). *Getia*, which they attacked next, terrified by that sad example, surrendered on composition. The Soltân then sat down before *Kroja* (X), the capital of *Albania* (Y), and exceeding strong, as well by situation as art. His artillery having made a great breach in the wall, the *Fanzaries* gave continual assaults: but, being repulsed with considerable slaughter, and winter drawing on, *Amurat*, after a pretty long siege, wherein he lost a great number of men, thought proper to leave the place for that time.

^a CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 88—92.

^b DUKAS, c. 32.

^c KHALK. Hist. Constant. l. vii. c. 4.

(Q) *Viz*: After the defeat of *Huniades*, mentioned in the following paragraph.

(R) *Khalkondylas* calls him duke of *Peloponnesus*; which country is now called the *Morea*.

(S) *Hexamilion* was a wall six miles long, built across the *Isthmus* of *Korinth*, to secure the *Morea* against invasions. There was a town also of the same name just within it. *Hexamilion* signifies six miles.

(T) That is *John*, whom other writers surname *Kastriot*, and call king or prince of *Epirus*. They say, that he delivered up his four sons as hostages to obtain peace of *Amurat*, who circumcised them; and on their father's death, poisoned the three elder, and seized *Epirus*.

(U) The western writers put this siege in *May*, 1449; and say, that it was surrendered in *September* following

by capitulation, after *Amurat* had lost 30,000 men before it; and that a dog being thrown into the well by a traitor, the garrison would not drink of the water; which obliged the brave governor *Perlot* to surrender.

(X) Other writers say, that *Skânder Beg*, after the battle of *Iflata* against *Huniades*, flying with the *Bajba's* secretary, at length seized him, and made him write a letter in the Soltân's name to the governor of *Kroja*; ordering him to deliver up the city to *Skânder Beg*; who killed the secretary, and by means of the letters got possession of that city.

(Y) Others say of *Epirus*, but not so properly; for *Albania* comprehending *Epirus*, with part of *Illyria*. *Kroja*, now in ruins, stood in the latter country, near the gulph of *Drin*, between *Durazzo* and *Alesio*.

A. D. 1447.

his brave
actions in
Albania.

THE *Soltān*, having remained in rest a whole year, at *Adrianople*, set forward a second time, with a more numerous army than before, against *Skānder Beg*; who was a man of great courage, and indefatigable in giving *Amurat* vexation. In his way to *Kreja*, he sent to the *Venetians* to deliver up *Skānder Beg*, who, with the *Albanians*, retired to the mountains near that city, in order to assist him on occasion. The cannon having made a large breach in the wall, a party was sent to divert *Skānder Beg*, while the *Turks* gave an assault. Hereupon a terrible fight began in the mountains, where that prince performed actions beyond belief, overthrowing all before him. On the other hand, the *Janizaries* were so roughly handled at the breach, that *Amurat* thought fit to change the siege into a blockade: but at the same time, news arriving from *George, Despot of Servia*, that *John Huniades* was ready to pass the *Danube* with a numerous army, he immediately drew off (Z), in order to go meet the *Hungarians* ^d.

Emperor John
dies.

A. D. 1448.

MEAN time, the emperor *John Paleologus* being afflicted with the gout, the loss of his consort, and the troubles which distracted the church since his voyage to *Italy*, fell into a disorder which carried him off in a few days. He was the last emperor of the *Romans*. Notice was immediately given of his death to *Constantine* (A); who, presently after his arrival at *Constantinople*, sent ambassadors to *Amurat*, who settled all differences which subsisted between the two courts ^c. *Khalkondylas* adds, that his brother *Demetrius* aimed to supplant him, and would have ascended the throne, had he not been hindered by his mother, and the great men, of whom *Kantakuzenus* and *Notaras* (B) were the chief. The arrival of prince *Thomas*, the youngest of the brothers, was also a check upon him; so that as soon as *Constantine* entered the city, all was pacified. *Demetrius* and *Thomas* had the *Morea* divided between them ^f.

Hungarians
invade the
Othman do-
minions.

THE *Hungarians* (C), to revenge the death of their late king, in conjunction with the prince of *Moldavia*, (lately revolted) and others, having entered the *Othmān* dominions, *Morād* flies in haste to *Sofia*; and from thence marches against the enemy: but, before the armies came in sight, the *Beigler*, certain *Musulmans*, in their way to join him, meet the *Walakhians* separated from the rest, and easily rout them (D). The *Soltān*, leading on his forces to *Kossova* (E), immediately begins the battle; but not with the success he expected, the enemy's armour being proof against the sword. *Morād* seeing this, draws back his troops, and orders them to strike at their heads with pole-axes and clubs. The Christians surrounded, and unable to resist the fury of the *Turks*, retreat slowly under the shelter of their carriages; and valiantly fight in that manner, with various fortune, till sun-set. At last the king, perceiving his men discouraged and settled, assembles the bravest of his horse; and, exhorting the rest to renew the fight, pretends easily to gain the victory, by falling on the enemy's rear. But more solicitous for his own than his people's safety, instead of attacking the *Musulmans*, he betakes himself to flight; leaving the soldiers, now despairing of success, to shift for themselves (F). The *Turks* pursue them with eagerness, kill great numbers, and take 2000 prisoners. All the *German*, *Bohemian*, and *Polish* generals, fell in the battle; except the king himself ^g.

Their force.

ACCORDING to *Khalkondylas*, the *Hungarian* forces consisted of 40,000 foot, 7000 horse, and about 2000 war chariots filled with musketeers: but these being judged by *George, Despot* of the *Triballians* (or *Servia*), not sufficient to cope with the *Turks*, who, by the troops which joined them in their march, were become 150,000 strong; he thought it safest to sit still: which disappointment greatly incensed *Huniades* ^h.

^d KHALK, ubi supr. c. 5 & 7. ^e DUKAS, c. 33.
Othm. Hist. p. 95. ^b KHALK, l. vii. c. 7.

^f KHALK, ubi supr. l. vii. c. 11.

^g CANT.

(Z) The western writers mention only one siege of *Kreja*; and say, that *Skānder Beg* twice broke into *Amurat's* camp, and made a great slaughter: that the *Soltān* having been repulsed in four attacks, failing also to corrupt *Uranokontes*, the governor, as well as to oblige *Skānder Beg* to pay 10,000 ducats tribute, he fell sick, and after making a speech to his son *Mohammed*, died under the walls of that city. But the circumstances of *Amurat's* dying at this siege, and *Mohammed's* being in the camp at the same time, are evidently false; which brings a suspicion on the rest of the history, many of whose facts are in themselves sufficiently improbable.

(A) Surnamed *Drakoses*, the brother of *John*.

(B) He was grand duke.

(C) The *Turkish* historians say, this army was commanded by the king of *Hungary*: but as king *Ladislaws*, surnamed *Posthumus*, was then detained by *Frederic* duke of *Austria*, and disowned by the *Hungarians*, prince *Cantemir* supposes, that by the king, *Huniades* is to be understood; agreeably to the Christian writers.

(D) *Khalkondylas* says, the *Walakhians* were 8000 in number, under their prince *Danus*, who commanded the left wing of the Christians; and that, in the heat of the battle, going over to the *Turks*, on promise of pardon, the *Soltān*, either suspecting they had some ill design, or in detestation of their treachery, ordered 20,000 horse to surround and cut them in pieces, with their arms in their hands.

(E) A place near *Nigromonte*, famous for another battle, in which *Morād* was victorious and slain. This second battle is described in the *Walakhian* annals to be so fierce and bloody as to exceed all before, or which are likely to be after it. *Cant.*

(F) *Dukas* speaks as if *Huniades* did not fight at all. Considering, says this author, the multitude of the enemy's troops, and the fear which had possessed his own, he made a shew before day of preparing for battle, and at the same time fled. *Dukas*, c. 32. The more western historians say, the battle lasted three days, and that four times more *Turks* were killed than Christians.

*Battle of
Kosova.*

Huniades
taken by the
Despot of
Servia.

He Mohammed
 He married.

W- Morâd dies :

le, *his character.*

Refs

lin, and sons.

^k DUKAS, c. 33.

prophet of God. These are properly called *Amirs* or *lords*; denoting their descent from *Fatima*, a sister of *Mohammed*. They were formerly destined, like the *Levites*, to the worship of God. They are now dispersed through the empire, and distinguished by the green turbân. It is observed, that the *Amirs* are men of the greatest wisdom and learning till forty; but after that become either downright fools, or at least discover signs of stupidity. Hence the *Turks*, when they see any stupid person, say *Amir Soydeur*; as much as to say, *he is of the race of the Amirs*; although they consider that failing as a divine impulse, to manifest their birth and sanctity. *Cant.*

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C H A P. VIII.

The Reign of Mohammed II. surnamed Fatîh (A).

S E C T. I.

To the taking of Constantinople.

A. D. 1451.

7 Soltân Mo-
hammed II.

MORAD being dead, *Mohammed* II. now in the 21st year of his age, is crowned a second time, three days after his father's decease^a. On his arrival near *Adrianople*, he was met by all the persons of any distinction a mile from that city; there dismounting, they walked on foot; the *Soltân* and his attendants marching in the middle. When they had advanced half-way they stopped, closing their lips to preserve the greater silence; then set up a loud cry mixed with tears. On this, *Mohammed* and his train alighted; and, after the example of the rest, filled the air with groans and sighs. The grandees saluted him by kissing his hand; then mounted on horseback; and having conducted him to the gate of his palace, retired to their houses.

strangles his
brother:

THE first act of *Mohammed*, after he ascended the throne, was to send *Halim*, head of the *Janizaries*, and son of *Eurenesis* (B), to strangle his brother (C), an infant but eight months old; whom his father had by the daughter of *Spintiar* (*Isfandiar*), prince of *Sinope*. Next day he ordered *Halim* to be put to death, and obliged that lady to marry *Ishak* (D), her father's slave, to whom she had an aversion^b.

Peace with
Christians:

AFTER this, at the instance of *George*, *Despot* of *Servia*, he renewed the peace with him, and sent him back his daughter, who had been married to *Amurat*; assigning her lands on the frontiers of that country for her maintenance. *Constantine*, and the rest who held the first rank at *Constantinople*, sent also to renew the peace with him; which was done in the most solemn manner. He also granted, at their request, a pension of 300,000 aspers yearly for *Or Khân's* subsistence, in the necessity the empire then laboured under^c.

defeats Kara-
mân-Ogli:

MOHAMMED having made peace also with the other Christian powers, turned his arms against *Karamân*; who, on the news of *Amurat's* death, entered the *Othmân* dominions, and took three forts, with a great extent of land, which *Amurat* had deprived him of. *Mohammed* marched to *Kotiayon*, and thence into *Phrygia Salutaris*, by the *Turks* called *Karasaris*, which is contiguous to the territories of *Karamân*; who, on the first news of his approach, sent to beg peace, offering to surrender the places (E) which he had newly recovered. *Mohammed's* design was not to have returned till he had entirely subdued that prince to his obedience; but the imprudent conduct of the *Romans* made him spare *Karamân* for the present, in order to subdue them^d.

affairs of the
Morea:

ALTHOUGH the two princes, between whom the *Morea* was divided, had taken a solemn oath never to violate the agreement; yet *Thomas* soon after took up arms to drive *Demetrius* out of his possessions. *Demetrius* hereupon returned to *Asan*, his wife's brother; by whose means he obtained succours from *Amurat*, and compelled *Thomas* to submit the matters in dispute to the emperor's arbitration. But that prince refusing to deliver to his brother the territories that fell to his share, *Mohammed* ordered *Thurakân*, his governor in the *Morea*, to assist *Demetrius*, and demolish the wall which shut up that country. Hereupon *Thomas* gave him the city of *Kalamata*, in lieu of the territory of the *Skortians*, which he detained^e.

Isthmian wall
razed:^a CANT. p. 95.^b DUKAS, c. 33.^c Ibid. KHALK. l. vii. c. 11.^d DUKAS, c. 34.

KHALK. l. vii. c. 11. CANT. p. 96.

^e KHALK. l. vii. c. 11.

(A) *Fatîh*, in *Arabic*, signifies the opener, or van-
quisher; a title given him on account of his taking *Con-
stantinople*. The Christian historians call him *Moham-
med the Great*, and the first emperor of the *Turks*.

(B) The same with *Ornûs Beg*.(C) *Khalkondylas* says, he was choaked by pouring
water down his throat. L. vii. c. 11.

(D) *Khalkondylas* says, he did it for her security, and
that he made *Ishak* governor of *Asia*. L. vii. c. 11.—
Ishak, or *isaac*, is pronounced *Ishak*.

(E) According to *Khalkondylas*, *Karamân* gave up
Kandlora; and *Mohammed*, at his return, suppressed his
train of falconers, hunters, and other useless employ-
ments.

^a NEXT year, he orders cannon to be founded (F); and having assembled an army out of all his provinces, besieges *Constantinople*. The *Greek* emperor, terrified at the danger, begs peace on whatever conditions the *Soltân* would impose. *Mohammed* tells his ambassadors, "that he pities the emperor's case; and cannot in conscience deny peace to the humble: but lest he should be blamed by his people for being at so great expence and trouble to assemble forces, without any advantage to the *Othman* affairs; he desires *Cæsar* to give him a spot of land on the *European* side of the *Bogaz* (or *Bosphorus*) no bigger than an ox-hide (G); and that he would immediately raise the siege." The *Greeks* readily consenting, *Mohammed* sends away his army.

Hej. 856.
A. D. 1452.
Founds cannon.

^b THEN having pitched on a rocky place (H) before the ambassadors, he orders an ox-hide to be cut into small thongs; and with them inclosing a piece of ground, 500 paces in circumference, seizes it for his use, the *Greeks* not daring to gainsay it. Here he builds, in forty days, a castle, fortified with five high towers, representing the letters of his name (I); and immediately after runs up another (K) to answer it on the *Asiatic* side. These castles he provides with artillery and a good garrison: then orders the governors not to let the vessels pass, which daily supplied *Constantinople* with provisions from the *Euxine* sea. After this he returns, under the appearance of peace, to *Adrianople*; and three days after his entrance, lays the foundations of that stately palace, called, *Jebân Numâ* (L).

Builds Rûm eli Hissâr:

^c IN the third year of his reign, and of the *Hejrab* 857, *Mohammed* discovers the designs which he had hitherto concealed: for, raising as great an army as he was able, he goes and besieges *Constantinople*.

Hej. 857.
A. D. 1453.

As the *Turkish* account of the destruction of the *Roman* empire is very defective, and we ought not to omit any material circumstance relating to that grand event, we shall supply it from the *Creek* cotemporary writers. These mention but one siege of *Constantinople* undertaken by *Mohammed*; the causes of which seem to be impartially set forth by *Dukas*, as follows.

^d THEY who had the principal share in the government at *Constantinople*, were so indiscrete as to send ambassadors to notify to *Mohammed*, that *Constantine* had been proclaimed emperor, although he had not been crowned. They complained also, that *Or Khân*'s pension was not duly paid, and urged to have it doubled; alleging that the prince wanted money for presents to the great lords, who paid their court to him; and that the emperor was not able to supply him. In case this demand was not granted, they desired that they might be allowed to set him at liberty.

Roman artificers treated with scorn.

^e HALI BASHA, to whom this discourse was directed, though of a mild temper, and a friend to the *Romans*, because they often made him presents (M); yet, on hearing the ambassadors talk at this rate, he made answer: "I have been so long acquainted, you silly *Romans*, with your artifices and tricks, that you ought to give them over.—The treaty which we made with you, is scarce dry, and yet you have followed us into *Anatolia*; thinking to frighten us with chimeras of your own framing.—If you can do any thing against us, do it. Proclaim *Or Khân* prince of *Thrace*, and make the *Hungarians* pass the *Danube* in your favour.—But take it for granted after all, that instead of recovering the countries which you have lost, you will lose those which you now possess.—"

HALI having reported these matters to *Mohammed*, he flew into a great passion. If I stay Mohammed in *Anatolia*, said he, the *Romans* will stir up all the *Christian* nations against me, succour *Karamân*, and subdue the west. On this consideration, he treated the ambassadors of that prince with mildness, and granted them peace. With regard to the emperor's ambassadors disseminating his resentment, he promised to give them a favourable answer at his return to *Adrianople*; but as soon as he arrived there, he ordered *Or Khân*'s pension to be stopped; and towards winter,

Karamân incensed;
builds a fort,
A. D. 1452.

^f CANT. p. 97, & seq.

(F) *Kbalkondylas* says, he ordered artillery to be cast, and a great number of galleys and other vessels to be built in several ports, during the winter. L. viii. c. 1.

castle is called *Rûm eli Hissâr*: that is, the *European castle*. Cant. Literally, the castle of the country of the *Romans*.

(G) *Mohammed* seems to have imitated *Eliza* (or *Dido*) queen of *Karthage*: for *Lonicerus*, as well as the *Turks*, allow him to have delighted in reading the actions of the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* kings. Cant. Not *Mohammed*, but the *Turkish* historian, we presume, thought of this contrivance; for the *Greeks* could hardly have been such fools, as to have been tricked by an old well-known artifice.

(K) Called *Anadoli Hissâr*, or, the eastern castle, built where the little river *Ghiok Su*, or blue water, falls into the *Bosphorus*. Cant. But the *Christian* writers say, this was built by his predecessor.

(L) About six miles from *Constantinople*, on the *Bosphorus*. Cant.

(I) The letters in *Mohammed* are only four; but the middle *m* must be doubled, which makes five. The

(L) That is, the watch tower of the world: because from the women's apartment, built to a great height, there is a prospect into all parts. Cant.

(M) The author adds, and that whoever gave him money might say the most shocking things to him. So hurtful to the honour and interest of his country is a corrupt or covetous minister.

had

A. D. 1453. had notice given through his dominions for 1000 workmen to be ready in the spring, with the proper instruments and materials, to build a fort near the *Sacred Mouth* (N) above *Constantinople*. This project filled the Christians every-where with grief, as it convinced them, that the downfall of the city was at hand; and a prodigious number of workmen being assembled at the time appointed, the emperor sent ambassadors to *Adrianople*, not to demand an augmentation, nor even a continuation of the pension, but to intreat *Mohammed* not to build the fort; and on that condition to pay tribute, if he required it. He remonstrated, that he had indeed, at the intreaty of his grandfather *Mohammed*, granted him liberty to build a fort on the *Asiatic* shore, because it had been of a long time in possession of his ancestors; but that the design of building this new fort opposite to the other, could be no other than to deprive *Constantinople* of its trade, and supply of provisions from the *Euxine Sea*.

to curb the city.

Begins hostilities:

MOHAMMED, after asking the ambassadors what right they had to hinder him from building a fort on his own ground, shewed, from the emperor's joining continually with the enemies of the *Othmans*, during his father's reign, how little reason he had to expect any favour from him; and concluded, threatening, that *whoever came to trouble him again upon the same subject, should be flay'd alive*. This answer threw the inhabitants of *Constantinople* into the utmost fear and anguish. Soon after, the *Turks* began to build the fort below *Sofstenion*, of old called *Pheneum*, in a triangular form, and called it *Baseska*; that is, *Head-chopper* (O). The emperor, finding he could not hinder the execution of this design, sent guards to hinder the *Turks* from making incursions, and pillaging the lands in time of harvest: but *Mohammed*, instead of granting his request, gave leave to those who carried materials to the fort, to feed their cattle on the *Roman* pastures. The people of the tower of *Epibata* going to hinder some *Turks* from destroying their corn, a quarrel ensued, wherein several on both sides were killed. *Mohammed* being informed hereof, ordered a party to go and put the inhabitants of *Epibata* to the sword: the *Turks* accordingly fell upon them as they were cutting down their corn, and slew forty.

Declares war.

ON this news, the emperor ordered the city gates to be shut, and the *Turks* who were in it to be arrested; but three days after set them at liberty; and at the same time sent ambassadors to tell the *Soltân*, "that since he was resolved on war, and neither his own oaths nor the emperor's submissions could prevent it, he might take his course: that if God, in whom he trusted, intended to deliver the city into his hands, no human power could hinder it:" he advised him, however, "to reflect on their treaties and his own oaths;" adding, "that, for his part, he would shut up the city, and defend the inhabitants to the utmost of his power." *Mohammed*, far from seeking excuses to justify his conduct, declared war against *Constantine*.

Prodigious cannon.

MEAN time, the fort being finished in four months, and second year of his reign, the walls were furnished with cannon, some carrying 600 pounders (P); and a garrison of 400 men placed under command of *Ferûz Aga*, who had orders to demand tribute of all vessels which passed, and fire on such as refused to pay it. After this, *Mohammed*, who had overlooked the work, returned with all his court to *Adrianople*.

WHILE he was building the fort, a famous engineer (Q) went and offered him his service. He came from *Hungary* to *Constantinople*; but the pension assigned him by the emperor's council was so small and so ill paid, that he could not subsist on it. This obliged him to retire to the *Soltân*, who gave him considerable revenues. This person cast him a very large cannon, which carried a huge stone-ball (R) a mile; and whose sound was heard above ten: the ball, when it fell, made a hole in the ground six feet deep.

Emperor's preparations.

THE emperor, foreseeing what would happen, had six months before reinforced the garrison, drawn many people of the country into the city, and laid up great store of corn. He had likewise sent to *Rome* to demand succours of the pope, and complete the union of the two churches; but as it was easy to see, that neither the emperor nor the clergy were sincere, so the pope afforded them no assistance; and their dissimulation served him afterwards with an excuse for abandoning them to the mercy of the *Turks*.

(N) The mouth of the *Bosphorus* in the *Propontis*, at *Constantinople*.

(O) *Khalkondylas*, in saying it is called *Læmokopia*, which signifies *throat* or *gullet-cutter*, seems to give the translation of the word *Bâsh-eska* (*Bash* is the head). He says, it stood in that part properly called the *Bosphorus*, being the narrowest part of the streight. There was a great tower at each angle, 30 feet high, and the wall 22 thick. L. viii. c. 1.

(P) According to *Khalkondylas* (who in the account

of this siege agrees for the general with *Dukas*) the cannon he employed in the siege were so large, that each required 70 yoke of oxen and 2000 men to draw it: yet says, they carried a ball of but 100 pound weight. (L. viii. c. 1, 2.); which seems most reasonable.

(Q) *Khalkondylas* calls him *Urban*, and says he was a native of *Walakhia*.

(R) *Khalkondylas* says, they were black stones, extremely hard, which were brought from the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*.

a In spring, *Mahomet* ordered his great cannon to be carried from *Adrianople* to *Constanti-* A. D. 1453:
nople, by *Karafia Beg* (S); who had before reduced several places on the *Euxine Sea*, as *Mesembra*, *Akbeloum*, and *Bison*. Mean time, the distractions in the church continued (T); ^{the siege} as if the city had not been threatened with a siege, which began the sixth of *April*; the *Turkish* ^{begun.} army incamping from the *Wood Gate* to the *Golden Gate*, towards the south, and the church of *St. Kosma*. They also covered the whole space, which had been planted with vines ^s.

KHALKONDYLAS observes more particularly, that the *Soltân's* camp extended from one *sea* to the other: that the forces of *Asia* were on the right-hand towards the *Golden Gate*; ^{The city's} those of *Europe* on the west, stretching to the *Wood Gate*; and that in the middle, between both, was *Mohammed* himself, with his *Janizaries* and other troops about him, while his ^{pre-figh.}
 b *Wazîr*, *Zogan*, was posted above *Galata* (U). The walls toward the port were not very good: but to the land there was a double wall, with double ramparts. The first was low and weak, but defended by a great fosse, 200 feet wide, lined on both sides with stone: the inner wall was very high, and admirably well built ^b.

THE emperor did all in his power for the defence of *Constantinople*. All the *Venetian* ships, ^{Justiniani} which came from the *Tanais* and *Trebizond*, were detained. The *Genoese*, though they had ^{made general} promised the *Soltân* not to assist the *Romans*, yet, under-hand, sent a large vessel, with 500 men, to reinforce the garrison. *John Justiniani*, surnamed *The Long*, came from *Genoa* with two ships and several brave young men. As *John* had excellent skill in drawing up an army, and giving battle, the emperor made him chief commander, and assigned for his post that
 c part of the walls which was nearest the palace; because the enemy had planted most of the engines on that side. He promised likewise to give him the sovereignty of the isle of *Lemnos*, in case he obliged the *Turks* to raise the siege. Such magnificent rewards made the *Latins* behave like heroes. Some of them had fire-arms, so had the *Turks*, which shot five or ten balls; and, after piercing the armour, killed two or three men, one behind the other. *Mohammed* caused new levies to be made; which brought such prodigious numbers together, that many reckoned they amounted to 400,000 (X). At the same time his galleys, ships, and barks, to the number of 300, came to anchor near the city.

THE port was secured with a chain, stretched across from the *Fair Gate* to *Galata*, which ^{Port and} kept the vessels of the city in safety. Besides which, there was a fleet of five ships, one ^{ships.}
 d belonging to the emperor, the other four to the *Genoese*; which fetched provisions from the *Morea* and *Kbio*. As they returned in *March*, *Mohammed* ordered his fleet either to take or hinder them to enter the port of *Keras* (Y): but the ships forced their way by help of the wind, and were let in by lowering the chain. The *Soltân*, finding that there were in the harbour eight great ships, twenty small ones, with several galleys, belonging to the emperor and the *Venetians*, besides a great number of barks, he despaired of making himself master of them; but at the same time formed a most bold and noble design. He ordered a road ^{Galleys drawn} to be made through the bushes and shrubs behind *Galata*, from the place facing the east, under ^{over land.} *Diplacionion*, to the other side of the gulph of *Keras*, opposite *St. Kosma's* church; and fourscore galleys to be drawn over the hilly ground, from the *Sacred Mouth* into that harbour
 e (Z). Every galley had a pilot at her prow, and another at her poop, with the rudder in hand, one moved the sails, while a fourth beat the drum, and sang a sailor's song. And the whole fleet passed along, as if it had been carried by a stream of water (A): sailing, as it were, over land ⁱ.

^s DUKAS, c. 34, 37.

^b KHAL. l. viii. c. 2.

ⁱ DUKAS, c. 38.

(S) *Byglerebeg* of *Europe*. Khal. l. viii. c. 1.

(T) The clergy were divided; some for the union, others against it: at the head of whom was *Gennadius*, a monk. The great duke, who was of his party, declared, that *he would rather see the turban of Mohammed in the church, than the pope's cap*. He was certainly in the right.

(U) To explain this better, it may be observed, that *Constantinople* is in form of an equilateral triangle; each side three miles long. One side is washed by the *Propontis* to the south; another by the gulph of *Keras* (which is the port or harbour) to the north; the third side, towards the land, extending north and south from one sea to the other, is defended by a wall: along which the *Turkish* army was encamped. The *Golden Gate* seems to have been at the south end; and the *Wood Gate* at the north end, of this wall. *Galata* and *Peru* lie to the north of the gulph of *Keras*.

(X) *Kbalkondylas* adds, that they had double the number of horses and beasts of carriage. L. viii. c. 2.

(Y) To the south of *Galata*.

(Z) *Kbalkondylas* says, they towed the ships towards the place where *Zogan* was encamped; from whence they drew them by main force over a little hill, and then launched them in the water on the other side; under cover of some cannon, and a great number of small shot, which kept off the *Greeks* from obstructing their design. And the Christian vessels in port, after losing two of their number in an attack, durst attempt no more to destroy them for fear of the *Turks* artillery; by favour of which they cast anchor under the walls of the city, and made a wooden bridge. Khal. L. viii. c. 3. This bridge is described hereafter.

(A) Our author prefers the exploit of this young *Alexander*, as he calls him, to *Xerxes* building a bridge over the sea.

A. D. 1453.

WITH regard to this surprizing exploit, prince *Cantemir* only observes, that, besides other engines b. fore unheard of, the *Turks* made use of one worthy of admiration ; for by it, from the north side, some vessels were brought over hills and declivities, into the inner haven (A) ; which occasioned the taking of the city, by introducing the sea forces by the gate *Finar* (B), looking to the lower haven ^k. To return to *Dukas*.

*breach made in
the walls
with huge
cannon.*

MEAN time they brought the monstrous cannon, before-mentioned, opposite to *Saint Roman Gate*. The gunner had two balls of stone, one very large, the other smaller ; and shot the latter first, to see if he took right aim. It was usual for cannon, after firing, to fly like glass, unless covered immediately with thick woollen cloth ; and even then it would not stand above the third discharge, occasioned by the cold air entering the pores of the metal : but this engineer preserved his gun from bursting, by pouring oil into it when hot after firing. As he b was going to make a second shot, the ambassador of *John Huniades*, the *Hungarian* general, who was present, laughed ; and told him if he had a mind to beat down the wall soon, he should change his battery, and shoot five or six fathom from the place where he then stood ; that the third shot should be directed from another place, which, with the two former, made a sort of triangle (C) ; and that having so done, he would see the triangle presently fall to the ground (D) ; which accordingly came to pass ^l.

KHALKONDYLAS relates, that the noise of those great cannon was frightful, and the shock so great, that the ground trembled for more than two leagues round ; that although the balls reached the second wall, as being much higher than the first, yet the damage they did gave no discouragement to the *Greeks* ; because those unweildy cannon not being easily managed, could c not be fired above seven or eight times a day, and only once towards morning, as a warning-piece to begin the military operations. Besides the great cannon, there were many others of a lesser size, planted along the counterscarp, with which they battered the parapet of the rampart. The *Greeks* also had artillery, carrying from 60 to 80 pounders ; one of which was planted against the largest of the *Turkish* guns ; but when discharged, they so shook the wall and rampart, that they did more harm than good ; besides, the largest piece burst after a few firings.

*Mines and
countermines.*

ALTHOUGH the damage done by the *Turkish* cannon was at first so small, yet the *Greeks*, through inexperience, and want of sufficient numbers to attend at many places at the same time, were not able to repair the breaches ; while the *Janizaries*, under cover of their gabions d and mantles, gained the ditch ; then raising a breast-wall with loop-holes along the counterscarp, shot so incessantly against the battlement, that none durst appear.

THE *Soltân* ordered mines also to be carried under the ditch and walls, a great way into the city ; building wooden towers, where soldiers were posted to secure the workmen, at the places where they broke ground ; but the *Greeks*, by countermining, rendered those works of no effect. The *Turks* had yet another tower higher than the former ; on the top of which there were a great number of ladders and portable bridges, to throw upon the ramparts.

*Genoese kind-
ness.*

THE *Genoese* of *Galata* shewed on this occasion much affection for the *Romans*. In the day they supplied the *Turks* with provisions, and oil for their cannon ; and at night stole into the city, and fought next day against them. The day following they went to the camp, and those e who were in the camp returned to *Constantinople*. The *Venetians* ventured their lives no less freely for the *Romans*. *John Justiniani* omitted nothing to defend the place ; and the grand duke, followed by 500 men, went round the city every day, to see that a good guard was kept, and to encourage the soldiers.

^k CANT. p. 98.^l DUKAS, c. 38.

(A) Which extends as far as the palace of *Blakbernae*. The vessels were carried over land several *Italian* miles from the village *Besbiktash* (where they were built) to *Galata*, and launched into that part of the haven called *Kasim Pascha*. *Cant.*

(B) Vulgarly *Finer*. Near it the more noble and wealthy *Greeks* have their residence. *Cant.*

(C) It seems from this account, that the wall was battered in three places successively by removing the same piece of cannon : but *Khalcondylas* says the out-wall was battered by three cannon ; one planted opposite to the palace royal, the second at *St. Roman Gate*, where the *Soltân* was posted, and the third between both : that the two first, which carried balls of 100 pound weight, were shot slanting ; but the middle gun, which carried a ball one third larger than the others, shot directly forward, and brought down the space of a curtain, which the other two had loosened.

(D) The king of *Hungary* having been declared emperor this year, took the administration of affairs into his own hands, from *Huniades* ; who therefore not being able any longer to keep the truce made with *Mohammed* for three years, sent to take up the written agreement, which he had given the *Soltân*, and return him his ; leaving him at liberty to deal with the king of *Hungary* as he thought fit. This was the subject of his embassy. It was reported, that *Huniades* being told by some old man, that the Christians would never be happy till *Constantinople* was taken by the infidels, longed to have the prediction accomplished : and *Dukas* was informed, that this was the reason why the engineer had such instructions given him by the ambassador, as no Christian ought to have given. *Khalcond.* Much the same method of shooting down walls is mentioned to have been used at the siege of *Kroja* in *Albania*, in the year 1479.

a By the continual battering of the cannon, the tower near *St. Roman Gate*, and the walls on *A. D. 1453.* both sides, were demolished in such a manner, that the besiegers and the besieged could see each other (E).

THE emperor despairing to defend the city, after so large a breach had been made in the *Place Royal*, strongest part of the wall, sent to propose paying whatever tribute the *Soltân* should think fit, if he would but retire. *Mohammed* answered, "That there was no possibility of retiring now; that he must either take the city, or the city him; but at the same time he offered, if the emperor would surrender it, to give him the *Morea*, and his brother other provinces; threatening, in case he took it by assault, to put him and all the great men to death, make slaves of the inhabitants, and give their effects to his soldiers." *Constantine* thought it better to wait the event, than submit to such conditions.

b JUSTINIANI, at this juncture, resolved to burn the *Turkish* fleet, and prepared a galley for *Fire-ship*, that purpose, on which he put on board the most valiant *Italians*, with the necessary engines and artificial fire: but the *Genoese* of *Galata* having discovered his design, gave notice to the *Turks*; who being upon their guard, when the *Latins* approached at midnight, let fly their cannon, which sunk the galley, with 150 brave soldiers on board; and thus destroyed all their hopes.

MOHAMMED caused a wooden bridge to be made from the shore of *Galata* to *Cinegion* (F), *Wooden bridge* consisting of 1000 casks, tied two and two together, and bound on each side with ropes, which afforded breadth enough for five men to march abreast. There were at each end of the casks pieces of wood, on which the floor was nailed.

c WHEN all things were made ready for storming the city (G), *Mohammed* sent to offer the emperor and the great men liberty to go out with their effects; promising that the people should suffer no injury: but let him know at the same time, that if he rejected those conditions, he and his officers must expect to be put to the sword, and the inhabitants made captives. The emperor answered, by the advice of his council, "That he would gladly live in peace with him: that *Mohammed's* ancestors honoured his ancestors as their fathers, and *Constantinople* as their country; where they found an asylum in all their disgraces; and that none of them, who had dared to attack it, enjoyed a long life. He advises the *Soltân* therefore, to be content with what he had already unjustly taken from his family, and the imposition of as heavy a tribute as he should think fit: but with regard to surrendering the city, tells him, that it neither depended on him nor the inhabitants; the common resolution being to lay down their lives in its defence."

d THE *Soltân*, despairing of taking the place by composition, caused the day for the attack to be published through his camp (H); declaring that he would content himself with the walls and the houses, and give up to the soldiers the people and their effects (I); which news was received with joyful shouts. In the evening he ordered fires to be made throughout the camp. This was a spectacle quite new; and it struck one with surprize to see an infinite number of lights spread over the land and over the sea, over the ships and over the houses, over *Constantinople* and over *Galata*; which shone with greater blaze than the sun. The surface of the water glittered as if it had been covered with looking-glasses. The *Romans* seeing all the camp on fire, ran to the walls, from whence they heard those exulting shouts, which struck them almost dead with fear, as being the forerunners of a general assault.

e THE emperor *John* laboured extremely hard all the night, to fill up the breaches with fascines, and get a ditch dug within. *Mohammed* began the attack on Sunday the 27th of May (K), which was the feast of *All Saints*. He gave the *Romans* no rest all the night. At nine o'clock, dividing his army in two parts, he drew it up from the palace of the *Golden Gate*. He ranged his 80 barks from the *Wood Gate* to the square, and disposed the other vessels which were at *Diplacionion*, in a circle from the *Fair Gate* (beyond the fortress of *St. Demetrius*) and the little gate near *Our Lady's Monastery*, named *Hodegetria*, beyond the port as far as *Vlaunka*. These ships contained scaling-ladders and other engines.

III KHALKOND. l. viii. c. 2, & seq.

(E) During 40 days the besieged had not one hour's rest, being day and night employed in repairing the breaches, countermining, or fighting. Mean time four of the best towers were demolished, and the walls almost every-where much shattered and torn to pieces. *Kbalkond* l. viii. c. 3.

(F) They made this bridge in that part of the land called the *Karamânians*, which crossed from one end to the other, and made a communication with the walls and *Zogan's* forces. *Lib*. viii. c. 3.

(G) A little before the assault, two ships making to the harbour, the *Turkish* fleet was ordered to surround

them; but they broke through them, and entered the port, while the *Soltân* called to his men, and rode into the sea to animate them. *Pentogli*, the admiral, was wounded in the eye, and severely reproached for his conduct by *Mohammed*. *Kbalkond*. l. viii. c. 4.

(H) Which, according to custom, was to be three days after the illuminations. *Kbalk*. l. viii. c. 4.

(I) He likewise promised a rich lordship to him who should first mount the breach. The priests also went through the camp, encouraging the soldiers. *Kbalkond*. *ibid*.

(K) On Tuesday the 27th of May, 1453.

AT

A. D. 1453.

Order of it

Besieged, how posted.

Gallant defence.

The Turks enter by a sally port.

Emperor slain.

Strange cruelty.

AT sun-set the trumpet sounded, and the *Soltân* fought on horseback at the breach, surrounded by 10,000 slaves, supported by more than 100,000 cavalry on each side and behind him. In the low ground from the port to the *Golden Gate* there were upwards of 10,000 infantry; and above 50,000 from the place where the *Soltân* was to the high ground where the palace stood: there were besides an infinite number of soldiers in the vessels, and on the wooden bridge. The besieged were distributed round the walls in this manner; the emperor and *Justiniani* were posted at the breach, with 3,000 *Latins* (L); the great duke was in the palace, with 500 men. There were likewise upwards of 500 men, armed with spears and darts, to defend the walls and the fortifications towards the sea, from the *Golden* to the *Fair Gate*. They watched all the night. The *Turks* brought an infinite number of ladders to fix to the walls; while the *Soltân*, with a rod of iron in his hand, drove them forward, sometimes using caresses, sometimes threats.

THE besieged behaved valiantly. The emperor and *Justiniani* fought at the head of their men; but in the evening that incomparable captain, that undaunted hero, received a ball in the back of his hand, which pierced his gauntlet, though of as good a temper as the arms of *Achilles*. Not able to bear the pain, he desired the emperor to maintain his ground, while he retired on board a ship, to have his wound dressed (M). Mean time the *Turks*, covered with their bucklers, approached the walls, and used all their efforts to apply the ladders; but were hindered by the prodigious quantity of stones which the besieged threw down upon them.

WHILE the emperor thus guarded the breach, the *Turks* perceiving a door of the palace open, by which the *Romans* made their sallies with security, it being under-ground, 50 of *Mohammed's* slaves rushed in; and mounting the walls, cut those who defended them in pieces: after which the enemy found no difficulty to get up. As soon as those who fought under the emperor, and knew nothing of this misfortune, as being at a great distance from that place, perceived themselves to be shot at from the top of the walls, and that it was done by the enemy, they fled in confusion into the city (N): but the gate of *Kartias* being very narrow, many were crushed to death. The *Turks* seeing the *Romans* flee, pursued them with a great shout, and slew all who came in their way (O). It was then that the emperor, in despair, standing in the breach, with his sword and buckler in his hand, uttered these rueful words; *Is there no Christian left alive, to strike of my head?* He had scarce done speaking, when he received a stroke in the face from a *Turk*, and then another from a second, which killed him, although neither of them knew that he was the emperor.

THE *Turks* entered the city an hour after midnight, with the loss of no more than three men: although between the palace and the gate of *Kartias*, they slew 2000 *Romans*, some flying, some defending themselves. They did this, imagining there were 50,000 men in arms: for had they known there were no more than 8000, they would not have slain one; not for pity, but out of covetousness, for they would have sold them like sheep, as they afterwards told the author (P).

SOME *Romans*, at day-break, ran to their houses, to take care of their wives and children: but although they were covered with blood, those whom they met in the streets they passed through would not believe that the *Turks* had broken in. At length the news being confirmed by other wounded people, who arrived thick one after another, the women and religious fled in crowds to the great church, called *Sancta Sophia*; in the belief that a ridiculous prediction (Q), which

(L) The brave *Justiniani* was posted at the breach to receive the enemy with 300 *Italians*; and behind him was the emperor, with his troops drawn up to support the other. *Kbalkond.* l. viii. c. 6.

(M) *Justiniani* being wounded in the hand, retired to get it dressed; and the *Genoës* imagining that he would abandon them, quitted their post likewise. The emperor seeing this, ran and asked *Justiniani*, *Whither he was going?* His answer was only, *There, where God hath opened a passage to the Turks.* *Let us go on then, my brave men* (cried the emperor to those about him), *and fulfil our duty against these accursed and detestable dogs.* But the *Turks* rushing forward in troops, *Kantakuzenus* was forthwith slain, and the emperor wounded in the shoulder. *Kbalk.* l. viii. c. 6.

(N) To explain this, it must be understood, that the defence hitherto was made at the breach in the outer wall; and their retreat was through the inner wall into the city.

(O) The *Turks*, who entered in troops, wounded the emperor in the shoulder, and drove him, with his people, to the second inclosure; where the rest of the *Greeks* defended themselves from the walls with darts,

arrows, and great stones, against the enemy, who approached it. But when they saw that the *Genoës*, who were their chief hopes, had fled, and that the emperor was forced to give way, having an infinite number of *Turks* at his back, they lost all heart, and fled in such disorder towards the *Roman Gate*, that they stopped it up. By their thus deserting the second wall (in which there were several breaches) the *Janizaries* entered the city. At this news, those at the other end of the wall fled towards the port, in such crowds, to get on board the *Venetian* and *Genoëse* ships, that most of them were drowned; and the vessels so overloaded with them, that some of them sunk. *Kbalk.* l. viii. c. 6.

(P) Who, on this occasion, observes, that the *Turks* would set at liberty the murderers of their fathers for money.

(Q) *Kbalkondylas* relates this affair after a different manner; he says, that they who kept the gates, trusting to this old ridiculous prophecy, shut them; so that the people, not being able to get out of the city, fled to *Sanctia Sophia*, where presently the *Turks* came, and slew a vast number of them in the very middle of the church. Of the rest who fled here and there, some stood their ground,

a which passed among them, concerning the destruction of the *Turks*, would now be accomplished. A. D. 1453.

THE prediction was, that the *Turks* should one day take *Constantinople*, and slay the people as far as the pillar of *Constantine* : but that then an angel, descending from heaven with a sword, should give that weapon, with the empire, to a poor man, whom he should find on the pillar ; saying to him, *Take this sword, and revenge the people of the Lord* : that the *Turks* would, at the same instant, take to their heels ; and the *Romans* pursue them, slaying them continually ; nor ever cease till they had driven them out of the west, and also the east, as far as *Menadenere*, a place on the borders of *Persia*. This monstrous absurdity was believed on no better ground than that they had formerly heard certain deceivers relate as much. False prediction on the ruin of many.

b THE *Greeks* who had gotten into the great church were flattering themselves with an assurance of being out of all danger ; when the *Turks* arriving thither, broke open the doors ; and finding the place filled from top to bottom with people, carried them away tied together. A great multitude, who were so silly as to go in procession to the tomb of *St. Theodosius* the martyr, the day of his festival, as if every thing was quiet, fell into the hands of the *Turks*, and were led captive like the rest. The fleet which was in the port hindered the *Turks* to apply ladders, and mount the wall on that side ; till such time as they who had entered the city in the morning were arrived thither, and had driven the *Romans* off the wall. This the enemy in the ships perceiving, they soon mounted (R) ; and the gates being now all broken open, the *Turks* rushed in impetuously on all sides. The city taken.

c WHEN the great duke saw them approach the royal gate which he guarded, he retired towards his palace, with a small number of men : but in the way to the tower, where his wife and children were, he was seized, and a guard put upon him and them ⁿ.

JUSTINIANI, after getting his wound dressed, was returning to the port (S), when news being brought him of the emperor's death, and the loss of the city, he put to sea again. The shores were crowded with people of all sorts, who beat their breasts, and called to the sailors to take them in ; but if they had been ever so willing, it was not in their power ; nor could they possibly have escaped themselves, if the enemy's fleet had not been busy in plundering. Galata surrenders.

d The *Genoese* at *Galata* ran with their wives and children to their ships, leaving all their effects behind them : but the *Wazîr Zogan* running to the shore, and promising them security for their persons and goods, the greater part returned with their magistrate, and presented the *Soltân* with the keys of their city. Only five great vessels set sail, the rest were abandoned by the sailors. The *Venetian* (T) gallies and merchant ships retired in the same manner ^o.

ALL that we have hitherto related happened between the 1st and 8th hours of the day ; at which time the *Soltân* entered the city with his *Wazîrs* and great officers, surrounded by a great body of *Janizaries*. The Soltân enters.

e When he came to the great church, he was astonished to see the condition it was in. Perceiving a *Turk* pulling up the marble pavement, out of zeal for religion, as he alleged, *Mohammed* drew his sword, and wounded him ; saying, *Be content with the plunder, the buildings belong to me*. Then ordering one of the priests to ascend the pulpit, he heard prayers. On leaving the church, he sent for the grand duke ; and bid him see the consequence of not delivering up the city. The grand duke replied, *That it neither was in his nor the emperor's power to surrender it : much less ought they to have done it, when the Soltân's own officers advised them to hold out ; for that they said they could not take the city*. This answer increased the jealousy which *Mohammed* had conceived against *Hali Baskâ* (U). The *Soltân* asked him next, if the emperor was escaped on board the fleet. The grand duke said, *He knew not what was become of him, being posted at a different gate*. At the same time two

ⁿ DUKAS, c. 39.

^o Idem, ibid. KHALK. l. viii. c. 7.

ground, choosing rather to die fighting, than to be made slaves : among these were *Theophilus Paleologus*, with his father and sons. *Khalk.* l. viii. c. 6.

(R) The *Turkish* historians represent the matter quite contrary : they say, that the sea forces having taken great part of the city, compelled the rest to surrender ; and that otherwise the efforts of the army by land must have been vain, despair having rendered the *Greeks* valiant. *Cant.* p. 98.

(S) Some Christian authors represent him in this affair as leaving his post through cowardice, and say, that he died soon afterwards of grief. Nor is what *Khalkondylas* speaks of his behaviour in a former note much in his favour. Possibly, *Dukas*, being employed by the prince of *Lesbos*, a *Genoese*, might have added this circumstance, to save his credit ; or possibly the others may have injured him, from an invidious report.

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

(T) Those in the *Turkish* fleet quitting their ships, to ransack the town after the rest had plundered it, the *Venetians* gallies being destitute of men (whom the *Greeks* had taken out to defend their walls) ran a-drift along the *Hellepont* : so that three days after they ran ashore at the island *Egina*, and first brought the news of the loss of *Constantinople* ; which spread such a general terror both by sea and land, that the *Greeks* left their dwellings, and fled here and there. The lords of *Peloponnesus*, frightened like the rest, retired to their ships, to save themselves ; which gave the *Albanians*, who inhabited the country, opportunity to throw off their obedience, *Khalk.* l. viii. c. 6.

(U) He soon after put him to death, and seized his treasure. *Khalkondylas* names him *Kathites*, son of *Priam*. *Khalk.* l. viii. c. 8.

G g g

young

A. D. 1453

Emperor's
head exposed.Or Khân
slain.Grand duke
carried.City surren-
dered.yet entered by
force.Emperor's
bravery.

young soldiers stepping forward, one said he had killed the emperor; the other that he had given him the first wound (X). Being sent to find his body, and bring the head, they did so; and it was acknowledged by the grand duke. After this it was nailed to the top of the pillar of the *Augusteon*, where it remained till the evening; then, the skin being flayed off, it was stuffed with straw, and carried as a trophy to the princes of the *Arabs*, *Persians*, and *Turks* of different nations.

OTHERS say that the duke hid himself with *Or Khân*, and other persons of condition, in a tower, which they at length yielded. Being sent on board a ship, a *Roman*, to obtain his liberty, discovered them both to the pilot; who immediately cut off the head of *Or Khân*, cloathed in a monk's habit, and carried it, with the grand duke (Y) to *Mohammed*, who comforted him. The *Soltân* having sent to seek for his wife and children in the camp, and in the fleet, gave to each 1000 aspers; and in sending them home to their own house, told the duke that he would give him the government of the city, and confer on him greater honours than he possessed under the emperor. Having gotten from him the names of the principal officers and other persons of the court, he sent to search for them, and paid 1000 aspers for each (Z).

THIS is the account which the *Greek* historians have left us concerning the taking of *Constantinople*; let us now see what the *Turks* themselves say.

THE Christians being at length reduced to a few defenders, and tired with continual fatigues; seeing also their walls full of breaches, their batteries destroyed, in a word, the city blocked up both by sea and land, without any hopes of relief, the emperor sends ambassadors to surrender it to *Mohammed*, on his own terms. The *Soltân* receiving them civilly, promises to grant the inhabitants their lives and effects, with liberty to remove whither they pleased; and then dismisses them: but having something farther to say, orders them to be called back. The centinels from the ramparts suspecting, from the haste which the messengers made after the ambassadors, that the *Turks* had a design to enter with them, and seize the city, fired on them, to hinder their nearer approach. The *Othmâns* surprised, and perceiving some of their companions grievously wounded, sounded a retreat, and reported what had happened to the *Soltân*; who, imagining that the *Greeks* had repented of their agreement, and fired on his people out of revenge, orders his army to attack and destroy that perfidious enemy. On the other hand, the *Greek* emperor being told by the centinels, that the *Turks* had attempted to take the city by fraud, and were now approaching the walls, commands his subjects to exert their utmost in its defence. Upon this a fierce and bloody conflict ensues: but whilst the *Greeks* valiantly fight on the land side, those who defended the walls towards the haven, being beaten from their posts by the enemy's darts, give the *Turkish* forces an opportunity to enter the town on that side.

IN this assault the emperor *Constantine* himself fell, whilst bravely acting the part sometimes of a general, sometimes of a soldier, and in the greatest dangers, animating his men with his presence. His headless body was found lying on that of an ensign-bearer; from whence the place takes its present name of *Sanjak dar Yokushi* (A); that is, ascents, or hills, with ensigns on them.

WHEN these things were known to those who bravely repelled the attacks of the *Turkish* land-forces, they forthwith erected a white flag on the walls; and cried aloud from the ramparts, "Why do you, without the fear of God, for no fault of ours, break your promise?" "The agreement for the surrender of the city is now made, and ordered by both emperors to be ratified. Desist therefore from fighting, nor assault those who have engaged to be your future subjects." *Mohammed* hearing these words, and ignorant perhaps of what happened in the haven, commands the battle to cease, promising to stand to the former conditions, and so receives that part of the city by surrender.

P DUKAS, c. 40.

(X) It is said before, that neither of them knew he was the emperor: and *Khalkondylas* relates, that not one of the *Janizaries* could say for certain any thing concerning the emperor's death; only it was supposed, that he was slain near one of the gates, having reigned three years and as many months. Lib. viii. c. 6.

(Y) *Khalkondylas* relates that *Notaras* (so he names the grand duke) and *Or Khân*, grandson of *Musulmân*, retired to a tower to consult what to do: that *Or Khân*, putting on a monk's habit, would needs jump off the tower, but was killed by the fall: that *Notaras* made a shew of defending himself, but at length surrendered;

and for that time escaped, with his sons. Lib. viii. c. 6.

(Z) Several *Venetian* men of quality, who arrived at *Constantinople* a little before the siege, fell into the hands of the *Turks*; but the *Soltân* set them all at liberty, excepting the *Baylo* of *Venice*, who was put to death in his presence. *Khalk.* l. iii. c. 6.

(A) 'Tis a high mount, on whose top is erected a temple, not far from the cathedral church of the *Virgin Mary*; the only ancient church which the *Turks* have left the Christians. *Cant.*

NEXT

a NEXT day the *Soltân*, entering by the gate called *Top Kapu*, makes the following declaration to the *Greeks*. “ I promised you in our agreement, that if you chose to continue here, the churches and monasteries should remain untouched, and your religion suffer no damage : but since I have acquired half the city by force of arms (B), and half by surrender, I think it just, and accordingly order, That the religious houses and churches, which stand in the part I have conquered, be converted into *Jâmis*, and the rest left intire to the Christians.” Pursuant to this determination, all the churches from *Ak Seray* (C) to *Sancta Sophia*, were converted into *Jâmis* ; but from *Suli Monastir* (D) to *Ederne Kapu*, all remained to the *Greeks* (E). After this, the land and sea forces being assembled in the market-place, called *Ak Seray*, *Mohammed* marched in a triumphal procession to *Sancta Sophia*. Then having ordered the *Ezan* to be sung (F), he went to the imperial palace ; and as he entered, being addicted to poetry, is reported to have spoken an extempore distich, in the *Persian* language, the sense of which is this ; “ The spider has woven her web in the imperial palace ; the owl has sung her watch song on the towers of *Afrasiab* (G) ;” in allusion to the downfall of the *Grecian* emperors. *Constantinople* was taken on the 20th of *Jemazio’l Ewel* (H), in the year 857, and 51st day of the siege ; the negligence or treachery of the *Wazîr* (I) preventing its being taken sooner². We will now return to *Dukas*.

b THE day after the city was taken, the *Soltân* entered it a second time, and went to see the grand duke, who came out to meet him. As the duchess was sick, he went to her bed-side, and calling her mother, bid her good-morrow, and not afflict herself ; promising to give her more than she had lost. After this he walked about the city, which was quite empty, both men and beasts having been carried off.

c THE 28th of *May* he again went over a great part of the city, and made a feast about the palace. When he had drank pretty hard, he ordered his chief eunuch to demand of the grand duke the youngest of his sons, who was 14 years of age, and extremely handsome. The duke suspecting the *Soltân*’s design, turned pale, and told the eunuch he might take him, but refused to deliver him (K). Hereupon *Mohammed*, in a rage, sent back the eunuch for the young lord, and an executioner with him, to bring the duke and his two other sons, and cut their heads off at the palace gate (L). He likewise commanded all the great men and officers to be

A. D. 1453.
Half the city
yielded on
terms.

Grand duke
and others put
to death.

² CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 100, & seqq.

(B) Almost all the Christian historians, both *Greek* and *Latin*, make the whole acquired by arms ; but all the *Turkish* writers agree that one half was surrendered on terms : nor is it likely that persons so apt to magnify their own affairs, and diminish those of others, would assert a fact which lessens the glory of this conquest, if it was not true. *Cant.*

(C) *Ak Seray*, or *Saray*, that is, *White Palace*, is a street which looks to the *Propontis*, where now are seen the beautiful chambers of the *Janizaries*, called *Tenghi Odalar*, or, *The New Mansions*. No women, even those of the *Janizaries* themselves, are permitted to pass thro’ this street ; for whatever injuries they receive here go unpunished. *Cant.*

(D) Or, *The Watry Monastery*, so called from the springs which flowed from its foundations. It was a church of the *Armenians*, who took up all that quarter of the city, but is now a *Jâmi*. *Cant.*

(E) But were taken away by *Selim I.* with liberty to build churches of wood in their room. *Cant.* note 17.

(F) A hymn, containing the *Mohammedan* profession of faith, sung by the *Muczin*, or chanter, on the highest tower, or minaret, of the *Jâmi*, to call the people to prayers. It is used also after victories, like the *Te Deum* among Christians. *Cant.*

(G) A palace of the king of *Persia*, celebrated in the *Turkish* fables ; and at present the palace of the *Greek* emperors is become the residence of owls and bats. *Cant.*

(H) *Jomado’l Awwal* ; that is, the former *Jomada*, being the 5th month of the *Mohammedan* year.

(I) Who was said to be corrupted by the Christians. He seems to be *Halil Pascha*, whom *Pbranza* names as chief of the council ; and says, he advised *Mohammed* to desist from this war, both before and during the siege, when things succeeded not to his expectation : but that his opinion being rejected, he betrayed the resolutions of the *Othman* council to the *Greek* emperor ; for which treason he was, a few days after the taking of the city,

put to death. Prince *Cantemir*, who mentions this, tells us, that we are not to expect such discoveries from the graver *Turkish* historians, who never clearly express the treachery of their own ministers, but to save the honour of that eminent post, and avoid paying so much regard to the memory of traitors. But this last is a very lame apology ; for, surely, recording their treason must redound to their disgrace, not honour. However that be, this is a confession, that his graver sort of historians are not the most impartial.

(K) *Khalkondylas* relates, that all the *Greeks* who escaped the slaughter were released from slavery, and settled at *Pera*, especially the persons of any quality : for *Notaras* (or the grand duke) himself, with his wife and children, were bought by *Mohammed*, and permitted to retire whither they pleased. But relying on the succours expected from *Italy*, he would needs remain at *Constantinople*, where several others gathered, who could not forbear entering into certain intrigues ; which being present’y discovered, so incensed the *Soltân*, that he put them all to death. Our author adds, that it was thought this misfortune was occasioned by the imprudent expressions *Notaras* used when the *Soltân* sent for his youngest son ; saying, that since he had set them at liberty, he had no right to their persons ; and that the demand was unjust, dishonest, and even outrageous. Others say, that all this was brought about by a lady, the daughter of a foreigner, who hated the *Greeks*, and with whom the *Soltân* was greatly enamoured. *Khalk.* l. viii. c. 7.

(L) Both *Dukas* and *Khalkondylas* say the great duke behaved at his death with great magnanimity. The latter relates, that he desired his sons might be executed first, lest otherwise they should be reserved for an unnatural use ; and that although the young creatures lamented, and intreated him rather to give them up, and all his effects which he had saved in *Italy*, than suffer them to be slain before his eyes, he would not bend. *Khalk.* l. viii. c. 7. We cannot but think that obstinacy criminal which occasioned the death of so many people.

A. D. 1453. executed, whom he had redeemed from the soldiers; choosing out of their wives and children, a for his own use, those who were most handsome, and best shaped.

Plunder wast-
ed.

THE third day after the taking of *Constantinople* the ships set sail for their respective countries, loaden with rich plunder and captives. The camp was no less crouded than the ships. There one might see persons of all degrees and conditions; bishops (L) in their pontifical habits, nuns in their religious dress, tied as slaves. The holy vestments were used as housings for horses and dogs. Some were seen serving up fruit in the sacred vessels, and others drinking out of chalices. They carried away in carts an infinite number of books, which they dispersed over both the west and east. They sold the most valuable authors for a trifle (M), threw away an incredible number of the gospels, after stripping off the ornaments; and burnt all the images to dress their (N) victuals. The same day, according to the *Turkish* historians, the place where *Abu Ayub Ansâri* was buried, being revealed to *Shaykh Ak Shamsi' ddîn*, he carries the *Soltân* into the suburb, called from that general *Ayub* (O); and the ground being dug, a great stone is found, with an inscription on it. Hereupon *Mohammed* orders a turbeh, *Jâmi*, and school, to be erected over the tomb.

Abu Ayub's
tomb.

Galata dis-
mantled.

Constantino-
ple repaired.

THE fifth day after, the *Soltân* entered *Galata*, and ordered an account to be taken of the number of inhabitants. He likewise commanded the houses of those who had fled to *Genoa* to be opened, and an inventory to be taken of the goods in each; giving notice, that if the proprietors returned in three months, they should be restored; if not, that they should be confiscated. At the same time he ordered the walls of *Galata* to be demolished, and those of *Constantinople* to be repaired. He also chose 5000 families out of his dominions, and enjoined them, under pain of death, to settle by the end of *September* in that city; the government of which he gave to one of his slaves, named *Soleymân* (P). He left all the churches desart, except the great one (or *Santa Sophia*), which he converted into a mosk. After this, on the 18th of *June*, he returned in triumph to *Adrianople*, with a prodigious quantity of plunder, and an innumerable multitude of slaves. In the way died the wife of the grand duke. He found, at his arrival, a great number of Christian princes, who came from far and near to felicitate him on his success. He ascended his throne; and while they all stood before him, imposed on each such tribute and homage as he thought fit.

* DUKAS, c. 40 & 42.
viii. c. 7 & 8.

° CANT. ubi sup. p. 104 & 106.

† DUKAS, c. 42. KHALK. l.

(L) Cardinal *Isidore*, bishop of *Russia*, the pope's legate, was taken and carried to *Pera*, where he was sold, but found means to escape on board a ship. *Khalk*.

(M) The *Turks* were so ignorant, that if they met with gold or silver they threw it away, to go in quest of brass or tin; and sold the richest precious stones for a very low price, or exchanged them for things of small value. *Khalk* l. viii. c. 6.

(N) They served them right.

(O) *Abu Ayub* was in the army, sent by *Soleymân Ebn*

Abdo'lmâlek, fourteenth *Ommiyan Khalifah*, to besiege *Constantinople*, in the year 96 of the *Hejrah*, of Christ 715, where he was killed. Prince *Cantemir* says the suburbs is situate at the head of the inner haven, where the river *Kiaghâz Khanab* discharges itself; and that near this place stood formerly the monastery of the *Blakherne*, dedicated to the virgin *Mary*, famous for miracles.

(P) About the same time the adjacent cities, particularly *Seliwri* and *Burgâz*, voluntarily surrendered to the *Soltân*. *Cant*.

S E C T. II.

To the conquest of the Morea.

A. D. 1454.
Servia invaded,
An. 1454.

NEXT spring, resolving to join *Servia* to his dominions, he sent to demand the surrender of that country of *John the Despot*; under pretence that the right of inheritance being in *Stephen*, son of *Lazarus*, it therefore belonged to him. His envoy not returning at the time appointed, he set forward with a formidable force; and, having passed *Philipopolis*, came to *Sophia*. There, leaving his army and *Wazîrs*, he entered *Servia*, at the head of 20,000 foot (Q): but found none to oppose him, the *Despot*, with the chief men of his court, having retired to *Hungary*; promising the people to return with a powerful army. When he came to the fort of *Sendrew*, he did his utmost to take it, as it would have given him an easy passage over the *Danube* into *Hungary*; however, he failed in the attempt. He had no better success against another fort, but took a city lower down, on composition; yet carried the inhabitants into slavery.

* DUKAS, c. 42.

(Q) This war is not mentioned by prince *Cantemir*'s historians.

THIS

a THIS city seems to be the same which *Khalkondylas* calls *Novo Barda*, situated, he says, in A. D. 1455. the *Turkish* borders, near the river *Morana*, which falls into the *Danube*. *Mohammed* besieged ^{Made tribute} and battered it so furiously with mortars (a kind of artillery, said to be invented by him) that the inhabitants, seeing almost all their houses beaten down, surrendered at discretion. Part of them he carried into slavery, and the rest he left in the city, to follow their trades; being skilful in working metals, which the neighbouring mines afforded. *George* the prince (or *Despot*) of the *Triballians*, on the approach of the *Turks*, had fled to *Huniades* for succour; and at the same time bought a peace with the *Soltân*, paying 40,000 dukats annual tribute: but soon after died. As *Eleazer*, his youngest son, was to succeed him, *Stephen* and *George*, whose eyes had been put out, found means to seize the treasure, and then fled to the *Turkish* court, where they were assigned lands to live on *. The *Soltân*, at his return to *Adrianople*, repopled the towns and villages about *Constantinople* with 4000 men and women, who fell to his share; and going to that city, ordered a palace to be built (R) eight stadia in compass; the top of which was covered with lead taken from the monasteries.

THE second year after the conquest of *Constantinople*, the knights of *Rhodes* repaired thither with presents, soliciting a treaty of amity and commerce: but because, in obedience to the pope's order, they would not pay tribute, *Mohammed* declared war against them; and, in spring, fitted out a fleet of 180 sail; among which were twenty-five with three banks of oars, fifty with two banks, and the rest only one bank of oars. They set sail in June under admiral *Hamza*, who had been cup-bearer to *Amurat*, and came to *Lesbos*. The prince sent our author *Dukas* on board, to compliment and make him a rich present. Two days after he sailed for *Khio*; and tho' he treated the inhabitants of that isle with the same civility, yet they did him no honours. Upon this some *Turks* landed, and spoiled the vineyards about the city; but it was too strong for them to attempt: besides, there were more than twenty armed *Genoese* ships in the port. Thence *Hamza* sailed to *Rhodes*: but, having observed at a distance the bigness of the city, and number of ships in the harbour, he judged the island to be twice stronger than that of *Khio*, and so departed for *Ko*. The knights of *Rhodes* had left the town, and retired to another called *Rakheas*, which was fortified; but after twenty days siege it was forced to surrender. Returning to *Khio*, a dispute happened with the islanders, wherein several *Turks* were killed, and one of the ships overset, with all the men on board. The *Soltân* at this news banished *Hamza* to the government of *Attalia*, and declared war against *Khio*.

ACCORDINGLY ten gallies with three banks of oars, and ten with two, set sail under the command of *Genuza*, a handsome young man, whom he made also governor of *Kallipolis*. With this force he took *New Phoea*; and while the author was at court soliciting the affairs of the prince of *Lesbos*, the *Soltân* sent and took *Old Phoea*. He also reduced *Aynum* (S); whose prince then resided at *Samothrace* (T). Mean time the inhabitants of *Khio* made their peace, by paying 30,000 crowns for the galley which was lost, and 10,000 yearly tribute.

THE people of *Lemnos*, being disaffected with their prince, sent to desire *Mohammed* to appoint another. Accordingly he sent *Ismael Eunuch*, the successor of *Genuza*, with two gallies to settle *Hamza* there: which was done, although the prince of *Lesbos* (to whom it belonged) did all he could to bring the rebels to reason. This incensed *Mohammed* against him.

HOWEVER, the *Soltân* in July turned his arms against *Belgrade*; and had such success at first, *Belgrade* be- that he beat down part of the wall, and stopped the passage of the river with sixty vessels (U). Some of his soldiers also got into the place and carried off plunder: but *John Huniades*, happening to arrive the same day (W), charged them roughly; slew many, and drove out the rest. Then, making a furious sally, took the enemy's cannon, slew a great number of them, wounded the *Soltân* in the thigh (X), and burnt his ships (Y); whereupon he broke up the

* KHALK. l. viii. c. 12.

Y DUKAS, c. 42—45.

(R) Called *Eski Saray*, or, *The old palace*, in the heart of *Constantinople*. 'Tis a vast building, surrounded with high walls, about an *Italian* mile square. Here usually reside the mistresses of the deceased *Soltân*, and the *Soltânas* who have had children; likewise the old maids, who have survived their charms, are maintained out of the *Soltân's* clemency. *Cant.*(S) Written also *Oenum* and *Ænus*.(T) An island in the *Archipelago*, now called *Samma-drakhi*.(U) The more western writers say, he had an army of 150,000 men, and 200 ships and gallies, which were sent up the *Danube* from *Widin*. *Knowles ap. Ricaut in Mahomet II.*(W) According to *Khalkondylas*, the king of *Hungary* was incamped on the other side of the *Danube* with a great army; and, having sent for ships from *Buda*, attacked and destroyed the *Turkish* fleet. Thus *Huniades* with succours got into the town. The fine conduct of this general, and great bravery of the *Soltân*, are very well related by that author, lib. viii. c. 13.(X) Others say, under the left pap; and that he was carried as dead into his tent. *Ricaut*, ubi sup.(Y) Others say, he took twenty ships and ran the rest aground, which *Mohammed* ordered to be burnt, to prevent their being taken. *Ricaut*, ubi sup.

A. D. 1457. ^a siege =. *Khalkondylas* says, *Huniades* himself was so grievously wounded, that he died a few days after (Z); but that some reported he died of the plague, which then raged in the Christian camp ^a. To this place must be referred the war which *Mohammed*, according to the *Turkish* historians, had with the king of *Hungary*; whose forces he defeated. They add, that in the battle the king received a wound, of which he was said to have died not long after (A): and that then the *Soltân* laid siege to *Belgrade*; which the approach of winter and loss of men obliged him to raise after a long attempt ^b. *Khalkondylas* says, he was at the same time at war with the *Illyrians*, and the emperor of *Trebizond*; sending his galleys under the command of *Khetir*, governor of *Amasia*, to scour the coast of *Kolkhis* ^c.

The siege raised with loss.

Lesbos attacked.

NEXT year pope *Kalixtus* sent eleven galleys, under the conduct of the patriarch of *Aquileja*, to succour *Rhodes*, *Khio*, *Lesbos*, *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, *Samothrace*, *Tassa*, and other isles, in the neighbourhood of the *Turks*: where, being joined by the *Catalan* ships and corsairs, they made up forty sail; which rendezvoused at *Rhodes*. The *Soltân*, attributing all these movements to the prince of *Lesbos* (B), declared war; and sent *Ismael* with a fleet in *August* against *Mezimne*: but, after attempting to make a breach as well as to undermine and scale the walls, he was forced to return, with great loss of men.

Uzun Hassan's embassy. A. D. 1458.

IN 1458, there arrived ambassadors from the *Komâns*, and from *Uzun Hassan* (C), who commanded in *Armenia*, bordering on the *Kolkhians*. The latter came to demand a small pension (D), which *Mohammed's* grandfather had granted to the grandfather of *Uzun Hassan*, and had been due threescore years. It consisted of 1000 housings for horses, 1000 carpets, and 1000 turbans. The *Soltân's* answer was, that they might return, and assure their master, that next year he would go himself and carry him what he owed. Towards winter he began to build at one of the ends of *Constantinople*, near the *Golden-gate*, a citadel; which the emperor *John Paleologus* was hindered from building by *Bâ-yezîd* ^d.

The Morea invaded.

LET us now return to the affairs of *Greece*; which, though but slightly touched by the *Turkish* historians, are pretty largely set forth by the *Grecian*, especially *Khalkondylas*. After *Mohammed* had built the castle on the *Bosphorus*, he sent *Thurakan* into the *Morea* (E), to make war on the emperor's brothers (*Thomas* and *Demetrius*): but, after taking *Neopolikhne*, he was obliged to retire, and his son *Abmed* was seized by an ambuscade ^e. The taking of *Constantinople* struck such a terror throughout *Greece*, that the lords of the *Morea* prepared to retire to *Italy*, accompanied by all the persons of distinction throughout *Greece*: but *Mohammed* diverted them by a sudden agreement. This resolution to leave the *Morea* brought upon them great calamities: for the *Albanians*, seeing them in a hurry to get away, seized the country; but instead of setting up a governor of their own, as they were advised by one *Peter the lame*, they chose a prince out of the *Greeks*, who still remained among them. This was *Manuel Kantakuzenus*. After which they fell upon the other *Greeks* (subject to the two *Despots*), plundering their goods, and carrying off their cattle: for the *Albanians* in the *Morea* were shepherds, who lived in the fields without any fixed habitations. These people drawing together took, by force, the cities and fortresses from the *Greek* inhabitants, whom they pillaged; and, considering them as no better than slaves, sent to the *Porte*, offering to put the towns and forces of the *Morea* into the *Soltân's* hands, provided he would leave them in possession of the open country.

Albanians seize it.

Submit to their princes.

THIS surrender being secretly encouraged by *Centerion Zakhârias* (brother to the wife of one of the late emperor's brothers), and one *Lukanus*; prince *Thomas* (the *Despot*) had them seized and imprisoned (F) in the castle of *Klunetia*. But, on a promise of *Centerion's* daughter in marriage, with other advantages, the governor was prevailed on to let them escape. They

^a DUKAS, c. 45. KHALK. lib. viii. c. 13.

^a KHALK. ib. c. 14.

^b CANT. p. 107.

^c KHALK. lib. viii. c. 13 & 14.

^d DUKAS, c. 45.

^e KHALK. l. viii. c. 1.

(Z) His death is placed by the western historians on 10th Sept. 1456. *Karaz*, or *Karatza Bosha*, the best foldier *Mohammed* had, was killed in this battle by a cannon ball.

(A) This, according to the *Turkish* historians, fell in the year 860 of the *Hejrab*, and consequently, in 1456 of *Christ*; and Christian writers place it in *August* the same year. So that it is more likely *Huniades* is here to be understood (the *Turks* having mistaken him for the king of *Hungary*, as hath been observed in a former note) than *Ladislaus Posthumus*, son of *Albert*, emperor of *Germany*, as prince *Cantemir* concludes, p. 107; and the rather as he places his death according to the Christian writers in Nov. 1458.

(B) His name was *Dominic*. He succeeded his father *Dorini Gattianazio*, who died in 1456. The author *Dukas*

was an officer of his court, and carried the tribute twice or thrice to *Mohammed*: yet he no-where describes the person of the *Soltân*.

(C) *Dukas* writes *Osun Asan*.

(D) Others say, it was to apprise *Mohammed* of his claim to the empire of *Trebizond*, after the death of *David*, in right of his wife; threatening war in case he opposed him. *Ricaut*.

(E) This author always uses the name of *Peloponnesus*, but we chose the other, as being more commonly used by authors.

(F) The author observes, that *Centerion* was seized; because when *Morâd*, father of *Mohammed*, came to break down the wall of the *Morea*, he fled into *Akkona*, and excited the princes and lords thereabout to revolt to the *Turks*.

a first attacked *Klina*, and then *Patras*, a city of *Akbaia*, where resided *Thomas*, the youngest of the two *Greek* lords (G) (to whom the *Albanians* were subject); but were repulsed at both places. For all this the *Morea* would have been in danger of falling into the hands of the *Albanians*, had not the *Soltân*, at the intreaty of *Asan*, sent an army under *Turakan*; which having defeated their forces, and taken 2000 prisoners, with three or four of their towns, they submitted to their princes, on condition that they should keep the places which they had seized, and not be obliged to restore the plunder they had taken.

TURAKAN at parting recommended unity to the two brothers, as the best means to keep their subjects in obedience: but his back was scarce turned before they fell at variance, and to supplanting each other. This gave occasion to *Lukanus* to excite the *Albanians* and inhabitants of the *Morea* to revolt. They had recourse thereupon to *Asan* (H), as the person of greatest power and authority; for he had the government of *Korinth*, and the greater part of the *Morea*: but he refusing to give them any countenance, they refused to pay the yearly tribute of 12,000 gold *Statara* (I), or any of the usual taxes, unless the lands were equally divided among them. And thus the *Greeks*, by their dissensions and party quarrels, by degrees dwindled to nothing ^f.

In the year 1458, *Mohammed* sent to order the *Despots* of the *Morea* either to pay the three years arrears of 10,000 ducats tribute, or quit the country. In spring following he marched to attack the *Morea*, and reduced *Korinth*, without using force. At the first news of his approach, *Thomas*, one of the *Despots*, retired to *Italy* with his wife and children; and *Demetrius*, the other, submitted of his own accord to the *Soltân*; who carried him away, with many considerable persons of *Lacedemon*, *Akbaia*, and other provinces; where he placed governors. He brought 2000 families from the *Morea*, which he settled at *Constantinople*; and 2000 young men, whom he enrolled among his troops ^g.

To this place must be referred what prince *Cantemir* relates from *Saadi Effendi*, and other *Turkish* historians: that, in 861 (K), *Mohammed* subdued the rest of the *Morea*; and, next spring, routed the *Greeks*, who were attempting to recover what they had lost, and repair *Altimil* (L), whose walls he demolished; and, to prevent their making further disturbances, placed strong garrisons in *Ak Kerneb* and *Beldez*; after which he laid waste the island *Korfes* ^h (or *Korfû*).

d *KHALKONDYLAS* is more particular with regard to the affairs of the *Morea* at this time. According to that author, *Mohammed* having sent his officers into the *Morea*, to receive the tribute due to him, they found the *Greeks* in such feuds among themselves, that they forbore pressing either them or the *Albanians* on that head: while the *Soltân*, in consideration of the discord that reigned between the *Despots*, remitted one third of the tribute, recommending to them only not to violate the peace which they had sworn to keep. But, finding that they paid no regard to his instances, he marched with his army to the *Morea*, and leaving part of his troops to besiege *Korinth*, penetrated into the country, where he took *Tharsa*, *Arriba*, *Phliasia*, *Pazenika*, and other cities. One of the princes had retired to *Mantineia*, the other to *Epidaurus*, cities of *Lakonia*; which last the *Soltân* longed to be master of: but, finding it too strong to attack, he returned to the siege of *Korinth*; whereinto, in his absence, *Asan* had made a shift to get (M) with a good number of soldiers, and some provisions. Although the castle was accounted impregnable, being situated on a high rock, and inclosed with three very strong walls; yet provisions beginning to fail after the first wall had been battered down with cannon (N), the inhabitants obliged *Asan* to surrender by capitulation. This was followed by a peace; whereby the *Despot* gave up all the country which *Mohammed* had passed through with his army, and agreed to pay 2000 ducats tribute, and likewise yielded the *Ægean Sea*, the isle of *Kalaura*, the city of *Patras*, and the country adjoining to *Akbaia* ⁱ.

THE war being thus finished, *Mohammed* disbanded his forces, and went to see *Athens*; where he admired the *Pyræum*, the conveniency of its ports, and all the superb antient buildings.

^f *KHALK.* lib. viii. c. 9, & seqq.

^g *DUKAS*, c. 45.

^h *CANT.* Othm. Hist. p. 101.

ⁱ *KHALK.* lib. ix. c. 1 & 2.

(G) *Demetrius* and *Thomas Paleologus*, brothers to the late emperor *John*.

(H) By other writers called *Arfanos*, or *Arfan*, a *Greek* lord.

(I) Amounting to about 24,000 ducats.


(K) The year 861 of the *Hejrah* answers to 1456 of *Christ*; but as it begins the 28th of *November*, most of it coincides with the year 1457. However, still these transactions will be put a year earlier by the *Turkish* than the *Christian* historians; and indeed there is often a difference of two, sometimes of three or more between

them. They differ no less in ranging facts; some putting that first which others place last.

(L) By *Altimil* seems to be meant the wall of the isthmus of *Korinth*.

(M) He was at *Nauplia*, a city and port then belonging to the *Venetians*, from whence he passed by sea to the port of *Kenkbres*, which was the port of *Korinth*.

(N) These were of a vast size, some carrying a ball of 875 pound weight. The artillery were generally cast upon the spot, the metal being conveyed to the camp for that purpose.

A. D. 1459.  ings. That city had been taken some time before by *Omar*, son of *Turakan*, governor of *Thessaly*, on the following occasion. On the death of *Nerio Acciaoli*, its prince, his duchess, who had a young son by him, became mistress of the state, by gaining friends at the *Turkish* court. Soon after, falling in love with a young *Venetian* gentleman, son of *Pietro Palmerio*, *Podestat* of *Nauplium*, who came there to trade, she proposed to put him in possession of all, provided he would turn off his wife, and marry her. *Palmerio*, fired with love as well as ambition, went back to *Italy*; and, having poisoned his wife, returned to *Athens*, and married the amorous duchess.

Delivered to Mohammed. Thus he became a great lord; but was much hated by the people. He took on him the guardianship of her son, whom soon after he carried to the *Soltân*, because *Franko*, son of *Antonio Acciaoli*, *Nerio's* nephew, had retired to the *Turkish* court, in hopes one day of obtaining the principality. Accordingly, as soon as *Mohammed* heard of the ill conduct of the widow, he gave the city to *Franko*; who sent the duchess prisoner to the city of *Megara*: where, soon after, she was made away with by his order. Upon this her husband went and complained to *Mohammed*, who, moved by his affliction, sent *Omar* to take *Athens*. That general found no difficulty to make himself master of the city: but the fortress holding out a long time, he at length prevailed on *Franko* to surrender it, in lieu of the country of *Beotia* and city of *Thebes* ^k.

Affairs of the Morea. MEAN time the *Despot Thomas*, uneasy under the *Turkish* yoke, began hostilities against his brother the *Despot* of *Sparta*, who had given his daughter in marriage to *Mohammed*, and dispatched troops to besiege *Patras*. Hereupon the *Soltân* sent forces against them under *Khamus* (O), surnamed the *Spar-Hawk*; who seized *Ahmed*, governor of the *Morea*, and *Omar*, his predecessor, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage: but as soon as they heard of the general's approach, they retired to *Megalopolis*, to their prince, who then assembled a body of *Greeks* and *Albanians*, to oppose the *Turks*. However, they were easily defeated: after which the general, leaving part of his army under *Janus* and prince *Demetrius*, to continue the siege, ordered the rest into the garrisons. *Thomas*, being informed of this, returned, and besieged the *Janizaries* which remained to guard the fortresses.

Genoefes declare war. AFTER this the *Genoefes* having demanded a restitution of *Pera*, as wrongfully detained from them, and *Mohammed* refusing to yield it, as they had actually made a voluntary surrender of it, as hath been before related, they declared war against him. Upon this the *Soltân*, passing over to *Asia*, took from them *Amastris*, on the *Euxine Sea*, by composition, and transported two thirds of the inhabitants to *Constantinople*.

Amastris taken. THE *Chirkassians*, under *Artabales*, had but newly retired from the siege of *Trebizond*, capital of the empire of *Kolkhis*, when *Khiter Beg*, governor of *Amasia*, came, and, surprising the suburbs, made two thousand prisoners. As that poor city was almost depopulated by the pestilence, and must have been taken, had the enemy persisted; the emperor *John* (P), offered to become tributary, and pay 2000 ducats yearly, provided the captives were restored: which *Mohammed* agreed to ¹.

State of the isles, BEFORE the taking of *Constantinople*, *Mohammed* bestowed *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, *Thassus*, and *Samothrace* (Q), islands in the *Ægean Sea*, on one of his officers. But *Dorice*, after the death of his father *Palemedes*, seized the lordship of *Lesbos* (R) and *Lemnos*, with that of *Oenus*; which were all quickly recovered. Yet the four isles submitted to the fleet, which arrived presently after from *Italy*, commanded by the pope's legate. But as soon as that fleet had set sail for *Rhodes*, *Ismael*, general of the *Turkish* galleys, over-ran *Imbros* and *Lemnos*; and seizing all the *Italians*, sent them to *Mohammed*, who put them to death at *Philippopoli*, where he then resided, the plague having driven him from *Constantinople*. Not long after, *Zogon*, having supplanted *Ismael*, and obtained the government of *Gallipoli*, took *Thassus* and *Samothrace*; sacked them intirely, and sent the inhabitants to people *Constantinople*.

and of the Morea. ASAN, having procured an army from the *Soltân* in favour of prince *Demetrius*, entered the *Peloponnesus*, and defeated prince *Thomas*, near *Leontarium* (S); where he afterwards besieged him for a few days: but, through the opposition of his adversaries, he was obliged to withdraw; for *Omar*, governor of *Thessaly*, and he were always at variance. For this reason, soon after, *Mohammed* gave his government, with that of the *Morea*, to *Zogan*; who, for his service in taking *Morezin*, the most famous corsair in the *Levant* seas, had in a short time risen to great credit. *Zogan* immediately entered *Akbaia* with his army, and sat down before the fortress, which forthwith surrendered; the *Greeks* who were there assembled dispersing themselves.

^k KHALK. lib. ix. c. 3.

¹ Ibid. c. 4 & 5.

(O) *Dukas* calls him *Hamza*.

(P) Called also *Kalojohannes*.

(Q) Now *Stalimene*, *Lembro*, *Thraß*, and *Sarmadakkli*.

(R) Now *Miteîn*.

(S) The same with *Megalopolis*.

a On the other hand, the *Milanefes*, whom *Thomas* had sent for, on their arrival, began to batter the city : but, having no more than one piece of cannon, were obliged to raise the siege, and retire to *Naupactus* ^m. A. D. 1459.

MEAN time prince *Thomas* with his forces reduced the country of *Lakonia*, and took the city of *Kalamata*, in the territory of *Messene*. He then went to besiege *Mantineia* : but, finding it was to no purpose, sent to sound whether *Mohammed* would give ear to an agreement with him. The *Soltân*, having had advice that *Uzûn Hassan* was in motion in *Asia*, consented to a peace, on condition that *Thomas* should restore all the places which he had taken from him, and pay 12,000 ducats tribute. The conditions were accepted of by the prince : but, not being able to raise the money, things were in much distraction among his subjects. *Mohammed* was so offended, that he put off his expedition against *Uzûn Hassan*, in order to fall upon the *Morea*. Prince Thomas distressed.

b BEING arrived at *Korinth*, *Asan* waited on him, on behalf of *Demetrius*, expecting to be vested with the command of his army : but when they were at *Tegea*, he imprisoned him, and all his adherents ; then marched to *Sparta*. *Demetrius*, amazed at this unexpected proceeding, would have retired to the castle, which is above the town : but when he heard that his brother-in-law *Asan* was a prisoner, he found he had nothing for it, but to go and present himself before the *Soltân*, who treated him with great kindness ; assuring him, that all past transactions should be forgotten, and that another country should be given to him instead of *Sparta*. However, he was detained in the camp, and guards placed over him. Prince Demetrius detained.

c AFTER this *Mohammed* went and seized a very fine and rich Greek city, which lies beyond *Sparta*, at the foot of the mountain *Taugete*, three miles from *Paleopoli* and the river *Eurotas*. Then he marched to *Kastria*, a strong city about eight miles distant, with a castle on a rugged mountain, 500 paces high. This place his *Janizaries* having taken, after a stout resistance, he ordered the garrison, being 300 men, to be put to the sword, and the governor to be cut in two lengthways. Next he took *Leontarium*, with the castle of *Kadikea*, where neither man or beast was spared. Out of 6000 inhabitants only 300 were taken prisoners, and they were put to the sword in cold blood. The rest of the cities of the *Morea*, terrified with this slaughter, surrendered by their deputies. Even *Salvarium*, in *Arkadia*, did the same, a very strong place, with a fine port over-against *Pylos* ; whose inhabitants, to the number of 10,000, were sent to people the suburbs of *Constantinople* ⁿ. Cities taken by the Soltân.

d MOHAMMED, after carrying prince *Demetrius* about with him for some time, guarded and bound, released him ; and, by his persuasion, sent *Josbua* to receive the city of *Epidaurus*, and bring away his wife and daughter, whom the *Soltân* seemed desirous to espouse. The citizens delivered the ladies ; but would not part with the city. After this *Mohammed* resolved to fall upon the places belonging to the *Venetians*.

MEAN time *Zogan*, governor of the *Morea*, who was sent to conquer the countries of *Akbaia* and *Elis*, took the city of *Kalaurita*, by surrender, from *Doxas*, one of the chief among the *Albanians*, who were afterwards all put to death. Then he marched to *Grebenum*, a very strong place : but, not being able to take it, he proceeded to *Sancta Maura*, another city of the *Albanians* ; whither the most wealthy people of the country had retired for safety. Those in the fortrefs having surrendered by composition, *Zogan* took possession ; but, contrary to his promise, let loose his soldiers, who slew many of the inhabitants, and made prisoners of all the rest. The other *Albanian* cities, in despair of finding, after this, any mercy from the *Turks*, would hear no more of surrendering on the faith of their generals. Conquests by Zogan.

f WHILE these things were doing on one side, *Mohammed* marched from *Kardikea*, to view *Koron* ; and then proceeded to *Pylos*, where prince *Thomas* was, with a ship waiting to carry him off, when he should see occasion : but the fleet of the *Venetians* to whom it belonged, putting in there, he was ordered to retire, to avoid giving offence to the *Soltân*. Accordingly, as soon as he knew that the *Othmân* army was encamped near the town, he withdrew ; and the *Venetian* ambassadors waited on *Mohammed* to renew their treaties. After his troops had scoured the country, and made a great number of *Albanians* captives, he sent prince *Demetrius* to reduce *Beotia*, and marched himself into *Akbaia* ; where he seized all the strong towns and castles, which the lords of the country yielded to him. Here, being informed of *Zogan*'s cruelty at *Sancta Maura*, and the consequence of it, he ordered all the people to be set at liberty ; turning *Zogan* out of his post, which he gave to *Khamus* ^o. Prince Thomas retires.

THIS done, he took *Grebenum* ; and, marching towards *Patras*, subdued the city of *Kastri- A. D. 1458.*
menum. Then besieged *Salmenika*, situate on the top of a high mountain, with a castle on a steep rock, which he battered for seven or eight days to no purpose ; but the *Janizaries* Other cities taken by Mohammed.

^m KHALK. c. 6.ⁿ Ibid. lib. ix. c. 7.^o Idem, ibid. c. 8.

A. D. 1459. having found means to turn off the river from the inhabitants, they were obliged to surrender, and were all made slaves. The castle, where one of the *Paleologi* commanded, would have come to a composition; and *Mohammed* had, by way of preliminary, withdrawn with his army a league distant: but *Khamus*, whom he left before the place, having seized some of the inhabitants, the rest refused to capitulate. Hereupon the *Soltân* turned him out of his command, and restored *Zogan*.

He marched next into the country of *Phæanum*, where he put to the sword a great number of *Albanians*, who, on his parole, brought provisions to the camp. He used the same kind of deceit in the country of *Pbliunte*: for, observing that the *Albanians* were generally the cause of the revolt of the *Greeks*, he resolved to weaken their power, as the most effectual way to prevent rebellions for the future. After this, *Mohammed* returned to *Athens*; where being misinformed by the *Janizaries*, who kept the castle, that the people had conspired to deliver up the city to *Franco Acciaoli*, lord of *Beotia*, and lately duke of *Athens*, he had ten of the most considerable citizens arrested, and sent them to dwell at *Constantinople*. As to *Acciaoli*, he sent him to *Zogan*, who put him to death. Then setting forward, to return by *Pherres* to *Adrianople*, he ordered *Demetrius* to go before; and gave him the city of *Ænus*, with the revenue of the salt-pits belonging to it: besides 12,000 crowns out of the treasury^p.

Acciaoli put to death.

Salmenika surrendered.

MEAN time, *Zogan*, after ravaging the country, besieged *Salmenika*, and offered the inhabitants very advantageous conditions; which they rejected: but soon after, the chief of the *Greeks*, who, for a year together, had, with invincible courage (Q), sustained the war, and the continual assaults of the *Turks*, gave up the place; having liberty to carry off his effects.

Prince Thomas at Rome.

PRINCE *Thomas*, having retired from *Pylos*, went to the island of *Korfu*; where he left his family, and set sail for *Italy*. At the same time, he sent an ambassador to know if *Mohammed* would give him a great extent of country along the sea-coast, in exchange for the city of *Epidamnium*. The *Soltân*, by way of answer, put the envoy in irons: but soon after sent him back. *Thomas*, being arrived at *Rome*, was lodged in the pope's palace, and had a pension of about 3000 livres for his other expences^q. Thus the whole *Morea* fell under the power of the *Turks*, except such maritime places as were in the hands of the *Venetians*.

^p KHALKOND. lib. ix. c. 9.

^q Idem, ibid. c. 10.

(Q) Of this virtuous and magnanimous prince (whom we conceive to be *Paleologus* before-mentioned), *Mahmud Bâshâ*, the chief man at the *Turkish* court, said, that he had seen many deer, and other fallow beasts, in the

Morea, but not one who might be called a man, except him. *Khalk*. Some will have this to be prince *Thomas* himself.

S E C T. III.

To the conquest of Bosnia.

Semendria surrendered.

Hejrah, 863.
A. D. 1458.

WHILE these things were doing in the *Morea*, the *Soltân* set forward to recover *Semendria* (R), or *Semendria*, which had been given by the *Triballians*, or *Servians*, to the king of *Hungary*; but, on his approach, the inhabitants went and delivered up the keys to him^r. The *Turkish* historians say, he besieged and took *Semendria*; which the Christians had subdued some years before. They add, that, within two years after the conquest of *Constantinople*, he reduced by arms, or capitulation, above 40 cities (S).

A. D. 1459.

Sinopi yielded by Ismael Beg.

IN 864 (T), he seized in *Asia* the territories of *Kizel Ahmed* (U), by the treachery of his brother *Ismael Beg* (X). *Ahmed* flies to *Uzûn Hassan* (Y). Hereupon *Mohammed* passes over with a great army; and, having routed *Uzûn Hassan's* forces, takes *Sinopi*^s. This city stands on a tongue of land, extending near five miles into the sea. It is surprisingly strong, being washed on two sides by the sea; yet is very pleasant. The country to the continent is a sandy plain; and the peninsula covered with orchards, and parks full of game.

^r KHALK. lib. ix. c. 5.

^s CANT. p. 107.

(R) Called also *Sendrew*, on the *Danube*.

(S) And, during his whole reign, 200 cities and 12 kingdoms, by the confession of the Christian writers themselves.

(T) *Dukas* places this expedition in the year 1461.

(U) That is, *Red Ahmed*, who first occasioned the war between *Uzûn Hassan* and *Mohammed*.

(X) *Khalkondylas* calls him *Amontes*; and says, he was reported to have spurred *Mohammed* to this expedition against his brother, whom he names *Ismael*.

(Y) That is, *Hassan the Tall*; he was king of *Kappadocia*. *Cant*. He was the first of the *Turkmân* race of *Ak Koyunlu*, who reigned in *Persia*. *Dukas* writes *Ozûn Asim*. Others *Ussûn Cassan*. See vol. ii. p. 702.

a THE *Soltân*, who was incensed against the prince of *Sinopi*, for having leagued with *Uzûn Hassan* against him, sent thither a fleet consisting of 150 sail of gallies and round vessels (Z); which arrived at *Sinopi*, at the same time that he, with his army, got thither by land, by way of *Kastamona*. But *Mahmûd Bâshâ*, arriving before the *Soltân*, had a conference with the prince, who agreed to surrender up *Sinopi*, on condition *Mohammed* would give him *Philipoli* (A). This was agreed to, and he retired thither. *Kastamona* and his other possessions submitted thereupon: for his territories, which were very rich, began at the city of *Heraklea*, which belonged to *Mohammed*, and extended from the kingdom of *Pontus* to *Paphlagonia* and the lands of *Turgut*. They yielded about 400,000 ducats yearly, and abounded in the best copper next that of *Iberia*; which, when our author wrote, brought the *Soltân* 40,000 ducats yearly. *Mohammed* carried with him to *Constantinople* a ship of 900 tons, which *Ismael* had built; and brought it into port, where he had a larger of his (B) own: but, both of them becoming unserviceable at sea, he built a vessel of 3000 tons; which soon after overset in the port by the weight of its mast.

A. D. 1459.

Huge ships.

It was after this, according to the *Greek* historians, that the *Soltân* marched against *Uzûn Hassan*; into whose dominions he entered after he had passed *Sebaste* (or *Siwâs*), and took the city of *Koreykum*. In his march forward, he was met by the mother of *Uzûn Hassan*; who reproaching him mildly with warring against those of his own nation, as well as faith, he agreed to make peace on two conditions: that her son, for the future, should neither ravage his territories, nor any way assist the emperor of *Trebizond*^u. According to *Dukas*, *Uzûn Hassan*, not having forces sufficient to oppose *Mohammed*, retired to the mountains on the borders of *Persia*. The *Soltân* then crossing *Armenia*, the river *Phasis*, and *Mount Kaukasus*, taking many places in his way, entered *Kolkhis*, and marched to *Trebizond*; where he found his (C) fleet^x. In his passage, *Koyunlu Hissar* was surrendered to him by *Husseyn Beg*, who had married the daughter of the king of *Trebizond*. Then, besieging this last city, *David Comnenus*, by the persuasions of his mother-in-law *Sare Khân*, delivers up himself and kingdom to *Mohammed*; by whom he is honourably received, and sent, with all his family, to *Constantinople*^y.

Peace with Hassan.

Trebizond besieged:

DAVID was son of the emperor *Alexis*, and brother of *John* his predecessor; on whose death, he, by assistance of the *Kabazitans*, who commanded at *Mezokhalde* near *Trebizond*, seized the empire, in prejudice to his nephew *Alexis*, who was but four years old. The cause of *Mohammed's* quarrel against *David* was, that he had entered into a close alliance with *Uzûn Hassan*, and given him his daughter in marriage (D), upon an assurance that his son-in-law would free him from the tribute which he was to pay the *Soltân*^z.

MOHAMMED BASHA, who was posted at *Skilolimne*, having had an interview with the great chamberlain *George*, the emperor's cousin-german, advised him to persuade *David* to surrender; which that prince consented to, provided the *Soltân* would marry his daughter, and give him a country of the same value with his own. *Mohammed* at first refused to come to any composition: but, at length, by the advice of his council, agreed to the terms proposed; upon which *David* surrendered the place, and, with his nearest relations, was carried to *Constantinople*. *Mezokhalde*, and the other places, surrendered, one after the other: and thus the city of *Trebizond*, with the whole country of *Kolkhis*, which, but a little before, composed a noble empire, fell at once into the hands of the *Turks*.

surrendered on articles.

THE people he disposed of several ways: some he made *Janizaries*, others slaves; and, some time after, put the emperor and his sons to death. For the wife of *Uzûn Hassan* having written to *David* to send her one of his sons, or else *Alexes Comnenus*, who was then at *Meselin*; *George*, the grand chamberlain, gave the letters to the governor of the princes: but fearing the worst, in case it should by any means come to the knowledge of *Mahmûd Basha*, that he was privy to such an affair, he took them back, and delivered them to the *Soltân* himself. The *Soltân*, having read them, ordered all the parties above-mentioned to be strictly guarded; and, after carrying them to *Constantinople*, to be put to death, not sparing *George*, the emperor's youngest son, who had turned *Mohammedan*. The daughter of

Emperor put to death.

^u KHALKONDYLAS, lib. ix. c. 10 & 11. DUKAS, c. 45.

^z KHALKONDYLAS, lib. viii. c. 11. DUKAS, c. 45.

^x Idem, ibid.

^y CANTEMIR, p.

(Z) Thus *Khalkondylas*. *Dukas* says, the fleet consisted of 200 gallies of two and three banks of oars.

(A) *Dukas* says, this was *Mohammed's* offer.

(B) Perhaps that before-mentioned.

(C) Which *Khalkondylas* says, had blocked up the city by sea for a month before.

(D) This was *Katharina Comnena*, daughter of his

brother *John*: she is called *Despina Katun* by some travellers of the same time. The time of this expedition is put by one of them in the year 1472. See *Angiollollo's Account of the Life of Uffûn Hassan*, and *The Voyage of an anonymous Merchant into Persia*; both in *Ramusio's Collection of Travels*, vol. ii. See also *Univ. Hist.* vol. vii. P. i. p. 292.

A. D. 1459. *David*, whom he had before taken to wife after a sort, he reduced to serve in the chamber^a.

Skânder Beg's successes. IT is time now to look back to *Skânder Beg*, and see what was doing all this while in *Epirus*. *Mohammed*, soon after his father *Morâd*'s death, sent *Hamza*, with 12,000 horse, against that prince; who lying in ambush on the top of *Mount Modrissa*, they were, in their passage by night, attacked with great slaughter, and driven down again into the plain, where *Amesa*, the prince's nephew, was ready to receive him in as rough a manner. In this action 7000 *Turks* were killed, and the general, with many officers and common soldiers, taken prisoners. The year following, 14,000 horse, under *Debreas*, were sent against *Skânder Beg*; who, with 6000 choice men, marched to surprise him at *Pologus*, before he entered *Epirus*: but, being perceived by the moon-light, the *Turks* had time to draw up in order. However, the prince falling on furiously with his troops, and, after a sharp contest, killing *Debreas*, the enemy fled; leaving 4120 slain behind them. There fell on this occasion only a few of the Christians, among whom *Skânder Beg* distributed the spoil.

Besieges Belgrade. AFTER this, *Skânder Beg*, consulting at *Dibra* with *Moses*, the governor, who was in the greatest favour and authority with him, about laying siege to *Sfetigrade*; that general, having been corrupted by an emissary of the *Soltân*, advised him to change his design, and besiege *Belgrade*, on the borders of *Epirus*. With this view, the prince requested aid of *Alfonso*, king of *Naples*; which being arrived, he invested the place with 14,000 men; and so distressed it, that the *Turks* promised to surrender it in case they were not relieved in sixteen days.

His forces defeated. THE news of this siege coming to *Mohammed*, who was then going over into *Asia* against the emperor of *Trebizond*, he sent *Sebalias Bâshâ*, with 40,000 horse to raise it. The politic *Bâshâ*, having prevented notice of his approach, by corrupting *Skânder Beg*'s scouts, fell unawares on that part of his army which lay in the plains. *Musakhis*, who commanded those troops, drew them up in the best manner he could, and made a brave resistance: but, seeing his men cut down in heaps, attempted to break through the enemy's ranks; and, after performing wonders, was slain with all his men. *Skânder Beg* would have come down from the mountains to his relief; but was dissuaded by his officers from so dangerous an enterprize. However, observing at last, that most of the *Turks* followed the pursuit, he descended suddenly, with 4000 men, and made great slaughter among those who remained in the plain. Then, attacking the *Bâshâ*'s rear, did great execution. At length, night approaching, both parties retired to the hills: from whence *Skânder Beg* marched to *Epirus*; and *Sebalias*, in triumph, to *Constantinople*. This was the greatest overthrow *Skânder Beg* had ever till then received; his loss amounting to 2000 horse and 3000 foot, most of them *Italians*, besides his tents and artillery: about 80 also were taken prisoners. The *Turks* lost in all 3000.

Revolt of Moses. As soon as *Moses* heard of this defeat, he, with a few whom he had corrupted, fled to *Mohammed*; by whom he was honourably entertained. *Skânder Beg* was amazed at this accident; but afterwards, excusing the traitor, on score of the temptation, would suffer none to reproach him. Mean while he urged the *Soltân* to proceed in the war; and the following spring was sent with 15,000 select horse to invade *Epirus*. *Skânder Beg* advanced to meet him; and, joining battle, repulsed the van of the enemy: then attacking the main body, *Moses*, who commanded it, bent his force against the place where the prince was, with a design to kill him. In effect, a *Turkish* soldier, happening to encounter him, struck him backward on his horse; at which the *Othmâns* gave a great shout, as thinking him slain: but he, recovering himself, assaulted his adversary afresh, and slew him. Soon after the rest fled; *Moses* with 4000 only escaping the slaughter. The *Soltân* would have put him to death at his return, but for fear of discouraging deserters: and, finding himself neglected by every-body, he soon after fled back to his old master; who restored him to all his former posts.

End of Amesa. SOME time after, *Amesa*, in resentment of certain injuries done him, as he alleged, by his uncle *Skânder Beg*, withdrew, with his wife and children, to *Constantinople*. He was kindly received by *Mohammed*, who, the next spring, sent *Isbâk*, the Great *Bâshâ* of that city, at the head of 50,000 men; with orders, as soon as he arrived at *Epirus*, to proclaim *Amesa*, who had the charge of 5000 horse, king of that country, that the inhabitants might see that his quarrel was against their prince, not the nation. *Skânder Beg*, to prepare against this storm, levied troops in all parts of his territories: but lay himself only with 6000 men; and, as soon as the *Bâshâ* came in sight, fled, not, as usual, into the woods and mountains, but towards *Lyssa*, a maritime town of the *Venetians*, as if he despaired of keeping the country.

The Turks deserted. ISHAK BASHA hereupon marched farther into the country, contrary to the advice of *Amesa*, whom he had proclaimed king; and the third day came to the plains of *Amatha*: the night

a following, he encamped in those of *Pbarsalia*, famous for the battle between *Cæsar* and *A. D. 1400* *Pompey*; and next morning, removed to the foot of *Mount Tumenist*. Here *Skänder Beg*, who, by his spies, had watched all the motions of the enemy, came over the hill upon them, when they least expected him; and breaking into their camp before they could draw out in order, made such a slaughter, that they fled, maugre all the intreaties of *Ishik* and *Ameſa*; who both behaved gallantly; and were pursued till quite out of *Epirus*. Of the *Turks* were slain 20,000 by the lowest account; some say 30,000: and of the Christians, no more than 60 (E). The spoils were very great; and among the prisoners were *Ameſa* and a *Sanjâk*, with whom *Skänder Beg* entered *Kroja* in triumph.

b AFTER this, no hostilities were committed by the *Turks* for two years; and the third, in several *battles*. *Mohammed* concluded a peace for one year with *Skänder Beg*; but, as soon as it was expired, he sent *Sinan Bâſhî* into *Epirus*, with an army of 20,000 men. This was quickly defeated, as was another of 30,000, under *Haffan Beg*, who was taken prisoner; and a third of 18,000, commanded by *Tuſſan Beg*, fared no better. At length, *Karaza Beg*, an old commander, and acquaintance of *Skänder Beg*, was, at his request, sent against him with 40,000 men; which the prince being informed of, assembled a greater force than usual, and, sending 2000 men before to lie in ambush in the enemy's country, they defeated their vanguard, consisting of 4000 horse. Soon after the rest of the army entered *Epirus*: but a hard rain, which continued for three days, preventing any action, the old general thought fit to return home, without doing any thing. Upon this, the *Soltân*, finding that *Skänder Beg* was not to be subdued with such forces as he could then spare to send against him, dispatched an ambassador to him with rich presents, and proposals of peace; which was at length concluded in 1461, and continued for some time ^b. *Peace concluded.*

c THIS is the account given by the *Italian* and other Christian historians, relating to the affairs of *Epirus*, during this war: but *Khalkondylas* represents them in a very different light. According to that author, *Mohammed* sent a great army in summer (F) against *Skänder Beg* (G), whom *Mcrad* could never reduce, under the command of *Joshua*, son of *Brenes*; who over-ran that part of *Macedonia* bordering on the *Ionian* sea. But *Skänder Beg*, having demanded aid of the pope, and *Alphonſo*, king of *Naples*, his great friend, offering to give up *Kroya* in return for their assistance, a considerable body of foot was sent over; which, landing at *Durazzo* (H), entered the *Turkish* borders, plundering and carrying off all who fell into their hands. Then, joining that prince's troops, they besieged *Sfetigrade*; and possibly would have taken it, had not *Joshua* come unexpectedly upon them, and cut them all in pieces. *Skänder Beg* himself, who happened luckily to be absent, soon after retired to his friends in *Italy*. *Epirus overrun. A. D. 1460.*

d AT his return, he chose out a convenient place, which he fortified, to serve for a retreat, when pursued by the *Turks*. This place was near *Durazzo*, on the *Adriatic* coast; where there was a little peninsula of land, about three quarters of a mile over; which he inclosed with a strong wall, and peopled with *Albanians*. He likewise put *Durazzo* into a better state of defence than it was in before, and thus secured a retreat by sea, in case he should be obliged by superior force to quit the land. After this, forming a flying camp of *Albanians*, he betook himself to the mountains; appearing sometimes in one place, sometimes another, where-ever his presence was necessary, and had always an eye on the enemy; who soon after came and ravaged the country from one end to the other, carrying away men and beasts, and burning the towns and villages without opposition ^c. *Skänder Beg's retreat.*

e To corroborate this relation of *Khalkondylas*, *Dukas* says, that *Mohammed* put to death all the great men of *Albania*, and demolished all the forts through that country; excepting *Monembasia*, which he left standing, contrary to his intention. The same author adds, that the *Soltân* sent a fleet of 180 ships into the *Egean Sea*, without reaping any advantage from it: that he spent part of the following winter at *Adrianople*, and the rest at *Constantinople*; and that he ordered a ship of an extraordinary size to be built; and also the theatre, called the *Great ship*. *Albania dismantled.*

f *Market for Cloaths*, named, in *Persian*, *Bezeſtan* ^d.

THE *Greek* islands remaining still unsubdued, *Mohammed*, in 865, prepares a great fleet, *Hejrah*, 865; and attacks *Mitylene*; which, though bravely defended, at length is mastered. The rest would have shared the same fate, had he not been diverted by the *Kazikla Voda* (I), prince of *Walakbia*, refusing to pay the usual tribute ^e. *A. D. 1460.*

THE

^b KNOWLES's *Ottom. Emp. edit. Ricaut. in Mahomet II.*

^c KHALK. l. viii. c. 16.

^d DUKAS, c. 45.

^e CANT. p. 108.

(E) These almost impossible facts discredit the history of *Skänder Beg*.

(F) This was, as we compute, in the year 1460.

(G) Called by our author *Skender*, or *Skander*, son of *Isanes*.

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

(H) Called by our author *Duras*.

(I) He was a bloody tyrant. He impaled 6000 men for a trifling occasion; and thence got, among the *Walakbians*, the nickname of *Kapalush*, or *Pale-maker*. By the Christians he is called *Dragula*; but why (says prince

K k k

A. D. 1463.
Mitylene
attacked,
A. D. 1463.

THE Greek writers are more particular. According to *Dukas*, in the month of September (K), *Mohammed*, with a fleet of 67 sail, came before *Lesbos*, and summoned *Nicholas Gattiluzio*, who then held it, to surrender. *Nicholas*, who, to possess the estate, had strangled his brother *Dominic* (L) four years before, had, for the defence of the island, repaired the fortifications, and provided 5000 soldiers, besides the inhabitants; who, reckoning women and children, amounted to 25,000. On his refusing to give it up, *Mohammed* returned to *Adrianople*, and left the care of the siege to the *Wazir Mahmud*; who battered *Lesbos* with such vigour, that he beat down that part of the wall called *Melanudion*, with part of the fortification and towers^f. As the history written by *Dukas* breaks off abruptly here, we shall supply the rest from *Khalkondylas*.

and surren-
dered.

THIS author informs us, that so great a breach filled the besieged with terror; and that though, by the assistance of some pirates, they continued to make a few sallies, and defend the place; yet the prince, seeing no hopes of holding out, or of relief, sent to tell *Mohammed Bâshâ*, that he would surrender up the isle, provided some other lands were given him in lieu of it, as had been at first offered. Of this, the *Bâshâ* sent advice to *Mohammed*, who was so glad of the occasion, that he returned to make the agreement himself. The island having been surrendered, the commonalty were left to cultivate the land. Of the middle class of people, some were made slaves; others enrolled among the *Janizaries*; and the better sort of all were sent to *Constantinople* to re-people that city. As for the *Corsaires*, 300 in number, they were all cloven with the sword from the groin to the breast, and thus left to expire in torment.

The prince
beheaded.

Soon after his return to his capital, he imprisoned the prince (M), with *Lucius*, his cousin-german, lord of *Ænus*; who, though young, had assisted him in the murder of his brother: and though both of them turned *Mohammedans* to save their lives, yet they were soon after confined again, and at length beheaded^g.

THE prince of *Walakhia* having refused to pay the usual tribute, as before-mentioned, the *Soltân* marched into his country; and expelling him, made his younger brother governor of that province^h. The occasion and consequences of this war are more satisfactorily set forth by the *Greek* and other Christian writers.

Walakhia re-
fuses homage.

MOHAMMED having sent to the *Waywode* (N) to come pay him homage (O), to bring with him 500 young men, and pay for the future 10,000 crowns a year tribute, that prince replied, that he was willing to pay the tribute, but would neither bring the 500 men, nor go and adore him. The *Soltân*, incensed at this answer, sent a considerable officer, with a secretary, to tell the *Waywode* to remit the tribute, and that their master would consider of the rest. But the *Waywode*, instead of complying, ordered them to be impaled: then crossing the *Danube*, he ravaged *Disticta*, and took many prisoners; whom he also impaled. After that, he defeated *Hamza* (P), governor of the province; who opposed him with 10,000 men: and having taken him, with many others, impaled them all.

Invaded by
Mohammed:

MOHAMMED, mad with rage at this cruel insult, entered *Walakhia* with an army of 150,000 men (Q): but as the inhabitants had withdrawn into the woods and passes of the mountains, the *Soltân* met with nothing but a solitude for seven days together. At length he arrived in a more agreeable country; but found it planted with stakes, bearing the bodies of those who

^f DUKAS, cap. 45.

^g KHALK. l. x. c. 2.

^h CANT. p. 108.

prince *Cantemir*) I know not, because that name is foreign to the *Moldavian* language. *Cant*. This tyrant was not *Dragula*, or *Drakula*, but *Vladus*, or *Bladus*, a son of his.

(K) *Dukas* places this expedition in the year 1463; which is three years later than the *Turkish* historians: nor can we well suppose him to be mistaken, considering he was himself upon the spot.

(L) *Khalkondylas* says, *Dominic*, called by the *Greeks*, *Cyriak*, put his elder brother to death; but names him not. He likewise surnames him *Katalusio*. But *Dukas*, who was an officer of his court, may be presumed to have known these matters best.

(M) His sister, who was the most beautiful lady in the east, was put in the *Soltân's* seraglio. She was the widow of *Alexander Comnenus*, who died at *Trebizond* after it was taken; and left a son by her, who afterwards became one of the greatest men at the *Othmân* court. *Khalk*.

(N) *Khalkondylas* calls him *Vladus* (others *Bladus*), and says *Mohammed* bestowed *Moldavia* on him, by the interest of his younger brother, who was the *Soltân's* catamite; for having wounded him on his first attempt,

he afterwards complied, to secure his safety. As for *Vladus*, he was a monster in cruelty: at his first entrance, he seized all the considerable men; and not content to put them to death, impaled them alive. In a few days, he destroyed above 20,000 people; and, having fixed himself in the province, leagued with the *Hungarians*, designing to throw off the *Turkish* yoke. *Khalk*. l. ix. c. 12.

(O) *Dukas* places this before the expedition to *Mitylene*, or *Lesbos*; and in the year 1462.

(P) *Khalkondylas* says, he was decoyed by the secretary into an ambuscade laid by *Khamuz* (or *Hamza*); and that *Vladus*, having defeated and taken them, impaled them, to punish their treachery. L. ix. c. 13.

(Q) *Khalkondylas* says, 250 thousand; and that *Mohammed* himself, with 25 galleys and 150 transports, went by sea, and ascended the *Danube*, burning *Bidina*, and other places on its banks; among the rest *Praylabum*, the chief mart in *Walakhia*. The *Soltân* undertook this war at the instigation of *Pogdan* (or *Bogdan*), prince of *Black Pogdania* (or *Kara Bogdania*), who was then at war with *Vladus*, and had besieged *Celium*, or *Kilia*, situate on the *Danube*. L. ix. c. 14—16.

had

a had been impaled; among which was that of *Hamza*, dressed in purple silk. This struck him with fear; and in the night, the *Waywode*, breaking into his camp, made a great slaughter (R): but, at day-break, retired with his men¹. However, *Hali Beg*, son of *Mikhael*, being sent in pursuit, slew a great number, and took 2000 prisoners; whom *Mohammed* ordered to be slain before his face. A. D. 1493.

AFTER this, *Vladus* leaving 6000 horse to harass the *Turks*, marched with the rest of his forces to attack *Pogdân* (or *Bogdan*), who had invested *Celium*, or *Kilia*, a city on the *Danube* (S). The troops left to follow the *Olbmâns* had the rashness, contrary to their instructions, to engage the army, and were routed with the loss of 2000 men; which gave *Mohammed* an opportunity to range the country unmolested, and carry off 200,000 head of cattle, oxen, and horses. The country ravaged:

b THE Soltân left behind him *Drakula*, brother of *Vladus*, who, by his intrigues, gained so strong a party among the *Walakbians*, already disaffected to *Vladus* on account of his cruelty, that, by help of the *Turkish* troops left on the frontiers, he began to conquer the country. Hereupon, *Vladus* finding himself abandoned by his people, retired into *Hungary*; where, being accused before king *Matkias*, son of *Huniades*, by the relations and friends of those he had murdered, a rigorous sentence was passed upon him, pursuant to which he was sent prisoner to *Belgrade*²; where he remained in confinement ten years. At length, being set at liberty, he was slain in battle against the *Turks*. Vladus expelled:

c IN 867, *Mohammed* orders the *Katirga Ilmani*, that is, *The three-oared port*, to be made towards the south, within the walls of the city. Whilst he was employed in this work, the *Greeks*, in conjunction with the *Venetians*, raised commotions in the *Morea*; and having taken *Ghingberjinlik*, *Sada*, *Ghiuzelje hissar*, *Duraj*, and *Ezornik*, try to drive the *Turks* out of that province: but *Mehemed Pasha*, being sent with a great army to chastise the rebels, came on them so unexpectedly, that he not only recovered those cities, but subdued the country of *Kojeh Hersék* (or old *Illyria*). The Soltân, by way of thanksgiving for his victories, orders the church of the holy apostles (T) to be demolished, and a large *Jâmi*, called after his name, *Mohammedieh*, to be built in its room; which structure, scarce to be paralleled by the wonders of antiquity, was ten years in building. Other conquests: A. D. 1462.

d IN 868, assembling a great army, he vanquished and slew the prince of *Bosna*, or *Bosnia* Hejrah, 868. (U), then placed strong garrisons in the castles; and in his return, strengthened the borders between that country and *Albania*, by erecting fortresses in the narrow passages of the mountains³. A. D. 1463.

e THE war of the *Morea*, which is placed first by the *Turkish*, is, as it frequently happens in other cases, placed last by the Christian historians; who are more diffusive in the relation of facts. *Mohammed* having, after the *Walakbian* expedition, built several castles, says *Khalkon-dylas*; and among the rest, the faray, or seraglio, at *Constantinople*, and the castles on the *Hellefpont*; next spring (X), made war on the *Illyrians* (Y), inhabiting *Bosfina*; because their prince peremptorily refused to pay the usual tribute of 50,000 dukats. At the same time he resolved to invade the country of *Sandal*, the bastard son of him who before commanded the *Illyrians* (Z). The brothers quarreling about the possession of their father's territories, referred the decision to *Mohammed*; who adjudged it to *Sandal*, and ordered *Isbâk*, governor Bosna invaded,

¹ DUKAS, c. 45. KHALK, l. ix. c. 14—16. & seqq.

² Ibid. ix. c. 16, & l. x. c. i.

³ CANT. p. 108,

(R) *Vladus* divided his forces into two parts; sending one to hinder *Bogdan* from entering the country on one side. With the other part, not exceeding 10,000 men, others say but 7000, he retired into the woods; and the first opportunity fell on the *Turkish* camp, where he made great slaughter: but being pursued in his retreat, a great number of his men were killed, and 1000 taken prisoners. *Khalk*. l. ix. c. 15, 16.

(S) At the mouth of that river, in the *Euxine* sea.

(T) It was built by the empress of *Justinian the Great*, on a mount, near the middle of the city, higher than the other fix. The *Jâmi*, built in its place by *Mohammed Fatih*, being 100 cubits square, is thought to be the largest temple next to *Santa Sophia*. The architect was, they say, a Greek Christian, named *Khrisodulus*; who, in reward of this vast and wonderful work, was presented with a whole street, and other imperial gifts. They add, that *Mohammed* being told, that he said he could build a *Jâmi* more large and elegant, ordered him to be impaled, that his successor might want an architect capable of raising a nobler structure.

This story seems to be invented in order to account for an iron pale, fixed to the gate of the outer hall of the *Jâmi*, and inclosed by a little tower, so that only the point appears. For, supposing the Soltân could be induced by so idle a suggestion to put him to death: why in so cruel a manner? However, our author, prince *Cantemir*, alleges very good reasons to prove, that the said street was given to him as a reward by the Soltân.

(U) From Christian writers, he seems to have been *Stephen*, whose seat was at *Yaxiga*. Cant.

(X) The more western writers place this war in 1464; which corresponds with the nine last months of the *Mohammedan* year 868.

(Y) The *Illyrians* are an ancient people, inhabiting the country now called *Bosfina*, *Bosna*, or *Bosnia*. The *Dalmatians*, *Myfians*, *Triballians*, and *Sarmatians*, use nearly the same language spoken by them. They extend from the *Ionian* sea to the higher *Isfria*, or *Sclavonia*. *Khalk*.

(Z) Who was named *Stephen*, and had been dispossessed by his son.

A.D. 1463. of the *Skopians* (A), to assist him : hereupon *Sandal* made war on his brothers, and ravaged a
the country.

and subdued.

MOHAMMED having crossed the river *Dorobiza*, which separates the *Triballians* from the *Illyrians*, marched to the *Illyrius* ; which having passed on rafts, he suddenly over-ran the country, and laid siege to the city of *Dorobiza*. This place, though exceeding strong, and of difficult approach, being situate on a high mountain, after a few days bombarding, capitulated. After this, he sent *Mahmūd Bāshā* to surprise the prince of the *Illyrians* ; who, on his approach, fled to the city of *Klitia* (B), situated in a marshy soil, so that it was inaccessible in winter : but the ground being dried by the heat of the summer sun, the *Lāshā* advanced to the very ditch, and prepared to attack the place. Hereupon it was surrendered to him, on condition that the lives of the prince and the inhabitants, with their effects, should be saved. b
His wife before had retired to *Ragusa*, to avoid the inconveniencies of war ; and carried much wealth with her, by his consent.

Country of
Sandal sub-
dued, with
others.

THE country of *Sandal* reached to the very gates of *Ragusa*, with which he had some dispute. Having engaged in an amour with the wife of a *Florentine* merchant, he began to treat his princeſs with contempt. She, not brooking this ill usage, retired with her son, a youth, to the *Ragusans* ; who refused to send her back, unless *Sandal* parted with his mistress. Hereupon he declared war against them ; and meeting their army, the command of which they had given to his son, he defeated the enemy, and then invited the *Soltān* to join him against the prince of the *Illyrians* : but finding the *Turks* came in greater numbers than he desired, he stood on his guard to defend his country, in case they invaded it. c

MAHMUD BASHA, having performed this service, went to meet the *Soltān* : who in the mean time had marched to *Jaytia* (C) the capital of all the *Illyrians* ; which immediately surrendered to him, being frightened at the taking of *Dorobiza*, their strongest fortrefs. Several places submitted to the *Bāshā* in his way, by order of their prince, whom *Mohammed* carried with him into the country of *Sandal* ; for now all the *Illyrians* were subdued. The *Soltān* presently after sent to *Ragusa* to demand *Sandal*'s wife ; but she, who had foreseen as much, retired in time to *Italy*. Then gathering all his forces, he entered the country of *Sandal* ; which he ravaged from one end to the other, and laid siege to his capital city : but not being able to reduce it, after a few days leaguer, turned his arms against the territories of *Constantine*, *Karagusa*, and *Paul* ; who all submitted to him, and were carried away prisoners. As to d
the prince of the *Illyrians*, having been taken one morning, endeavouring to make his escape, *Mohammed* sent for him ; and notwithstanding the *Bāshā*'s letters of security, had his head cut cut off on the spot : some say, he was slay'd alive ^m.

^m KHALK, l. x. c. 7, & seqq.

(A) The *Skopians* inhabit a province only 25 leagues in length from the *Triballians* (or *Servians*), and the river *Dorobiza*, to the country of *Sandal*, and the gulph of *Ionia* ; but its greatest breadth, from its reaching to the *Pannonians* and *Triballians*, is 60 leagues. At the

Triballians begins the government of *Ishāk* ; that of *Paul* follows next, extending as far as the country of the *Illyrians* (or *Bosfina*). Khal.

(B) By others named *Kliffa*.

(C) Rather *Jazika*.

A. D. 1463.

S E C T. XX.

Wars with Skânder Beg and the Venetians.

^a **T**HE *Venetians*, who were his next neighbours, saw with a jealous eye; the successes of *Mohammed*; and although the *Turks*, on several occasions, had used their subjects ill, yet were afraid to take up arms. At length, *Joshua*, son of *Alban*, having seized *Argos* by the treachery of a priest, and *Omar*, son of *Turakan*, made inroads on the territory of *Naupactus* (D); while both of them plundered the lands near *Modon*, in the *Morea*, which belonged to the *Venetians*, *Viſtorio Capelli*, by a generous speech, prevailed on the senate to invite the *Hungarians* to a confederacy, and then declare war (E). Ambassadors being sent on that occasion, with 25,000 dukats as a present, king *Matbias* (or *Mathew*, son of *Huniades*) raised forces; and entering unexpectedly into the *Othmân* territories, demolished the fortifications built by *Sabutin* to block up *Belgrade*; then advancing as far as the *Save*, routed the *Turks* and *Triballians* who opposed him, and carried back 20,000 slaves; which was all the work performed by the *Hungarians*.

^b THE *Venetians* on the other side, immediately put to sea 35 gallies and 12 great ships, filled with infantry, and 2000 light horse, under the command of *Aloysio* (F) *Loridano*. They were joined also by 4000 outlaws from *Kandia*. These all landing in the *Morea*, excited the inhabitants to a general revolt. The *Turkish* governor who resided at *Megalopolis* (or *Leontarium*) immediately sent advice of these motions to the *Porte*: while the *Venetians* (G), marching from *Nauplium*, laid siege to *Argos*; which presently surrendered, there being no more than 50 *Janizaries* in garrison, who had liberty to withdraw with their baggage. But soon after *Jeronimo Bernardini*, entering within land, contrary to his orders, lost 400 men by an ambuscade of the *Turks*.

^c THE first care of the *Greeks* and *Albanians*, was to repair the wall of the *Isthmus*, as well to prevent the escape of the *Janizaries* dispersed in the garrisons, as to keep out the enemy; and by the assistance of the *Venetians*, who brought stones and other materials by sea, that fortification was, in a few days, put in a state of defence. Mean time, they solicited the people on every side to join them: but those of *Korinth* rejecting their proposals, they laid siege to that city; which yet they were forced to raise soon after (H). They failed also to disaffect *Akbaia*; nor did any city of *Lakonia* revolt to them, excepting *Sparta*: for the *Turks* continually scoured the roads on all sides, which much disconcerted their measures. In short, as it was winter-time, and very cold weather, the soldiers could hardly be prevailed on to guard the wall: so that news arriving that *Mahmûd Bâshâ* approached with a great army, and was followed by the *Soltân* himself at the head of more numerous forces, it was thought fit to abandon the *Isthmus*, and retire to the places which were in their hands.

^d MEAN time, the *Turks* were no less afraid of the *Venetians*: for the *Bâshâ* being come to *Larissa*, *Omar*, governor of *Thessaly*, advised him to proceed no farther, till he sent to inform the *Soltân*, that his presence was absolutely necessary, the affair being of too great importance for his generals to execute. But soon after, letters arriving with an account how matters stood, *Mahmûd* marched forward; and finding the wall deserted, and the ships put out to sea, took his road by *Korinth*, directly for *Argos*, which was defended by 70 *Italians*; whom he took prisoners. Then passing through the country of *Tegea*, he encamped near *Leontarium* (or *Megalopolis*); from whence he detached *Zogan* (newly made governor of the *Morea*, in the room of *Joshua*, son of *Alban*), to furnish *Patras*, and other neighbouring places, with provision and military stores. At the same time, he sent *Omar* to ravage the *Venetian* territories, with 20,000 men; who, near *Modon*, took a town by assault: the inhabitants, about 500 in number, being sent to *Constantinople*, were cut in two by the middle, in the presence of the *Soltân*.

^e THE *Bâshâ*, finding the season unfit for attacking fortresses, left *Omar* and *Asan* at *Sparta*, to persuade the inhabitants of that city, *Tenarus*, *Epidauros*, and other places, to return to their obedience: but although they were strangely alarmed at the unexpected entrance of the *Turks* into the *Morea*, and many had fled to the mountains for security; yet, buoyed up by the *Venetians*, who promised great matters, from their own and the *Hungarian* invasion, they would hearken to no accommodation.

(D) Now *Lepanto*.(E) This happened a little before the peace concluded with *Skander Beg* in 1461.(F) In the original it is *Jacomo*, but the author was misinformed.(G) With 15,000 men, under *Bertoldo Effe*.

(H) Their general being killed.

A. D. 1463. **MEAN** time the *Venetians* recovered *Lemnos*, by means of one *Kommenus* (I), captain of a the fortress; who prevented the principal men of the island from selling it to those *Italians*, by delivering it up to them. After which, they returned to the *Morea*, with store of provisions to supply the fortresses¹.

Venetians
take Lemnos.

KOMINUS (or *Kommenus*), who had surprised the island of *Lemnos* from the *Turks*, was succeeded in his command by *Ursato Justiniani*, who scoured the *Ægean Sea* with 32 galleys; while *Andreo Dandolo*, by land, rashly engaging the *Turkish* horse near *Mantineia*, was defeated and slain, with 1500 of his men. *Ursato* had still worse luck at the siege of *Mitylene*, in *Lesbos*; where, in two assaults, he lost 5000 men: for grief of which, he died soon after in the *Morea*, and was succeeded in command by *Jacomo Laurentani*.

THE *Venetians*, much weakened by these losses, solicited the pope; who procured them great supplies from *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and other countries. They also intreated *Skânder Beg* to renounce his league with *Mohammed*, and join with them. The *Soltân*, fearing that prince should be made general of the Christian forces, sent to him; offering to pardon some incursions of the *Epirots*, in case he would renew the league. But *Skânder Beg* having at this time received a letter from the pope, signifying, that he, accompanied by the Christian princes, would speedily pass over to *Epirus* with a strong army, and exhorting him to declare war against the *Turks*; that prince, without much ado, broke into the *Othmân* dominions, and ravaging the country every where, returned with considerable plunder.

Skânder Beg
declares war:

His great
victories.

MOHAMMED, to put a stop to *Skânder Beg*'s career, sent *Seremet Bâshâ* (K), with 14,000 men, who posted himself near *Okrida*, in *Macedonia*. The prince, on this advice, having placed 12,000 men in ambush, sent out 500 horse, with orders, in case they could not draw the enemy into the field, to retire on the least opposition, and so decoy them into the snare; which stratagem taking effect, the *Turks* were attacked on every side, and lost 20,000 men.

A. D. 1464. The treasurer of the army, with 12 other considerable officers, were taken prisoners, and ransomed for 40,000 dukats. *Skânder Beg*, on this success, returns to *Epirus*, expecting the arrival of the Christian forces: but the death of pope *Pius*, at *Amana*, as he was ready to embark with them, suddenly dispersed the army, to the great disappointment of those who depended on its assistance.

Venetians un-
successful.

HOWEVER, the *Venetians* having made *Vitorio Capelli* their captain-general, went on with the war; and in a short time, took *Aulis*, in the isle of *Eubœa* (or *Negropont*), *Lirsum*, in the gulph of *Thessalonika*, and the isle of *Himber*. Then landing his men at *Pyraeum*, surprised *Athens*; from whence he carried all the people, with the plunder, to *Eubœa*. Here, being informed, that *Pattras*, in the *Morea*, would be delivered up to him by the Christian inhabitants, he landed 4000 foot, and 200 horse; who advancing in disorder within a mile of the city, were routed by the *Turkish* garrison. In this action, *Barbarini*, who led the foot, was slain; and *Ragio*, who commanded the horse, being taken, was impaled; and scarce a thousand of the men escaped to the galleys. *Capelli* was so concerned at this loss, and that which he sustained in his second attempt on *Pattras*, that he soon after died suddenly in *Eubœa*.

Servia ra-
vaged.

A. D. 1465.

THE *Venetians*, much discouraged with this ill success, applied for assistance to *Matthias Korvini*, son of the famous *Huniades* (L), king of *Hungary*; who, taking their territories under his protection early in the spring, passed the *Danube*, at *Belgrade*, with a great army; and razing the forts which the *Turks* had built there, entered *Servia*, which he miserably ravaged, and then returned with 20,000 prisoners, besides vast plunder.

Balibanus de-
fented by
Skânder Beg.

MEAN time, *Mohammed*, to revenge the late overthrow of *Seremet Bâshâ*, sent 15000 horse, and 3000 foot into *Epirus*, under command of *Balibanus Budera*, an *Epirot* born, but bred a *Mohammedan*, and the first who mounted the wall at the taking of *Constantinople*. This general, arriving at *Alcbria*, on the frontiers of *Epirus*, attempted to surprise *Skânder Beg*; who was incamped with a few troops in the neighbourhood; but missing of his aim, soon after advanced towards a rugged hill, which incloses part of the valley of *Valkhal*, where that prince then lay with 4000 horse and 15,000 foot, who, on the others approach, retired to a hill behind them. *Balibanus* taking this for a flight, hastily came forward to attack him: but, after a long and doubtful battle, was routed. However, some of *Skânder Beg*'s best officers, pursuing the enemy beyond their orders, were beset; and after a desperate resistance, taken prisoners. Among these were the famous *Moses Galanus*, *Musachius*, *Giuiza*, *Perlot*, and others. They were all sent to *Constantinople*, whither *Skânder Beg* dispatched an ambassador to obtain

¹ KHALKONDYLAS, l. x. c. 7—11.

(I) *Kominius*, a famous pirate, according to others.

(K) Perhaps *Sir Ahmed*, or *Sari Ahmed*.

(L) He was the younger son of *Huniades*; for whose sake, on the death of *Leijlanc*, the army elected him

king, although he was then a prisoner at *Rogere*; and he became a far greater terror to the *Turks* than ever his father had been.

a their freedom : but the *Soltân*, rejecting either exchange or ransom, after treating them in the most opprobrious manner, caused them all to be slay'd alive ; in which torment they lived fifteen days.

BALIBANUS, after having corrupted *Skânder Beg*'s scouts, would have surpris'd him in his camp at *Oronikheum* ; if he himself, ever on the watch, had not, in the dead of night, perceived the enemy at a distance, by the noise of their horses. Then quickly putting his army in order, gave them such a warm reception, that the greater part of them were slain ; the general and the rest with difficulty escaping. *Balibanus* finding artifice would not do, and having a recruit of 14,000 horse, and 3000 foot, marched to the great plains of *Sfetigrade* to attack *Skânder Beg* ; who, with only 8000 horse and 1500 foot, performed wonders. In the battle, his horse being slain, and himself bruised in the fall, the *Turks* flocked about to kill him : but he was rescued by his soldiers ; and presently after having killed *Soleymân*, a great *Turkish* commander, whom he encountered with, the enemy fled : while the victors pursuing, made a great slaughter, so that but a few, with *Balibanus* himself, escaped.

THIS commander, on his return to *Constantinople*, ascribed his ill success to the smallness of his forces ; and having applied for a strong body of troops, he was dispatched to *Epirus* with 40,000 men. Of these, taking 20,000 horse and 4000 foot, he marched the nearest way to *Epirus*, leaving *Takûb Arnaud*, otherwise named *James the Epirot*, with 16,000 horse to take another road, and so hem in *Skânder Beg* between them. Being arrived at the valley at *Valkbal*, the prince, who had 8000 horse and 4000 foot, marched towards him. He would have waited till *Takûb* came up, but his soldiers being impatient to engage, a fierce battle was fought ; when, in the midst of the engagement, the old garrison of *Kroja* arriving to the assistance of the *Epirots*, the *Turks* were overthrown with great slaughter, only *Balibanus* and a few more escaping. The Christians had scarce time to breathe, when *Takûb* advanced with his forces, and though much discouraged when he found *Balibanus* had been defeated, yet did not decline the combat. But *Skânder Beg* made short work of it : for, having singled out the general, he attacked and slew him ; on which the *Turks* fled, and in the pursuit, were most of them slain or taken. They lost in the two battles 30,000 men, whereof 6000 were prisoners ^m.

d DURING these transactions, *Karaman Oglî Ibrahim Beg*, the inveterate enemy of the *Othmân* race, dies (M), and leaves six sons. *Ishâk Beg*, the eldest, having driven out his brothers, and seized the whole dominion, they fly to *Mohammed* ; whom they desire to appoint a successor according to his pleasure. The *Soltân*, glad of the occasion, names *Abmed Beg* ; and advancing the rest to honours in his own court, sends him back at the head of a considerable army ; with which he enters *Karamania*, and defeats his brother, who flies to *Uzûn Hassan* ⁿ.

To return to the affairs of *Skânder Beg*. The *Soltân*, as the surest way to get rid of him, hired two *Turks* to assassinate him. The better to succeed in their design, they turned Christians ; but falling out together, and letting drop some suspicious words, on strict examination confessed the matter, and were executed. After this, *Mohammed* marched into *Epirus*, with 200,000 men, and invested *Kroja* : but fearing to be disgraced before it, as his father had been, left *Balibanus*, with 23,000 men, and eight generals more, each with 7000 under his command, to continue the siege. In his return to *Constantinople*, he took some forts from *Skânder Beg* ; and corrupting the governor of *Khidna*, where 3000 men were in garrison, the place was delivered to him, and all the inhabitants, contrary to articles, put to the sword.

f SKANDER BEG, unable to relieve *Kroja*, went privately to *Rome*, to desire aid of pope *Paul II.* ; but could obtain none. However, on his return, finding the succours which he had demanded of the *Venetians*, and other princes, he in a few days made up an army of 13,400 men, with whom he marched towards *Kroja*. By the way, he surpris'd *Ionima* and *Hadar*, going with a supply to their brother *Balibanus*, routed their men, and took them both prisoners. Then coming up with the besiegers, drove them from *Mount Kruma*, their greatest post, and nearest *Kroja*. Upon this relief, the city rejected the large proposals for surrendering, made by *Balibanus* ; who at the same time advancing against part of the garrison, which had made a sally, was shot by *George Alexius* through the neck ; of which wound he died. The *Turks* were so discouraged at this accident, that they silently retired, leaving their camp behind them ; and finding the passes of the mountains stopped, offered to deliver up their horses and arms for liberty to depart : but this being denied them, they resolved to fight their way through ; which after much loss they effected, to the great discontent of the common soldiers against *Skânder Beg*.

^m RICAUT, ubi supr.ⁿ CANT. p. 109, & seq.(M) In the year of the *Hjrah* 869 ; which began the 2d of September, 1464.

A. D. 1466.
Mohammed
invades
Epirus.

THE Spring following, *Mohammed* marched once more with a mighty army into *Epirus*: where having rebuilt the city of *Valmes*, he advanced towards *Durazzo*, belonging to the *Venetians*, with a view to surprize it. Here mistaking his aim, after some time he decamped from before it, and laid siege to *Kroja*: but, finding he could not prevail on the inhabitants, either by threats or promises, to surrender it, he went and razed *Kbiuril* (N), a city newly founded by *Skânder Beg*; and then returned to *Constantinople*.

Skânder Beg
dies.

SOON after this, *Skânder Beg* having made a progress through his kingdom to view the state of it, went to *Lyssa*, a city of the *Venetians*, there to consult with the ambassadors of the confederate princes, particularly about taking *Valmes* above-mentioned; which was a great annoyance to the *Epirots*. Here, being seized with a fever, he died the 17th of *January*, 1466, after he had recommended his wife and son to the protection of the republic; having lived 63 years, and reigned 24. His body was buried in the cathedral, and there rested till about nine years after, when the *Turks* took *Lyssa*, and with great respect dug up his bones. Some thought themselves happy to see and touch them; and such as could get a bit, set it in gold or silver, to wear about them; superstitiously imagining, that they should partake of the owner's good fortune °.

Albania re-
duced.

THE *Turkish* historians take no notice of *Skânder Beg*'s death; but speak as if *Epirus* was entirely subdued about this time. Crouding the transactions of several years into one, they only tell us, in short, that *Mohammed*, to finish the reduction of *Arnaud*, or *Albania*, which his father *Morâd* had begun, by vanquishing *Skânder Beg*, its rebellious prince, and subduing most of the fortresses, marched thither in 870, and took all the remaining towns from the rebels. Some of them he demolished, and to prevent future commotions, commanded a strong city (O) to be built at the entrance of the province.

Hejrah, 870.
A. D. 1465.

Karamania
subdued.

THE *Soltân* having now subdued almost all his intestine enemies in *Europe*, passes over into *Asia*; and resolving to revenge the injuries done to his ancestors by the *Karamanian* kings, enters their country with a great army; and expelling *Abmed*, with his brothers, makes his eldest son *Mostafa*, king of *Karamania*; which next year he thoroughly subdues, placing garrisons in *Ak Saray* (P) and (Q) *Gbiulluk* °.

Bosnia re-
covered.

DURING the transactions in *Epirus*, the *Hungarians* by land, and *Venetians* by sea, kept the *Turks* in continual play. King *Mathias*, pursuant to his promise to the latter, entered *Bosnia*, and never ceased till he had wrested the whole kingdom out of the hands of the *Turks*. These afterwards endeavoured to recover *Jaziga*, the capital, but were forced to raise the siege; and being followed by the king into *Servia*, he took part of that kingdom also from them: by which actions his name became as dreadful to the *Othmâns*, as that of his father *Huniades* had been.

Venetian
successes.

ON the other side, the *Venetians*, and their captain-general, *Canalis*, burned several towns and villages about the bay of *Saloniki* (or *Theffalonika*) fortified *Legostinum*, in the gulph of *Patras*, and surprised *Ænus*, at the mouth of the river *Hebrus*; from whence *Canalis* returned to *Negropont* with 1000 captives. At the same time, the *Venetians*, assisting *Nicholas Du Chaine* against his brother *Alexius*, then at variance about the principality of *Zadrina*, gave the *Turks* a great overthrow, near the river *Drino*, in *Epirus* ° (or *Albania*).

City of Ne-
gropont taken
by Moham-
med.

Hej. 874.
A. D. 1469.

THE island of *Egriboz* (or *Negropont*), the antient *Eubœa*, being the only place in *Europe* which seemed formidable to *Mohammed*, he, in 874, marched with a great army, attended by a fleet, into *Greece*; and, in one month, takes the strongest city of that age, in sight of a considerable fleet of the *Venetians*; who, after coming to the assistance of the besieged, retired to their great dishonour, without firing a gun °. With regard to this remarkable action, the Christian writers tell us, that, as the island of *Negropont* lay very convenient for invading the *Othmân* sea coast, and afforded the *Venetians* an easy retreat, *Mohammed* resolved to take it from them.

A. D. 1470.

With this view, he sent thither 300 gallies, under *Mabmûd*, the great *Bâshâ*, and followed himself with a great army. At his first landing, he took and razed *Stora* and *Basiikon*. Then laying a bridge of boats over the streight between the island and *Akbaia*, raised batteries against *Khalcide*, or *Negropont*, the capital city, by the direction of a traitor, who shewed his engineers the weakest parts of the wall; for which, being discovered, he was hanged. After 30 days leaguer, the *Venetian* admiral came in sight of the city; at whose appearance, *Mohammed* was inclined to raise the siege, for fear the enemy should break his bridge, and so cut off his communication with the firm land: but the admiral basely slipped the opportunity, while the *Turks*, pushing on the siege with double fury, at length carried the place by storm.

The island sub-
dued.

° RICAUT, ubi supr.
° CANT. p. III.

° CANTIMIR'S Othm. Hist. p. 110.

° RICAUT, in Mohammed II.

(N) Perhaps the city of retreat, spoken of before by *Herakleides*.

(O) Perhaps *Valles* above-mentioned.

(P) Or *white palace*.

(Q) *Rojicum*, a town in the same country.

- a The assault lasted a whole day and night; yet, after they had been twice beaten off the breaches, they entered, and slew all who were in it (with the governor and a few more, who retired to the castle), contrary to their agreement. His daughter was spared, and presented to *Mohammed* as a mirror of beauty; but she, with great constancy, refusing to gratify his passion, he ordered her to be slain. This great loss the *Venetians* endeavoured to repair not long after, by surprising the island; but failed in the attempt^a.

THESE conquests induced several strong cities to submit to the *Soltân*; and, in 876, *Kizul* A. D. 1471. *Arslân Beg*, lord of *Alaeb* (R), voluntarily surrenders his dominions. In return for which, *Mohammed* bestows on him the province of *Ghiumo'ljina* (S) for ever^b.

- b THE *Venetians*, to prevent farther mischief, not only entered into a confederacy with pope *Sixtus IV.* *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, *Lewis* king of *Cyprus*, and the grand master of *Rhodes*, but sent *Katarini Zeno* to *Uzûn Hassan*, with large presents, to induce him to make war on *Mohammed*; who, by his ambassadors, also endeavoured to dissuade him. Mean time, their captain-general, *Mocinego*, with his fleet, ravaged the island of *Lesbos*, or *Mitylene*, and the country about *Pergamus*, in *Lesser Asia*. Afterwards, landing at *Knidus*, he carried off a great booty. Then joining 17 galleys of king *Ferdinand* at *Modon*, returned to *Asia*; and pillaging the coast for four days, set sail for *Hallikarnassus*, where they took an immense spoil. There being joined by 20 galleys of the pope, and two from *Rhodes*, they sailed to *Samos*, and thence to *Attalia*, capital of *Pamphilia*, whose suburbs they plundered and burnt: but not being able to take the city, they ravaged the coast, and returned to *Rhodes*. There they met with the king of *Persia's* ambassador, sent to the pope and *Venetians* for great guns by his master, who had entered into a league with the Christian princes against *Mohammed*. The fleet next sailed to *Karia*; and carried from thence great spoil to *Naxos*. Here the galleys of *Naples* returned home, while *Mocinego*, with the legate, sailing back to *Asia*, took *Smyrna*; which they plundered and fired. Then, winter coming on, returned home likewise.

NEXT year *Mocinego* sailed again to the coast of *Asia*; and assisting *Kassam Beg*, prince of *Cilicia*, who with his brother *Pir Ahmed* had been dispossessed by *Mohammed*, they recovered *Sikbinum*, *Korikus*, and at length *Seleucia*, which restored him his territories. Then having ravaged the country of *Lydia*, he returned to the *Morea*^c.

- d ABOUT the same time *Yusef Beg*, general of *Uzûn Hassan*, in conjunction with a great army of *Tatars*, enters the *Othmân* dominions, and burns *Tokâd*: but invading *Karamania*, he is met by *Mostafa* the new king; and after a long and bloody battle, being defeated and taken, is sent in chains to the *Soltân*. To revenge this blow, *Uzân Hassan* himself, the next year, enters the *Othmân* dominions with a powerful army. *Mohammed*, who expected this invasion, hastens over to *Asia*, and meets the *Persians* at *Payas* (X); where a battle was fought with various success: but at length *Mostafa*, the *Soltân's* eldest son, who commanded the left wing, meeting *Zeyno'ddîn*, *Uzûn Hassan's* son, who led the enemy's right wing, after a fierce combat, unhorses him, and before he can recover himself, runs him through the body. Upon this, the right-wing flying, the *Othmâns* attack the left so furiously, that at length they betake themselves also to flight, *Uzûn Hassan* escaping with a few attendants only^d.

- e ACCORDING to the Christian historians (Y), who compute each army at 320,000 men, the *Turks*, having lost 40,000 in the first encounter, the *Soltân* thought fit to fortify his camp with a trench, the carriages and artillery. The *Persians*, flushed with success, came boldly to attack it: but their horse, terrified by the unaccustomed noise of the cannon, fell into confusion. This *Mohammed* perceiving, advanced with his cavalry, and after an obstinate resistance, put them to the rout. But although the *Turks* had the honour of the field, and took the enemy's camp, yet their loss was computed to be double that of the *Persians*^e.

THE roads being too difficult for a pursuit, *Mohammed* besieges *Kara Hissar Sharki* (Z), which he soon reduces, and then returns with part of his army, leaving the rest under the

com-

^a RICAUT. ubi supr.

^b CANT. p. III.

^c RICAUT, ubi supr.

^d CANT. p. III.

^e RICAUT, ubi supr.

(R) Perhaps the province of *Philadelphia*; which is called *Alla Shâbr* by the *Turks*.

(S) The *Turkish* name of a province and town in *Rûm eli* (or *Thrace*), near *Larissa*. Cant.

(U) The Christian historians place this action in the year 1474; and say, that *Mostafa* was defeated, with the loss of 30,000 men; and that *Morâd*, *Bâsha* of *Romania*, who had been sent with forces to assist the prince, was slain. Ricaut.

(X) A city and noble mart of *Paphlagonia*. Cant. We know none such in that part of *Asia Minor*: but there is a port called *Payâs*, or *Bayâs*, on the south coast in Mod. Hist. Vol. V.

the bay of *Skanderûn*, or *Alexandretta*. Perhaps a mistake for *Ayâs*, a little to the west of *Enguri*, or *Ancyra*.

(Y) They say also, that *Uzun Hassan* made war on *Mohammed*, as well at the request of the Christian princes, as to support his claim to the empire of *Trebizond*, in right of his wife (*Despina Katun*), the daughter of *Kalo Joannes*; by whom they say he had a daughter called *Martha*, who was the mother of *Shâh Ismael Sofi*.

(Z) A noted city of *Paphlagonia*, near *Payas*. Perhaps the *Arsinga* of the ancients. Cant. That cannot be;

A. D. 1474. command of *Ghiedik Ahmed Pâshâ* (A); who not only took *Ermenak* and *Zilifkeh*, but sub- a
 Kaffa taken. dued the whole province of *Varsak* (B).
 Hej. 876.

A. D. 1471. NEXT year, under the conduct of the same *Pâshâ* (C), he wrests from the *Genoefes*, *Kieffe*
 (or *Kaffa*), the strongest place in *Krîm*, which by that means is reduced to his obedience.
 Here he found *Mengli Ghieray*, descended from the princes of *Kopchâk* (D); who, after a long
 war with his brother, was forced to fly to the *Genoefes*. Him the *Soltân* appoints *Khân* of
 the *Krîm*, or *Taurica Kbersonesus*, and sends with an army to recover his country; which he
 effected, after killing his brother in battle. This was the first *Khân* of *Tatary* appointed by
 the *Turks*, and the first who in *Krîm* ordered the *Khotba* to be used in the prayers in the name
 of the *Othmân* emperor.

Defeated in While these things passed in the *Krîm*, *Soleymân Pâshâ* leads a considerable army into b
 Moldavia; *Moldavia* (E); where, being met by *Stephen* (F) near *Falchi* (G), on the *Prut*, a long and
 doubtful battle ensues; but at last, by the negligence of their general, the *Othmâns* are over-
 thrown, and himself killed (H). *Mohammed* at this news marches next year with all his forces
 into the same country; which he lays waste, and carries away an infinite number of cattle and
 inhabitants, no enemy appearing to oppose him.

besieges Kroja. MEAN time *Kroja* in *Albania* being besieged by the *Turks*, the *Venetians*, under whose pro-
 A. D. 1477. tection it was, sent *Francisco Contareni* with an army; who meeting the enemy in the plains of
Tyranno, routed them, after a very sharp contest: but the soldiers falling greedily to plunder,
 the *Othmâns* rallied and defeated them, killing 1000 with their general. After this, they
 not only made divers incursions into the countries of *Dalmatia*, *Istria*, and *Carniola*, but having c
 routed some *Venetian* troops at the river *Sontium* (I), ravaged the province of *Friuli* at their
 pleasure. They committed the same spoil the following year in the mountains towards *Ger-*
many; and, after a twelve-month's siege, *Skodra* surrendered for want of provisions.

VENETIANS routed. MOHAMMED, to revenge the repulse he met with before *Skodra*, or *Skutari* (K), a strong
 A. D. 1478. city of the *Venetians*, in *Albania*, about four years before, sends *Ali Beg* to besiege it a second
 time with 80,000 men; who in their march burnt and destroyed the country. May 14,
 they arrived at the suburbs, and in a month were joined by 50,000 troops more. Having cast
 cannon, and built a wooden bridge over the river, they began the 20th of *June* to batter the
 walls with their artillery and mortars. July 2d, the *Soltân* himself arrived with his whole force,
 amounting in all to 350,000 men. At length, breaches being made, the *Turks* gave several d
 desperate assaults; and though they fixed their standards four or five times on the rampier, were
 still beaten off, once with the loss of 12,000 men; while the besieged lost no more than 400.
Mohammed, despairing of taking the place by force, after seven fruitless attacks, changed the
 siege into a blockade. Mean time *Daud Gayola*, great *Bâshâ* of *Constantinople*, being sent to
 take in the lesser cities of the *Venetians*, reduced *Zabiakbe*, on the lake of *Skutari*; and *Lyssa*,
 which the inhabitants deserted and fired. *Drivasta* also was subdued by *Mostafa*, *Begler Beg*

† CANT. p. 112, & seq.

be; for *Arisinga* is the present *Arisingân* on the *Euphrates*, far from *Paphlagonia*. *Kara Hisâr Sharki* signifies the *Eastern Kara Hisâr*, or black castle. There is a *Kara Hisâr* near *Kaysaria*, or *Cæsarea*.

(A) A famous general, afterwards prime *Wazîr*. He was called *Ghiedik*, because he had lost a fore tooth: and gave his name to a quarter or ward of *Constantinople*. CANT. The Christian writers say, that a sudden peace succeeded this battle, and frustrated the hopes which the Christians had on that side.

(B) Prince *Cantemir* takes it to be *Paphlagonia*: but *Leunclavius* says, *Varsak ili* is the antient *Pisidia*.

(C) The Christian historians call him *Geduces Achmatas*; that is, *Gheduk Ahmed*. And say, that the fleet was fitted out against *Kandia* (or *Krete*); but that the admiral, being disappointed in his design, sailed into the *Euxine Sea*, and besieged *Kaffa*: that the *Genoefes*, weakened by their losses at *Constantinople*, not being able to relieve the place, it surrendered on articles; which the *Turks* did not scruple to break. They place this surrender in 1476, four or five years later than the *Turkish*.

(D) *Kapchâk*, *Kaschâk*, or *Kischâk*. Instead of the *ch*, an *j* consonant is often used. This nation and country lies to the north of the *Caspian Sea*. Prince *Cantemir* supposes it to be the same with the kingdom of *Tibet*, or *Turkestan*: but they are widely different. See before vol. ii. p. 494.

(E) The Christian historians tell us, that the eunuch *Soleymân* was sent first with 80,000 men to besiege

Skodra, or *Skutari*, in *Albania*; but that *Mathias*, king of *Hungary*, did on that news so harass the *Othmân* territories, that, after he had lost 14,000 men in three months before the place, he was called home, to defend the frontiers. They place this transaction in the year 1475. *Ricaut*, ubi supr.

(F) This was *Stephen*, surnamed the Great, mentioned in a former note. He is called *Tekkiur*, or king of *Moldavia*, which is frequently named *Bogdân* by the *Turks*, from *Bogdân*, the son of this *Stephen*. CANT.

(G) A city and country of *Moldavi*; distant from *Hussi* (where *Peter I.* of *Russia*, made peace with the *Turks* in 1711) ten miles southward from the *Ister* (or *Danube*). CANT.

(H) The Christian writers say, he was so bewildered in the woods and fens by *Stephen the Waywode*, that he lost his whole army, and had much ado to escape himself. *Ricaut*, ubi supr.

(I) The *Turkish* historians place this defeat at the *Sontium*, in the year 1480 or 81. On which side the error lies in these greatly disagreeing dates, we cannot pretend to determine; but see no reason why the *Venetians* might not have kept as exact registers of their affairs as the *Turks*.

(K) Prince *Cantemir*, from his *Turkish* authors, relates, that in 882 *Mohammed* took *Skanderûn*: which must be a mistake for *Skodra*, or *Skutari*; and the rather as we find *Eskudâr* in the *Turkish* annals of *Gaudier*, which place its surrender a year later; viz. in 883 of the *Hejrah*, which began April 3, 1478.

of

a of *Asia*. After this, the *Soltân* leaving *Ghedûk Ahmed* to take care of the blockade with *A. D. 1478.*
40,000 men, returned to (L) *Constantinople*.

MEAN while the *Venetians*, seeing things go to wreck with them, sent *Trevifano* to the *Porte*; who at length, in 1478, concluded a peace, by giving up *Skôdra*, the isle of *Lenmos*, *surrendered on*
and the strong castle of *Tenarus* in the *Morea*, besides paying yearly 8000 ducats; for which *peace with*
they were to traffick freely to the *Euxine Sea*, and other parts of the *Soltân's* dominions ^{the Turks.}.

IN 884, *Mohammed* furnished *Alao'ddîn Beg* with an army; by whose assistance he vanquished *Heirah, 884.*
his father *Badak Beg* (M), and obliged him to fly to *Cherkassî* (N), king of *Mesr.* *A. D. 1479.*

THE next year (O), he equips a great fleet, under *Gheidik Ahmed Pâshâ* (P), to lay waste *Italy*. But this general, after ravaging *Apulia*, and taking some fortresses, is in the midst of
b his progress recalled, on account of the new attempts of *Uzûn Hassan*. He is soon followed
by a *Venetian* ambassador, who humbly sues for peace; which the *Soltân* at that juncture
readily grants. But it was not lasting: for, in 886, *Mesîb Pâshâ* (Q) is sent with a great *Heirah, 886.*
fleet to subdue *Rhodes*; yet is forced to raise the siege, with great loss and dishonour ^{A. D. 1481.}.

THE facts here related are ranged, as in many other places, in a different order from what *Cefalonia*
they are in the Christian historians, as appears from the instances of the defeat of the *Venetians* *taken.*
at the river *Sontium*, and their suing for peace. The latter also place the invasion of *Italy*
subsequent to the siege of *Rhodes*. But first they inform us, that *Mohammed*, after the said *A. D. 1480.*
peace, sent *Ghedûk Ahmed* with his fleet against *Leonardo*, prince of *Neritus*, *Zakynthus*, and
Cefalonia, whose countries he soon took: but that his army of 100,000 men, sent about
c the same time into *Transilvania*, under *Ali Beg*, and other generals, was, after a very bloody
battle, overthrown by the *Hungarians* at *Alba Julia* ^b.

THE *Soltân* was urged to this siege of *Rhodes* by *Antonius Meligalus*, a fugitive knight; *Rhodes be-*
who falling sick by the way, was thrown overboard by the *Turks*, and drowned. The *Othmân* *sieged:*
army, consisting of 80,000 men, conducted by *Demetrius*, another treacherous knight of
Rhodes, landed the 22d of *June*. The *Bâshâ* (R), after battering the walls for some time,
made a breach; but *Peter D'Amboise*, the grand master, raised such works before it, that *A. D. 1481.*
Mesîb would not venture to enter it. However, a report being spread, that *Mohammed* was
coming with 100,000 men, and 150 pieces of cannon, it much terrified the besieged, especially
the *Spaniards*. At the same time, a plot was discovered, to poison the grand master, set on foot
d by the *Bâshâ*; who, having made a bridge over a narrow arm of the sea, in order to batter
St. Nicholas's towers, *Gervaise Rogers*, an *Englishman*, found means in the night to cut the
cables, and break it. However, a new bridge being made, the tower was battered for a while
both by sea and land, till that bridge also was broken by the cannon of the place.

THE *Bâshâ* then tempted the grand master with great promises to surrender the city: but *the siege*
finding he could not prevail with him either to do that, or pay tribute, he renewed his batteries *raised.*
with double fury; and a large breach being made, the *Turks* advanced to storm the same,
but were gallantly repulsed; while 500 of those who had scaled the walls in another place,
were slain. The whole loss amounted to about 5000 men. The grand master received four
wounds in the attack. The *Bâshâ* discouraged with his ill success, and the rumour that the
e Christian princes were coming to the relief of *Rhodes*, raised the siege, and left the island the
17th of *August*.

MOHAMMED, in hopes that if he failed in one place he would succeed in another, em- *Italy invaded.*
barked a great army at *Vallona* (or *Aulona*), a maritime town in the borders of *Mace-*
donia, under the command of *Ghedûk Ahmed*, with design to get footing in *Italy*. The
Bâshâ landed in *Apulia*, near *Otranto*; and after ravaging the coast, took the city; which
being the key of that part of *Italy*, he caused to be strongly fortified, and victualled for *Otranto*
eighteen months. Then went back to *Constantinople*, with an intention to return in the *taken.*
spring, and prosecute his designs: but, luckily for *Italy*, he was diverted by the troubles raised
in *Asia* ^c.

^a RICAUT, ubi supr.

^a CANT. p. 114, & seqq.

^b RICAUT, ubi supr.

^c Ibid.

(L) Where, in *Hejrah* 883, A. D. 1478, he built a new palace; which is now the *Soltân's* court. *Cant.*
Othmân Hist. p. 114.

(M) It seems to be the province of *Sina*, or name of some king of those times, unknown to us. *Cant.*

(N) This is to be understood of *Al Mâlek al Asbrâf Kayet Bey*, the *Cherkassian Soltân* who reigned in *Mesr*, or *Egypt*, at that time.

(O) Here the defeat of the *Venetians* at the river *Sontium* is mentioned.

(P) The Christian historians in the room of this *Pâshâ* substitute one *Alabekkus*, or *Marbekkus*; by what au-

thority I know not. *Cant.* Some Christian historians mention this *Gheidik* or *Ghedûk Bâshâ*, as they call him; though perhaps his name is taken from the *Turkish* authors, or the annals translated by *Gaudier*.

(Q) *Mesîb* signifies the *Messiah*; thus *Issa Mesîb* is *Jesus Christ*. *Cant.* The Christian writers call him *Mesîtes Paleologus*, and a kinsman of the late *Greek* emperor.

(R) The Christian writers call him *Mesîtes*, a corruption of *Mesîb*, his true name, and very common among *Mohammedans*.

A. D. 1481.
Mohammed
dies.

THAT summer the *Soltân* assembles all the forces of the *Othmân* empire ; and passing the *Bosphorus*, near *Yuzkinder*, pitches his tent under *Maltepè* (S), with a view to frustrate the designs of *Uzûn Hassan* (T) : but being in this place attacked with a violent fit of the gout, accompanied with other disorders (U), he in a few days was carried off, the 5th of *Jemâzîo'lawel*, leaving the empire to his son (X) *Bâ-yezîd*.

MOHAMMED lived fifty-one years, and reigned thirty (Y) and three months, exclusive of the time he ruled in his father's life-time.

His character
and person.

BESIDES his warlike virtues, of which he gave eminent proofs, he was famous for learning, wisdom, and a thirst after knowledge ; for his proficiency in languages, and patience in labours. He was also religious. In short, an accomplished prince, if he had made a conscience of breaking his word for the good of the state ^d.

ACCORDING to the Christian writers, he had nothing in his outward appearance answerable to the greatness of his mind. He was low of stature, and square set ; large limbed (Z), and of great strength. His complexion was *Tartar*-like, fallow and melancholic ; as were most of his predecessors. His looks were stern, his eyes a little sunk in his head, yet piercing. His nose so high and crooked that it almost touched his upper lip (A). He had very acute parts ; was skilled in the *Turkish* learning, especially astronomy ; and could speak *Greek*, *Latin*, *Arabic*, *Khaldee*, and *Persian*. He delighted much in history ; was very courageous and fortunate. He punished theft and all sorts of injustice with great severity. He had a great esteem for men who excelled in any art or science. But, to ballance these virtues, they say, that he had no regard for religion, or his treaties ; was very ambitious, and a great dissembler ; that he delighted in blood : and that his least displeasure was death ^c.

^d CANT. p. 115.

^c Ibid.

(S) That is, *the rich mountain*, or *mountain of riches*. It is a very high one, not far from *Nizza* ; which takes its name from a treasure once found at the foot of it. Ships in the *Euxine Sea*, when they come within eighty miles of the *Bosphorus*, discover and direct their course by it, although it is nearer the *Propontis* than that sea. Cant. The Christian historians say, that falling sick at *Geirvisin* (perhaps *Gebesi*), a day's journey short of *Nikomedia*, he died in three days, supposed to have been poisoned.

(T) The Christian historians say, that the king of *Karamania*, aided by those of *Persia* and *Egypt*, having defeated the *Soltân*, with *Ghedûk Ahmed*, haltered over to *Asia*.

(U) The cholick, which Christian writers say he was seized with three days after he began this expedition, might have been one of those disorders. Cant.

(X) *Mossafa*, his eldest son, is said to have been strangled by his father's command, for ravishing *Ahmed Pâshâ's* wife.

(Y) The Christians ascribe to him fifty-three years of life, and thirty-two of reign, including perhaps the three years of his reign during his father's life. Cant. Others only a life of fifty-two years, and a reign of thirty-one.

(Z) *Philip de Commines* says, one of his legs was swelled to a monstrous degree ; which was the reason that he commonly rode in a chariot.

(A) His nose is not represented so much hooked in his picture given us by prince *Cantemir*. This *Soltân* sent for *Gentil Bellin* from *Venice* to draw his face, and nobly rewarded him.

CHAP. IX.

The Reign of Bâ-yezîd II.

8. Soltân
Bâ-yezîd II.

AT Mohammed's death, his elder son *Bâ-yezîd*, who was *Sanjâk*, or governor, of *Amasia*, (B) was thinking of the *Hâj* (C), or pilgrimage to *Mekka*, when a message came from the *Wazîr*, signifying that his father was dead, and had appointed him his successor. At the same time he received a letter also, signed by the *Wazîr* and other great officers, exhorting him to come and take possession of the throne, and leave his intended pilgrimage to men of lower birth and more leisure ; adding, that it would be much more for the advantage of the *Mohammedan* religion, to prevent, by his valour and counsels, his enemies from recovering their courage and strength.

goes to
Mekka.

BA-YEZID, surprised at this message, was for a while in doubt what course to take. Piety called upon him to perform his vow, and it seemed dangerous to leave the throne so long vacant. At last religion surmounts the care of the commonwealth, and fortune affords an opportunity

(B) Before *Pâshâs* (or *Bâshâs*) and *Begler Begs* were instituted, all governors of provinces went by the name of *Sanjâk* ; which is at present restrained to those who are set over provinces without the distinction of the *Tug* or horse-tails, and is subordinate to a *Beg*, as a *Beg* to a *Pâshâ*, and a *Pâshâ* to a *Begler Beg*. Cant.

(C) *Hâj* is a pilgrimage to the holy places, *Mekka*,

Medina, and *Jerusalem* ; which every *Turk* is obliged to perform once in his life, at a time when half his substance will discharge the expences. And thus he obtains the title of *Hâjî*, or pilgrim. The *Karawân* is commonly escorted by the *Bâshâ* of *Damaskus*, with soldiers and water-bearers ; who takes care that their number is never less than 14,000. Cant.

a opportunity to preserve both. Therefore he answers the *Wazîr*, that it was not in his power A. D. 1481.
to lay-aside his more than blessed pilgrimage; and had rather forfeit the empire of the whole
world than leave his vows unperformed: but, lest the Othmân state might suffer any detriment,
it was his advice, that they should reverence as sovereign his son Korkûd till his return. This
Korkûd was of such sweetness and modesty that he excelled those more advanced in years. He
had, on account of his good qualities, been kept by Soltân Mohammed about his person for two
years; and at his death was in the army.

BA-YEZID, without staying for an answer, sets out for *Mekka*: and the great men, accord- Korkûd en-
ing to his directions, confer the government on Korkûd; who caused his name to be men- throned:
tioned in the prayers, and stamped on the coin. At the end of nine months Bâ-yezîd returns
b from his pilgrimage, and sends letters to his son, and chief officers of state; desiring him to
keep the empire, and them to obey him; while he lived privately at *Nicea*. It is doubtful
whether Bâ-yezîd was led to this contempt of the crown by a zeal for divine worship kindled
at *Mekka*; or that, fearing his son's power, ambition, and popularity, he thought it better
to undermine him at *Nicea* by subtil arts, than hazard both his life and empire by an unsea-
sonable demand of the supreme authority. The prime *Wazîr* Ali Pâshâ, having read the
letter, assembles a council; and after some debate, decrees with their consent, that Moham-
med's appointment should be strictly adhered to, and Bâ-yezîd alone acknowledged emperor.

HOWEVER, they resolve first to sound Korkûd; and the prime *Wazîr*, having obtained an His filial piety;
audience, says to him, "Your majesty's resplendent father, by the divine aid, is returned in
c "safety from *Mekka* to *Hâlep*; which we deemed it our duty to tell your majesty, in order
"to know your pleasure concerning him and his arrival." Korkûd to this discourse replies,
"The services you have done the empire, ought to pass for so many proofs of your fidelity:
"but whilst, by so artful a speech, you endeavour to shake mine, I can scarce refrain from
"taxing you with treachery. For you know my father did not absolutely and for ever resign
"the crown to me; but only commanded me to rule in his stead, till his return from a pilgri-
"mage, undertaken for his own and the public advantage. This I have done, because I
"would not disobey a father's commands. Let him, now he is returned, receive his own
"empire; and I, resigning the scepter, will for ever profess myself both his son and vassal."

A FEW days after Korkûd, hearing of his father's approach, passes the *Bosphorus*, attended resigns to Bâ-
d by all his *Wazîrs* and other officers, and meets him not far from *Nicea*; where he pays him yezîd.
obeisance, and commands the rest to follow his example. Then, ordering the *Mimbar* (D)
to be raised, he takes his father by the hand, leads him to the throne, and, turning to the
spectators, says, "This is indeed my father and lord; but he is also the governor and em-
"peror of the *Othmâns*. I have hitherto been his shadow: now the light is come the shadow
"vanishes: to him alone therefore pay obedience and reverence." After this he waits on
his father to *Constantinople*; where, arriving the 29th of *Jomazio'l Akbîr*, in the year 1581,
Bâ-yezîd is invested with the imperial crown (E); and next day Korkûd, with an allowance
fit for an emperor, departs for *Magnesia* ^a.

THIS unexpected change of affairs seemed very unlucky to *Jem* (F), *Sanjâk* of *Konia* (or *Jem rebels*;
e *Ikonium*); who from Korkûd's youth had entertained great hopes of seizing the empire: but
on Bâ-yezîd's mounting the throne, he reckoned his expectation intirely frustrated. He pre-
tended the crown belonged to him, because Bâ-yezîd was born before Mohammed was Soltân;
and alleged, it was a dishonour that the empire should be given to the son of a private man,
in prejudice to the imperial issue. He charged his father's will with falshood, as not being
written, but only coming from the mouth of a treacherous *Wazîr*. By such discourses he per-
suaded not only several cities, but also most of the *Asiatic* forces, that he was the right heir;
and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at *Prusa*. The inhabitants of this city and
other places assisting him with money, he soon after raised a considerable army. But his
dominion was neither firm nor lasting: for Bâ-yezîd, being informed of his brother's pro-
ceedings, passes hastily into *Asia*, with numerous forces; and meeting him near *Prusa* (G),
f after a bloody battle, put him to flight. *Jem*, escaping with only a few attendants, fled first

^a CANT. Oth. Hist. p. 116, & seqq.

(D) *Mimbar* (or *Member*) is a chair like a bishop's throne; on which, raised with three steps, both the imperial throne, and, in great churches, the *Vaidz*, or preacher's pulpit, is erected. CANT.

(E) The Christian historians know nothing of Bâ-yezîd's pilgrimage, and the cause of enthroning Korkûd. They only say, that in a contest between Bâ-yezîd and *Zemes* (or *Jem*) the three great *Eşbâs*, *Isâk*, *Mesîtes*, and *Abmed*, returning from *Otranto*, set up Korkûd; who, on his father's arrival from *Anafsa*, freely resigned to him.

(F) Whether he derives his name from *Jem*, a delicious kind of grapes, or *Jemm*, a fabulous name of *Soliman*, or *Alexander the great*, Prince *Cantemir* knew not. The Christian writers have out of it made their *Zemes* and *Zizem*. CANT.

(G) The Christian writers say, *Jem* was defeated by the conduct of the great *Bâshâ Ahmed* near *Nicopolis* (or *Ejki Shâhr*).

A. D. 1481. *to Hâlep, and then to Kaité Bay (H), king of Mefr (I), whose assistance he implores against his brother; who had not only seized the empire in his wrong, but had put his children to death.*

his troops defeated;

KAITE BAY advised him to lay aside the thoughts of war, and go in a pilgrimage to Mekka, for that Bâ-yezîd had then great armies on foot; promising, at his return, in case the face of affairs was altered, to assist him to the utmost of his power. Jem, not liking dilatory measures, writes to some of the great men of Varsak and Turgad (K), with whom he had contracted a strict friendship, intreating their aid. This being readily granted, he feigns himself desirous to undertake the pilgrimage, and applies to Kaité Bay, who furnishes him with every thing, and attendants suitable to his quality. However, Jem, instead of going to Mekka (L), takes the first opportunity to give his attendants the slip, and flies with a few followers to his friends; who assemble the forces of those countries: but, being undisciplined troops, they are easily routed by the army of Bâ-yezîd.

flies to Italy for shelter.

JEM, after his defeat, for some time wandered alone in disguise about the maritime places, and at length gets a ship bound for Italy; but first for Rhodes (M): from whence sailing, with some of the natives, he visits the pope; who recommended him to the king of Naples (N). Here, in an elegant speech, he sets forth the cause of his flight, and implores the assistance of the Christian princes: promising, with an oath, that, in case he obtained their help, the Othmâns should never set foot in any Christian dominions. The Christian princes, who had been terrified with the Othmân arms, bad him take courage; assuring him, that they would do their utmost to restore him the first opportunity. One day, as Bâ-yezîd was talking of these things, there happened to be present an Italian captive, turned Mohammedan, who for his address in shaving was made Berber Bâshî (O). This man, whose name was Mostafa, being full of craft, hearing what the emperor spoke, fell at his feet and said: "If your majesty will vouchsafe to commit so weighty an affair to my management, I will free your mind from all care; and dispatch your brother, although he lurked in the most secret corner of Italy."

Mostafa's stratagem:

THE Soltân not only gave him power to commit the deed; but swore by the holy souls of his (P) ancestors to advance him to the dignity of prime Wazîr, provided he accomplished an undertaking so divine (Q) and advantageous to the Othmân empire. Mostafa, encouraged by these promises, flies to the Franks (R) dwelling at Pera, and conjures them to assist him to make his escape to his own country. Being arrived at Naples by their means, Jem, who happened to be there, hearing that an excellent barber was come from Turkey; and, curious perhaps to know what passed at Constantinople, orders the man to be sent for. When he came, being asked about the present state of the Turkish affairs, he replied: that as he had followed the business of a barber for some years in that capital, he never minded any thing but the improvement of his art, and how to procure his liberty; which, after long waiting, he had, he said, obtained by the help of some good men; so that now he could freely enjoy his country, and profess the Christian religion.

becomes Jem's barber;

IN answer to this Jem told him, that he had nothing to do with his religious affairs, for God had given to every man a free will (S): but, as he lived in a land where barbers seemed

(H) Not *Caithaban*, or *Caith Bey*, as the western writers give it: for it is a Tartarian word, compounded of *Kait*, *Conversion*, and *bay*, *rich*: which is added to avoid the ill sound of the *Jislân* (or *Astân*), which commonly stands for *e*. The *Tatars* of quality add *Bay* to their names, as the *Turks* do *Chelebi*. Kaité Bay, who was a *Cherkassian* (*Mamlûk*, or slave), was the Hannibal of the Othmân empire. *Cant.* Prince Cantemir seems to be mistaken, for *Bay* or *Bey* signifies in Turkish a lord, as well as *Beg*; though not so much used as the latter, except in Egypt and the coast of Barbary.

(I) *Mefr* is the Arab and Turkish name for either Egypt or Kayro.

(K) A province near Varsak, which is thought to be *Paphlagonia*. *Cant.* Rather *Pisidia*, as hath been remarked in a former note. The Christian writers say, the invitation was sent him by the king of *Karamania*, at that time living in a poor condition in *Armenia*; and that, joining their forces, they were defeated between *Iknonium* and *Laranda*.

(L) The Christian writers say, he made the pilgrimage to Mekka after his first defeat; but the Turkish historians ought to know best.

(M) The Christian writers tell us, that the grand master furnished him with a good retinue, and sent him to pope Innocent VIII.: also that Bâ-yezîd agreed to pay him 30,000 ducats, on account of his honourable usage to him.

(N) Here the Turkish historians are mistaken: for he was delivered not to the king of Naples, but to Charles VIII. king of France, then preparing for the Neapolitan expedition. *Cant.*

(O) Or chief barber, the sixth great domestic officer at the Turkish court. *Cant.*

(P) By the blessed souls of my ancestors, or by the soul of my grandfather, is the only oath used by the Soltâns; except in their covenants with the Christians they add, by the name of the most high God: by the truth of the Korân: by the pure spirit of the prophet, &c. *Cant.*

(Q) The Soltân's orders, of whatever kind, are received by the Turks as coming from God: and to disobey them is reckoned the highest impiety, though it be to the prime Wazîr to send him his head. *Cant.*

(R) It is customary with the Turks to call all Christian nations (the Poles, Hungarians, and others, excepted, who wear long habits), and especially the Italians, by the general name of *Ifrenj*, vulgarly *Fireng*. Giving also to each its particular name, though very different from those used by the respective people. *Cant.*

(S) This notion of free will in man, so contradictory to their doctrine of absolute predestination, is admitted by many, that the Christians may not at the last judgment excuse their not embracing the Mohammedan faith, from a plea of their wanting free will. *Cant.*

- a to be very unskilful, he only wished that he would become his tonsor: "for," added he, "since A. D. 1482. you have sojourned for some time among my countrymen, who you know shave with so light and pleasant a hand, that a man can scarce forbear sleeping under the operation, I hope you have acquired some share of their art." *Mostafa*, the better to deceive *Jem*, at first declined the office; but at last consents: pretending, "that he could not in conscience refuse the honour of serving so great a prince, and shaving the head of one whose face all good men desired to see at *Constantinople*."

- HEREUPON he is received among his chamberlains, to shave him on the usual days; and, for some time, discharged his office well. But *Jem* happening to fall asleep one day under his hands, when none of the other servants were in the room, *Mostafa* cuts the prince's windpipe with a sharp razor (T): then, binding the wound very hard with a handkerchief to prevent its bleeding, leaves the chamber, and tells those in waiting, that their lord was asleep; bidding them not to make a noise to disturb him. This done, he posts to a ship, which lay ready to receive him, and escapes to *Constantinople*. At his arrival he repairs to *Bâ-yezîd*, and acquaints him with what he had done. The *Soltân*, who could not believe the story, was soon after convinced by a report that *Jem* had been murdered by the treachery of some Christians.

HEREUPON *Bâ-yezîd*, mindful of his promise, promotes *Berber Mostafa* to the dignity of prime *Wazîr*. Then sending ambassadors to *Naples* for the body, it was delivered to them, and buried at *Prusa*, near the tomb of *Morâd*.

- c NOTHING was wanting in *Jem* which could be called virtue, prudence, magnanimity, fortitude, and wisdom. He had no equal of his age. He is chiefly praised for rhetoric and eloquence. When among the Christians, he was strictly observant of the *Mohammedan* rites; said his daily prayers, and finished *Telaveti Korân*, or reading of the whole *Korân*, every week.

- THE rival of his empire being thus removed, *Bâ-yezîd*, in 887, made a progress into the *Moldavia* *Morea*, and fortified the isthmus with two strong castles, towards the *Corinthian* bay. These he provided with good garrisons, in order to restrain the Christians, who frequently invaded the *Othmân* dominions on that side. Next spring, he ordered a *Jâmi*, *Madreseh*, *Daro'ishîya*, *Imaret*, and public bath, to be built at *Adrianople*, on the river *Tunjeh*. Then, marching with all his forces towards *Moldavia* (U), governed now by *Stephen*, he takes the bulwarks of the whole country, the strong cities of *Kili* (X), on the *Danube*, and *Akkiermân* (Y), near it, on the *Euxine Sea*. By this means he not only prevented the *Moldavians* from exercising piracy on that sea, but opened himself a way to annoy by incursions a province often attempted in vain.

- THE same year, the *Begler Beg* of *Asia* took the famous cities of *Tarsu* (or *Tarsus*), *Kurshunli*, and *Kosunli* (Z), while the great general *Ghiedik Pâshâ* is put to death^b. This is all the *Turkish* historians afford us concerning these two events, while the Christian writers, who place the latter first, and both before the *Moldavian* expedition, are more explicit. With regard to the first, they tell us, that *Bâ-yezîd* being at leisure to call *Pîr Ahmed*, king of *Karamânia*, to an account for assisting his brother *Zemes* (or *Jem*), marched into the country, and took *Tarsus*. Mean time the king, having obtained aid of the *Soltân* of *Egypt*, met *Bâ-yezîd*, and fought a fierce battle; but, towards sun-set, rushing boldly to support his troops in the midst of the *Turks*, he was slain. The consequence of which was the defeat of his army, and intire conquest of his country. In the same expedition the prince of *Trakhea* was induced to submit to the *Othmân* yoke, and receive in exchange some other territories of *Asia Minor*.

^a CANTEMIR *Othman Hist.* p. 119, & seqq.

(T) The *Turks* here acquit pope *Alexander VI.* from the execrable crime charged on him by Christian and even catholic writers, and believed for so many ages: namely, that the pope, fearing *Charles* might give him up, to ingratiate himself with *Bâ-yezîd*, had him poisoned at *Taracina*, in his march to *Naples* with that king. The reader is left to embrace which report he pleases. *Cant.* They place this event in the year 1495; whereas the *Turks* mention no date.

(U) Prince *Cantemir* had often admired, in looking on the maps of *Hungary*, whence it was that the limits of *Walakbia* and *Moldavia* were so erroneously marked. Nor had he ever seen one ancient or modern map but what abounded with gross errors: thus, the cities of *Kili* and *Ak Kiermân*, commonly placed in *Walakbia* are distant more than 300 miles from its borders; nor ever belonged to it, but to *Moldavia*. *Cant.*

(X) Called by the *Moldavians* *Cilia*, the ancient *Lycostomos*, a city situate at the northern mouth of the *Danube*, which is larger and deeper than the other four. It is distant from *Galokh*, a considerable mart of *Moldavia* on the same river, thirty-eight hours or leagues. *Cant.*

(Y) Formerly *Moncafter*, the *Ozia* of *Herodotus*, now called by the *Moldavians*, *Czitate Alba*, or *White Town*; which the *Turkish* name also signifies. It is a most ancient city, famous for the exile of *Ovid*, from whom a lake near it, called *Ovid's Lake*, seems to have received its name latterly from the *Moldavians*. *Cant.*

(Z) *Kurshunli* signifies *lead*: but prince *Cantemir* knows nothing of the name or situation of *Kosunli*. There is another *Kosunli* in the *Krîm*, called *Grimze* by *Herodotus*, or, according to others, *Kherfonesus*. *Cant.*

As

A. D. 1489.

Ahmed Bâshâ
translated,

As to the death of *Abmed Bâshâ*, the *Turkish* historians ascribe this great man's fall to his being falsely accused of an attempt to dethrone the *Soltân*, in favour of his eldest son (A); but the Christian writers assign another cause and manner of his death. According to them, while *Abmed Bâshâ* was absent from court, *Isbâk*, an antient *Bâshâ*, bearing a grudge to him, for having divorced his daughter on suspicion of incontinency, represented him as such a very dangerous man, on account of his great interest with the *Janizaries*, that *Ba-yezîd* resolved to destroy him. With that view the *Soltân*, at his return to court, invited him to supper; and, having drank plentifully, ordered vests to be given to his guests: but that for *Abmed* was of black velvet. The *Bâshâ*, enraged at this token of death, is said to have cried out, *Thou son of a whore, since thou intendest so much cruelty, why didst thou not inflict it before thou hadst forced us to drink this impure and forbidden wine?* Then, sitting on the ground, and being ordered to stay after the rest, as the executioners were going to do their office, the *Soltân* was prevailed on by a favourite eunuch to defer his death, for fear of the soldiery. In effect, being informed by his son of the danger *Abmed* was in, the *Janizaries* ran in shoals to the court.

and slain.

BA-YEZID, then appearing at a window, demanded the reason of their tumult. They insolently answered, that they would teach him, as a drunkard, beast, and rascal, to discharge his high office with more discretion and sobriety: calling him, by way of contempt, *Batcbelor* or *Scholar*. Being obliged to release the *Bâshâ*, they carried him with them on their shoulders; often asking him *how he did, and how he felt himself*. *Abmed* not only thus escaped death for this time, but was also restored to his places, and seemingly to the *Soltân's* favour; yet, some time after, he was slain by his order as he sat at supper in his court. *Bâ-yezîd*, being likewise incensed at the *Janizaries*, for what they had done in *Abmed's* favour already, and having reason to believe they might attempt something farther in revenge of his death, formed a design to cut them all off. But from this bloody act, as very dangerous, he was dissuaded by some *Bâshâs*, whom he consulted; and the *Janizaries* having at length penetrated his design, he, to divert their resentment, marched into *Moldavia*, where he took the cities ^c, as above-mentioned.

War with
Egypt.

AND now began to be kindled between the *Othmâns* and *Mamlûks* of *Egypt* those seeds of war, which, after numberless battles, ended in the ruin of the latter. *Bâ-yezîd* and *Kaité Bay* long beheld each other with jealous eyes; but neither dared to attack the other; believing both empires so firmly established, as scarcely to be subverted by human strength. The *Othmân* was superior in extent of dominion and number of armies: the *Egyptian* was strengthened by the annual accession of *Cherkassian* troops, the most warlike of all nations. *Kaité Bay* gave *Bâ-yezîd* a plausible pretence for a war, by protecting his brother *Jem*, and supplying him privately with money: but the latter thought proper to stifle his resentment till a more favourable opportunity, which shortly after presented itself.

Alaidulet tri-
butary.

ALAIIDULET (B), a petty prince of some provinces in *Asia*, to enlarge his dominion, attempted to take some cities belonging to the kingdom of *Mesr*, or *Egypt*: but, being defeated, and unable to withstand the *Cherkassians* (C), he sues to *Bâ-yezîd* for assistance (D); offering, on that condition, to subject his territories to him as a fief, by having his name stamped on his coin, and mentioned in the public prayers. Some *Turkish* auxiliaries being thus obtained, he re-attacks the *Cherkassians*; and, after several battles, fought with various fortune, takes from them *Gyullek*, *Sues* (E), *Adana*, *Kaysariâ*, and *Antâb*.

KAITE BAY, perceiving *Bâ-yezîd's* policy to weaken his forces by the sword of another, follows his example, and opposes *Kior Shâb*, his neighbour, to *Alaidulet*. These little princes, thus supported by the two *Soltâns*, contended for some time with such various success, that

^c LEUNCL. Hist. Musulm. and KNOWLES edit. Ricaut, in Bajazet.

(A) This *Bâshâ* was accused of soliciting *Abmed Bâ-yezîd's* eldest son to the rebel: but, his innocence appearing after his death, the *Soltân* often lamented the loss of so able a counsellor, as well as soldier. Cant.

(B) Possibly one of the *Persian* governors, often before mentioned, who left his name to the country possessed by him, which some maps corruptly ascribe to *Aladuli*. It is a country shut in with the *Taurus*, and *Antitaurus*, or *Cappadocia*. Cant. The same author, in a note, p. 181, more distinctly tells us, that this country is bounded on one side by mountains of *Kappadocia*, and people called by *Cædrenus* *Manzures*; on another by *Syria*; on the east by *Armenia Major*; towards the *Othmân* dominions by *Amasia*; and towards *Karamania* by *Adana* (near *Tarsus*). The *Turks* call it *Alaidulet Mamlukyeti*; that is, the province of *Alaidulet*; also *Zun'lkadir*. See other notes hereafter in *Scim I.* and *Soleyman I.*

(C) They are the most noble of all the *Scythian* people, inhabiting a mountainous country between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas. The *Russians* call them *Czerkiesji Pætigoriki*, to distinguish them from the *Kozak Cherkassians*: for all the *Ukrain Kozaks* are in the *Russian* tongue called *Cherkassians*. Prince *Cantemir* gives a farther curious account of the former, and in another note, p. 156, says, none of them are ignoble.

(D) The Christian historians represent this matter quite differently: they say, that *Karagusa*, invading *Syria* in 1487 with a strong army, his van was defeated in the straits of mount *Taurus* by *Aladules*, a mountain king, and *Isfender Bâshâ*, who commanded it, taken prisoner; which obliged *Karagusa* to retire. Perhaps *Aladules* is mistaken for *Kior Shâb*.

(E) It should, perhaps, be *Sis*; which was the capital of *Lesser Armenia*; whereas *Sues*, or *Suez*, is in *Egypt*.

their

a their respective countries were sometimes subject to the *Cherkassians* and sometimes to the *Oth-* A. D. 1489.
mân dominion ^d.

THE Christian writers, who make the *Turks* principals in this war, tell us, that *Abmed* Syria invaded
Pâshâ, being sent into *Syria*, was by the *Egyptians* and *Arabs*, at *Tzukur Ova*, overthrown, by the *Turks*.
and taken prisoner (F). Hereupon the *Soltân*, next year, sent a great fleet, as well as army,
against the *Soltân* of *Egypt*, who met the *Turks* near mount *Taurus*, in *Cilicia*; and, though
much inferior in force, attacked them. The battle having lasted all the day, both parties
retired to their camps. The *Egyptians*, finding their carriages and provisions taken away
without knowing by whom, renewed the battle next day with double fury, and fought again
till night parted them. But the *Turks*, having lost 67,000 men out of 100,000, fled in the
b night, leaving their tents and provisions behind them. The *Egyptians* likewise, having lost
half their number, retired to mount *Taurus*; till, being informed by their spies of the flight
of the enemy, came down and seized their camp. Hence those in the battle itself scarce
knew which side got the victory. The *Turkish* fleet had no better fortune, having been de-
stroyed by a tempest at the mouth of the river *Orontes*. Hereupon *Bâ-yezîd* made a peace
with the *Egyptian Soltân*, restoring to him all the places he had taken from him. Nor is this
account inconsistent either with what is before related, or follows after, from the *Turkish*
authors; who indeed may be supposed better acquainted with the springs of action than the
Christian writers ^e.

BA-YEZID at length, by experience, found that the power of the *Cherkassians* in *Egypt* Cherkassia
c could never be subverted, or weakened, unless their native country was destroyed, and the or r-run.
way shut up by which so many forces were every year conveyed into *Egypt*. Therefore, pre- Hej. 880.
tending to make peace with the *Soltân* of *Egypt*, he recalls his troops; and, in 889, unex- A. D. 1484.
pectedly invades *Cherkassia*; over-runs the country, and carrying off a great number of captives
shuts up the entrances of the mountains (G), by which it is surrounded with castles, and intirely
hinders the inhabitants from coming out. The supply of soldiers being thus cut off, *Kaité*
Bay, who daily saw his own forces diminish, and those of his enemies increase, is said to fall
sick with grief and die; as did the same year *Abdo'llah*, *Bâ-yezîd*'s son.

IN 890, the *Soltân* sent an army into *Moldavia*; where a great slaughter was made of the *Moldavia*
inhabitants: and next year again reduced the rebellious country of *Yarsak* ^f. The success of harassed.
d the *Moldavian* expedition is represented very differently by the Christian historians. They Hejrah 890.
say (H), that *Bâ-yezîd*, being freed from his fears by the expulsion of the *French* out of *Na-* A. D. 1485.
ples, and the death of his brother *Zemes* (or *Jem*), sent *Bali Beg* to invade *Podolia* and *Russia*;
where he did great mischief: but that, being forced home by the approach of winter, and
about to pass through *Moldavia*, the *Waywode* denied him either passage or provisions;
which made his army straggle: and thus such numbers of them perished, either by fatigue,
hunger, cold, or the hands of the *Moldavians*, that the *Turkish* historians relate, they lost
40,000 men in this expedition ^g. To return to them.

WHILST the *Othmân* affairs thus flourished in the east, the *Mohammedan* religion received Mohammed-
a grievous blow in the kingdom of *Endelos* (I). After several defeats, the *Musulmans* are ans expelled
e every-where expelled, put to the torture, and compelled to abjure their religion. In this Spain.
distress, they set forth to *Bâ-yezîd*, by their ambassadors, the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, and
implore his assistance, as head (K) of the *Mohammedan* commonwealth. Accordingly, next
summer he sent a great fleet into the *Mediterranean*, under *Kiemal ali Pâshâ*; who defeated
the Christian naval force, laid waste the island of *Malta*, and plundered the coasts of *Spain*
and *Italy*.

FLUSHED with this success, he, in the year 894, sent general *Yakûb*, with an army, into Kroatia re-
Kroatia and *Bosnia*, to make a thorough conquest of those countries. After he had taken duced.
several castles, and marched over the whole region, he met the Christian forces; and, hav- Hejrah, 894.
ing made a great slaughter of them (L), took many prisoners of quality, with their leader, A. D. 1489.
general

^d LEUNCL. & RICAUT, ubi supr.

^e CANT. ubi supr. p. 125, & seqq.

^f CANT. p. 129.

^g LEUNCL. & RICAUT. ubi supr.

(F) This affair is placed in the year 1488, by the Christian authors: but fell in 1483, or 84 at most, according to the *Turkish*; and, generally speaking, we find a difference of three or four years between the two sorts of authors, with respect to the transactions in the former part of this reign.

(G) Those of *Arzerûm*, *Demur Kâpu*, and *Derbend*. Cant. *Derbend* itself is also called *Demur Kâpu*.

(H) They place this expedition in the year 1497, twelve years later than the *Turkish* historians; so that there must be some very great error on one side or other: but we must leave it to future writers to examine more thoroughly where the faults lie.

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

(I) Or *Andalos*, that is, *Andalusia*; which name the orientals formerly gave to *Spain* in general: but at present the *Turks* distinguish *Spain* from *Portugal*.

(K) The historian gives him this title too soon; for the *Soltâns* did not assume it till *Selîm I.* conquered *Egypt*, and carried away the *Khalifab*.

(L) The Christian writers, who place this war also in the same year with that of *Moldavia*; viz. 1497, say, that *Kadum Pâshâ*, being sent into *Illyria*, spoiled that country, with part of *Kroatia*; that, being met near the *Morava* by 9,000 *Kroats* and *Hungarians*, he slew 7000 of them; and that, cutting off their noses,

A. D. 1489. general *Yami* (M). The same year, *Bâ-yezîd* married his daughter to *Abmed Mirza Oghîr* a
 Oghî (N).

Conquests in Asia. Hej. 895. A. D. 1490. A. D. 1496. In the year 895, *Soltân Yakûb* (O), king of *Azerbejân*, dying, the great distractions, which ensued, gave *Bâ-yezîd*, as well as the king of *Egypt* (P), an opportunity of seizing the provinces destitute of governors. The armies engaging, the *Turks* became victors; and, after six years roaming over the east, at length, in 901, all those countries, for which *Bâ-yezîd* and the *Cherkassians* had contended, were annexed to the *Othmân* empire.

The Rhodians defeated. In 902, the *Rhodians* were defeated, with great slaughter, by the *Turkish* general, *Nasû Beg*. At the same time, *Abmed Mirza*, married seven years before to *Bâ-yezîd's* daughter, on pretence of hunting, flies from *Constantinople* to *Tibris* (or *Tauris*); where he is chosen king (Q).

Hej. 905. A. D. 1499. NEXT year, *Bâ-yezîd* laid the foundations of a *Ûami*, an hospital, a *Taalim Kbara*, and school; which were finished in eight years. In 903, the *Soltân*, marching with great forces into *Greece*, takes *Anibakht* (R) at the first assault; and next summer, on the first day of *Moharram*, becomes master of *Mothone*, or *Modon*, by storm; and of *Koroni*, by surrender^a.

Friuli invaded by the Turks: THE Christian historians join together this invasion of *Greece* and that of *Italy*, hinted before by the *Turkish*, but without mentioning either the circumstances or cause of it. According to the former, *Bâ-yezîd*, having been solicited by *Sforzia*, duke of *Milan*, to engage in a war against the *Venetians*, who had confederated with *Lewis XII.* king of *France*, to conquer his territories; the *Soltân*, mindful of former injuries done him by the republic, made great preparations both by sea and land against them; and, on a sudden, ordered *Skân-der Pâshâ*, with 12,000 horse, to break into *Friuli*, in *Italy*; from whence he returned with the spoils of the country.

AT the same time, the *Soltân* put to sea a very numerous fleet, and marched in person with a great army along the coast of the *Morea* to keep a communication with it. *Grimani*, the *Venetian* admiral, delayed attacking the enemy's ships for several days, expecting that they would put from the shore, and advance to fight him. At length, *Andreo Lauredano* and *Albani Armerio*, newly arrived from *Korcyra* to be present at the action, impatient of delay, began the engagement; and quickly boarded a great vessel, commanded by *Baruk*, of *Smyrna*, a famous pirate; who blowing up his ship, the other two perished with her. Some others fought also; but the greater number of *Venetian* gallies lay looking on at a distance, and did nothing: for which the admiral was mightily blamed, and afterwards banished by a decree of the senate. Mean time, the *Turks*, in great fear, with some difficulty, got into the gulf of *Lepanto*; where they besieged the city closely by sea and land, and in some time had it surrendered to them.

A. D. 1500. THE year following, which was 1500, *Bâ-yezîd* fitted out a yet greater fleet for the *Morea*; and at the same time, entering by the isthmus of *Korinth*, sat down before *Modon*. His batteries having made four breaches in the walls, the *Turks* gave two fierce attacks; but were repulsed both times. In the interim, the *Venetian* admiral, *Trevisano*, coming from the isle of *Zant*, where he had lain with three great gallies, laden with necessaries, under three resolute commanders, they broke through the *Turkish* fleet, and ran themselves aground under the walls of the town. But while the soldiers, as well as citizens, overjoyed at their arrival, ran in crowds to welcome them, leaving several places to the landward unguarded, the *Janizaries*, seizing the opportunity, entered the city without much opposition, and put most of the people to the sword; among whom were the governor and bishop: besides 1000 who were slain before the *Soltân's* tent.

the Venetians, Cefalonia: HOWEVER, to make some reparation for this loss, next year, admiral *Pisaurio* (for *Trevisano* was dead) pursuing the enemy's fleet to the mouth of the *Hellepont*, took above 20 of their gallies; and the isle of *Ægina* in his return. Then, joining with *Gonsalvo the Great*, sent by king *Ferdinand* of *Spain* to aid them, he at length, by that general's conduct, wrested the city of *Cefalonia* from the *Turks*; which was followed by the reduction of the whole island. Not long after, being informed, that part of the *Turkish* fleet lay in the bay of *Ambracia*,

^a CANT. ubi supr.

he sent them to *Constantinople*. Leunclav. & Ricaut. in Bajezet.

(M) This is the famous count *John Torquatus*; who according to the Christian writers, died in this engagement, not vanquished, but tired with victory. Which of the two accounts shall we believe? Cant.

(N) He seems by the title of *Mirza* to have been a *Persian* prince. The additional *Oghîr Oghî* signifies the son of a happy omen. It signifies also, son of a thief. Cant. This seems to be a *Turkish* corruption, or nickname; for *Abmed* was son of *Ogurlu Mohammed*, son of *Uzûn Haffân*.

(O) He was son of *Uzûn Haffân*, or *Haffân Beg*; and third *Soltân* of the *White Sheep* dynasty of *Turkmâns*.

(P) He must have been *Kaité Bay*, or *Kayté Bay*, and not his successor, as in the text of *Cantemir*: for *Kaité Bay* did not die till the year 901.

(Q) He made himself king, by defeating his predecessor *Rostam Beg*, fifth *Soltân* of the *White Sheep* race.

(R) Or *Lepanto*.

^a he sailed thither from *Korfu*; and sending the greater part of his fleet to the isle of *Neritos*, A. D. 1500. with eight gallies only entered the bay, burned one great galley of the *Turks*, and carried away eleven more laden with ammunition and provision. Soon after, he took the castle of *Pyllos*; but it was quickly recovered by *Kamalia*, a notable *Turkish* pirate. *Pisaurio* had not the like success in his attempt to burn the enemy's gallies in the river *Eante*, on the coast of *Macedonia*: for the 200 soldiers, sent in their vessels up the river to set them on fire, being hindered to return by a contrary wind, were beset by the enemy, and all slain.

^b ABOUT this time, *Bâ-yezîd* took the city of *Durazzo* (S) from the *Venetians*; who were ^{the Turks,} now sore pressed with the long war: but, receiving some aid of shipping from the *French*, the ^{Durazzo.} admiral sailed to the isle of *Lesbos*, and laid siege to the strong city of *Mitylene* (T). While ^{Hejrah 907.} a breach was making in the wall, he went with part of his fleet to *Tenedos* in quest of the enemy. Mean time, the *French*, contrary to the advice of his vice-admiral, having attacked the breach, were repulsed: as they were on a second attempt at their return. Discouraged at this ill success, they sailed homewards, and in their passage many were cast away. Of which proceedings the *Venetian* admiral highly complained to the grand master of *Rhodes*, whom he found at *Paros* coming to their assistance. However, next spring, being joined by some of the pope's gallies, he suddenly besieged and took *Neritos*, or *St. Maura*, with the whole island. But this they held not long: for, the year following, a peace was concluded between ^{A. D. 1503.} *Bâ-yezîd* and the republic; whereby *Neritos* and *Leukadia* were restored to the *Turks*. On ^{Peace con-} the other hand, the *Soltân* obliged himself to restore all the merchant-goods taken in the late ^{cluded.} war, to allow the subjects of the republic safe traffick to the *Euxine Sea* and *Constantinople*, with the privilege of having a consul in that city; and, lastly, to settle the limits between the two powers.

^c THE same year, *Bâ-yezîd*, having ravaged *Albania*, in his return was met by a *Derwîsh*, *Bâ-yezîd* in or *Turkish* monk; who advancing, as if to receive alms, struck him with a short scymitar; ^{danger.} but, the *Soltân's* horse starting, he missed his blow; and, being knocked down by *Isfandiar Bâshâ*, was torn in pieces by the soldiers. *Bâ-yezîd* after this, having made peace with all his neighbours (U), disbanded his army to take their pleasure after so many toils ¹.

^d IN 916, *Sheytân Kûli* (X) began at *Beg Bazâr* (Y) to broach his heresy in the *Korân*; ^{Hejrah 916.} which he supported by miracles, and thereby so bewitched the credulous vulgar, that in a ^{A. D. 1510.} short time he had an army of followers. Hereupon *Bâ-yezîd* instantly sent forces to dis- ^{Shâh Kûli, an} perse those riotous assemblies, under *Ali Bâshâ*; who, defeating the impostor in battle, com- ^{impostor,} pelled him to fly into the dominions of *Shâh Ismael*; where, meeting with more liberty to spread his poison, he infected the king (Z) and the whole *Persian* nation ².

^e THE annals of the *Soltâns* afford a better, and, in our opinion, more impartial account of ^{rebels in Asia:} this transaction. According to them, *Shâh Kûli* was the son of *Hassan Khalif*, one of the principal men of the province of *Tekin*, or *Teke-ili* (A); and, having retired for six or seven years to a secret cave, without ever stirring out, was looked upon as a holy man. *Bâ-yezîd*, not knowing that he was a *Kezil Bâsh* (B), and of a different sect in religion, sent him yearly 7000 aspers. At length, leaving his cavern, and being joined by many of his followers, he, on a fair day, entered *Antalia* (C), and plundered it; slaying the judge, and hanging up his quarters. By the artifices of his emissaries, having in a little time gathered 10,000 men, he marched against *Karagosa*, *Beglerbeg* of *Anatolia*; whom he defeated and took prisoner. Then, advancing to *Kutabia*, the capital of that country, summoned the inhabitants to deliver it up to him; and, on their refusal, impaled the *Bâshâ* in their sight. On this, *Korkûd* set out from *Manissa* (or *Magnesia*), with forces to oppose *Shâh Kûli*; but, being put to flight, wrote to acquaint his father with this rebellion. *Bâ-yezîd*, enraged at *Ali Bâshâ*, and ^{defeats the} ^{Turks:}

¹ LEUNCL. & RICAUT, ubi sup.

² CANT. p. 134, & seqq.

(S) The *Turks* do not mention this conquest, no more than the taking of *Cefalonia* and other losses.

(T) The *Turkish* historians only say on this occasion that, *Hejrah* 907 (A. D. 1501), the *Isfrangi* (or *Franks*), with a great fleet, besieged *Mitylin*; but that, 50 gallies coming to its relief, the enemy retired. On which peace ensued. *Cant. Othm. Hist.* p. 133.

(U) Peace was made with the *Venetians* by the assistance of one *Andreas Grittus*, then a slave at the court of *Bâ-yezîd*; by which *Leukas* and *Neritos* were restored to the *Turks*, and *Cefalonia* to the *Venetians*. *Cant.*

(X) The *Turks* gave him this name, from a belief that he was a magician, and dealt with the devil; or rather maliciously, because he undertook to correct the *Korân*, and give a new explanation of it, changing his true name of *Shâh Kûli*, or the slave of the *Shah*, into that of *Sheytân Kûli*, the slave of Satan. Prince Can-

temir, in a note, says, that he was, by the *Persians*, held for a saint, and called *Sof*, or *Sophus*, that is, he says, *wise*. But on what authority we cannot imagine; for *Sof*, not *Sophus*, signifies a person clothed in woollen, or a religious man.

(Y) *Beg*, or *Bek*, *Bazâr* is a town of *Anatolia* in the road from *Isnik*, or *Nicea*, to *Engûri*, or *Ancyra*; not far from the latter.

(Z) This is a slur, and not fact; for *Shâh Ismael* had his religious principles from his father *Sheykh Hayder*: from whom, with more probability, the Christian writers say, *Shâh Kûli* took his opinions.

(A) A part of greater *Phrygia*.

(B) That is a *Red Head*; a nick-name given the soldiers of *Shâh Ismael*, from their red caps.

(C) The same with *Attalia*, or *Sattali*, in *Pamphilia*.

A. D. 1510.
retires to Per-
sia.

the other *Wazîrs*, for not informing him of this affair, sent him with troops into *Asia*, and ordered his son *Abmed* to join him from *Amasia*. Mean time, *Shâb Kûli*, breaking into *Karamania*, defeated and slew *Hayder*, its *Bâshâ*, with *Zindis Kemal Beg*. Then, marching to the plain of *Zibukkia*, was met by *Ali Bâshâ*; who attacked him. *Hassan Kalfa*, father of *Shâb Kûli*, having been slain with an arrow, a tumult arose in the rebel camp; on which the *Bâshâ* rushed into the midst of the enemy, and was killed by them; whereupon his army fled. After this victory, *Shâb Kûli* bent his course towards *Tabriz*, in *Persia*; and, in the way meeting a karawân with goods belonging to *Shâb Ismael*, though he did not know so much, plundered it, and slew all the men: for which, on his arrival at *Tabriz*, he, and his chief officers, were put to death by *Ismael's* orders¹.

THIS transaction is told with some variation by other authors. The *Turkish* historians, used by *Leunclavius*^m, mention nothing of *Shâb Kûli's* robbing the karawân; and say, he was graciously received by the king of *Persia*. The Christian writers have added many circumstances from report, not to be depended on.

Great earth-
quake.

THE same year, 1509, there happened a dreadful earthquake at *Constantinople*, on the 14th of *September*; which last 18 days, and destroyed 13,000 people, besides a great many buildings. It was followed also by a mortality, which carried-off numbers of peopleⁿ.

Selim rebels:

ABOUT the same time, the *Soltân*, being much afflicted with the gout, contracted by luxury, and old age drawing on, he resolved to resign the empire to his eldest son *Abmed*: with this view, sending for him from *Kontyab* (or *Ikoniûm*), he declares him heir of the empire, and proposed to retire to *Magnesia*. But as he had discovered his intention, before he had gained the great men to *Abmed's* interest, it did not succeed to his wish: for *Selim*, who was governor of *Trabezond*, on this news, crosses the *Euxine Sea*, with the forces of his province, and marches to *Adrianople*. From thence, under pretence of paying his duty to his father (D), he hastes with 20,000 men to *Constantinople*, hoping the *Janizaries*, who were in his interest, would join him. *Bâ-ye-îd*, perceiving his son's design, with what forces happened to be in the city, bravely meets him at the village *Ogrîs*, near *Chorlo*; where, in *Jomazio'l awel* (E), 917, after a long and doubtful battle, *Selim* is put to flight. The *Soltân* forbids all pursuit, in hopes, he said, his son would lay aside his fierceness, and be convinced by this fatherly correction, that God approves not the rebellion of children against their parents. Thus *Selim*, escaping by the goodness of a parent, got safe to *Varna*; and thence, by sea, to *Kâffa* (A), in the *Krîm*.

is defeated.

A. D. 1511.

Invited by the
Janizaries,

BA-YEZID, on this, sends again to hasten *Abmed*; who, instead of coming (B), made answer, that his father in vain attempted to confer the crown on him, since he knew not only the *Janizaries* but all the great men were inclined to *Selim*, and wished him to be emperor. *Bâ-yezîd*, finding *Abmed's* diffidence, and being desirous to debar *Selim* from the throne for his disobedience, thought to defer his purpose till a more proper opportunity: but as it seemed difficult to revoke his declared resolution of resigning, because whatever is said or done by the *Soltâns* is believed unretractable, he privately endeavoured to induce the great men to petition him to alter his mind. But these, on the contrary, encourage the *Janizaries* (weary of ten (C) years rest) to favour *Selim*, and acquaint that prince by letters, that they have unanimously resolved to salute him emperor, and not suffer *Bâ-yezîd* to depart from his declaration of resigning.

SELIM, terrified perhaps by his former danger, at first refuses his consent, and tells the conspirators: "that he is far from despising the throne, but was unwilling to do any thing contrary to his father's pleasure; especially as he had been taught by late experience, that the hand of God was against him." The *Janizaries*, notwithstanding this answer, repeat their instances by the *Zemberekchi Pâshi*, or chief of the military engines; affirming, that they would all swear not to desist till they saw him raised to the throne, even against his father's will. Persuaded at length by these promises, *Selim* departs from *Kâffa*, with a few attendants;

¹ Annales Soltan. in Bajazet II. ubi supr.

^m See Hist. Musul. Turk. in Bajazet II. p. 662.

ⁿ RICAUT.

(D) The *Turks* are enjoined by their law to visit their country and parents, if in their power, after a long absence; so that, if a servant asks leave to visit his country, the master cannot deny him, without being chargeable with the servant's sin. This was *Selim's* pretence; for he had not seen his father since he ascended the throne. Cant.

(E) The fifth month.

(A) He is said to have married the daughter of *Mohammet Ghiarây*, *Khân* of the *Krîm*; who assisted him with shipping to pass into *Europe*.

(B) The *Turkish* annals say, he came and encamped at *Eskûdar*, or *Skutari*, opposite to *Constantinople*; and then returned, seizing the provinces of *Asia Minor*.

Korkûd, being forced out of *Maniffa*, retired to *Constantinople*; and afterwards had a friendly conference with his brother *Selim*: but, on his being raised to the throne, went back to *Maniffa*. The Christian writers say, both *Abmed* and *Selim* rebelling against their father, *Korkûd* repaired to *Constantinople*; and that, pleading the merit of his dutiful resignation 30 years before, *Bâ-yezîd* promised, as soon as *Selim* was gone into *Asia* against *Abmed*, to resign the empire to him: that *Selim*, on advice that *Korkûd* was at court, hastened thither; and, being there proclaimed *Soltân* by the *Janizaries*; *Korkûd* fled to *Magnesia* (or *Maniffa*).

(C) So Prince *Cantmir* computes the space. The *Turks* say only some time.

and,

a and, under the former pretence of saluting his father, goes to *Constantinople*. On news of his arrival, the *Fanizaries* flock together in the streets; and, joyfully meeting him at the *Top Kâpu* (D), accompany him to the *Eni Bâghche* (E), where they had prepared tents for him.

BA-YEZID, troubled at this new unexpected affair, and perceiving nothing could be done by force, on the eighth day sends *Koja Mostafa Pâshâ*, his prime *Wazîr*, to ask his son, *If he desired to visit him, why did he delay? But if, under those proceedings, he only concealed his impiety, why did he vainly spend the time?* *Selîm*, who perceived Bâ-yezîd's policy, returns a no less ambiguous and acute answer. Saying, "he would not in the least disobey his father's

"orders, but was ready to go where-ever he thought fit to send him; provided he pleased to satisfy some doubts he had entertained concerning the present administration of affairs.

b " *Sofî Oglî* (F), a man of no account, has risen in the east, and with a swift progress laid waste the *Othmân* empire, as far as *Kaysariya*; whilst you, instead of defending the provinces, are an idle spectator of his victories. On the other hand, a *Cherkassian* (G) of obscure birth and name, who ought to be prostrate under the sword of the *Othmâns*, has made himself master not only of *Egypt*, but also of many countries in *Syria*, formerly subject to our dominion (H); and holds them to this day as if they were his lawful inheritance. To such contempt the majesty of the empire, revered under our ancestors, is fallen, that they, who formerly, under the reign of Bâ-yezîd, were feared by the neighbouring nations as invincible heroes, are now, under the same reign, as men unactive and effeminate, scorned and affronted. Where is now the honour of the *Ali Othman* scepter?

c " Where the military discipline? Where the zeal of propagating the law? Where the art of government? Is it thus the empire is enlarged? Is it thus the order of our hitherto invincible soldiery is preserved?—These things duly weighed, let my father himself judge, whether they, who, by their own consent, permission, or negligence, have been the cause of these mismanagements, can escape punishment: for unless a timely remedy be applied to these corruptions, we shall be obliged to ascribe the approaching, and almost unavoidable ruin of the empire to our sloth, and not to the bravery of our enemies."

THE *Wazîr* having reported to the *Soltân* his son's answer, Bâ-yezîd is said to have replied: Bâ-yezîd replies: "I too plainly see my son's business is not to visit his father: but right or wrong to seize the empire. However, I am convinced it is designed for him by heaven, from my dreaming

d " (I) last night, that my crown was, by the soldiers, placed on his head. Since therefore I deem it impious either to act or attempt any thing against the will of God, with an humble resignation to divine providence, I lay down the ensigns of government, and will and command that *Selîm* be by all saluted emperor." With this his resolution he instantly acquaints *Selîm*, and desires his permission to live privately at *Dymotika*. *Selîm* intreats his father to remain in the new palace; for that he would be contented to reign in the old one. But Bâ-yezîd still urged his request; alleging, that one scabbard could never hold two swords. At length, having prevailed, he took with him the most precious things out of the treasury, and departed from *Constantinople*, accompanied by *Yunus Bâshâ*, and a few friends, the 10th of *Sefr*, in the year 918.

e SELIM, with the great men, attended his father to the *Kuchuk Çekmeje* (K), or *Little Bridge*, two hours distant from the city. In the way, he talked to him about settling the state; and desired his blessing. After which, taking leave of his father, he returned to the palace; where he received the imperial diadem with the usual solemnities.

MEAN time, Bâ-yezîd pursued his journey so slowly, halting, on pretence of indisposition, in almost every village, that it bred a suspicion in his son, that he hoped to be restored to the government, which he had unwillingly resigned, by some popular commotion. Perhaps this was the cause, that, when he was scarce 40 miles from *Constantinople*, he ended his days by an unexpected martyrdom (L). The *Wazîr* and great men being ordered to bring back the

* CANT. p. 136, & seqq.

(D) Or gate of the warlike engines, in the western part of the city. *Cant.*

(E) That is, the new garden; but at present a pasture about a mile in compass, and called *Khayr*.

(F) *Ismael*, king of *Persia*.

(G) The king of *Egypt*.

(H) This is all rhodomontade. When were any countries of *Syria* under the *Othmân* power before the time of Bâ-yezîd? The *Mamlûks* were an older monarchy than that of the present *Turks*; and held *Syria*, as well as *Egypt*, before the time of *Soleymân Shâh*. Perhaps they claim under the *Seljûks*.

(I) The *Turks* are very superstitious about dreams; and think, that the pure soul of a *Musulman* foresees.

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

and is admonished of some things in a dream. *Cant.* Or was not this to make a pretence for doing what he saw must be done?

(K) It is the town formerly called *Athyra*, in the road to *Adrianople*, and six hours from *Bujûk Çekmeje*, or *Great Bridge*. *Cant.*

(L) From hence may be inferred, that what *Philip Lonicerus*, tom. i. part 5. c. 22. relates of his death out of *Antony Mansvin*, is not a fiction; viz. that he was murdered on his journey by the hands of a Jewish physician, though the *Turks* do not plainly confess the deed. *Cant.* What regard then is to be paid to their authority as historians?

P p p

body,

A. D. 1510. body, *Selim* himself meets them on foot in a mourning habit without the city ; and, in a pompous procession, orders the corps to be buried in the *Jâmi* founded by *Bâ-yezîd*.

THIS *Soltân* lived 62 years (M), and reigned 32.

His character :

HE was, according to the *Turkish* historians, a valiant active prince, of an invincible mind, even in adversity ; and had, by exercise, acquired such strength, that few could equal, and none surpass him. He was a punctual observer of the law, and a great patron of the learned ; to each of whom he not only gave every year 10,000 *Akche* (N), but also bountifully supplied them with *Softa* (O), and provisions. He was himself so well versed in all parts of literature, that he was esteemed by his people the prince of learning. By his conduct, or good fortune, the *Othmân* empire was enlarged, and grievous wars waged with great honour. He repaired the walls of the city, demolished in many places by an earthquake ; and, in the *Brasser's Market* (P), raised a stately *Jâmi*, of admirable workmanship, with another at *Amasia*, no less beautiful, though not so large : not to mention the many *Madreseh* and *Imârets* erected by him in several cities. He built, near *Ozmânjîk*, over the river *Kizîl Irmâk*, or *red stream*, a marble bridge of 19 arches ; and another of square stone, with the same number of arches, over the river *Ghioz Sui*, that is, *water of the eyes*, in the province of *Sârikhân*.

Superstitious
conc. it.

HE is said to have carefully preserved the dust, which stuck to his cloaths in his expeditions, through the whole course of his life ; and in his last hours conjured those present, with direful imprecations, to make a large brick of it, and place it in his monument, under his right arm, instead of a cushion ; declaring, that he had always regarded the *Hadis*, or *saying* (Q) ; viz. " If any man's feet have been sprinkled with the dust in the path of the lord, him will God preserve from hell-fire." This is commended by the *Turks* as a singular instance of piety in *Bâ-yezîd*.

His sons :

HE had five sons, *Abmed*, *Selim*, *Shehîn Shâh*, *Alem Shâh*, and *Korkûd*°. The Christian writers say, he had a numerous issue, although only four were remarkable ; *Abmed*, *Mohammed*, *Korkûd*, and *Selim*. Of these they relate, that the second seemed most worthy of the empire, as having a lively spirit, acute parts, and generous disposition : however, the immoderate affection of the people to him hastened his death. As *Abmed* and he were by the same venter, they loved each other greatly : but *Mohammed*, having the curiosity on a time to see how his brother behaved, went from *Magnesia*, which was his government, with two friends, disguised in religious habits, to *Amasia* ; where they received no more than five aspers from *Abmed* for their music and devotion. This so offended *Mohammed*, that at his return he wrote his brother a reprimanding letter ; in which he so rallied him for his niggardliness, that *Abmed* was never after friends with him. Not long after, *Mohammed*, with some friends disguised in sailors cloaths, went to *Constantinople* : of which *Bâ-yezîd* being afterwards informed, it raised so many suspicious thoughts in his head, that at last he wrote to *Asmebedi*, who was *Mohammed's* secret enemy, to poison him ; which was soon after effected. Yet the *Soltân* shewed great concern for his son's death, and condemned the murderer to perpetual imprisonment. This happened a little before the rebellion of *Selim* P.

fatal frâlics.

° CANT. ubi supr.

P RICAUT. al. supr.

(M) The Christian writers make him 76 or 80.

(N) *White*, a translation of the *Greek* word *Aspron*. It is a piece of money less in weight and value than all other coin, the brass half-penies, called *Mangbir*, excepted ; 120 of them make a *Leonine*, and 300 a *Venetian* crown. Cant. These are the money commonly called *aspers* by Europeans.

(O) *Softa* are a kind of clothes, made of woollen.

(P) Not far from the old palace called anciently *Khalkotrater*. Cant.

(Q) That is, *Saying of Mohammed*. There is a collection of these sayings, or prophecies, called *Hadis an Nebevi*, or *sayings of the prophet*, to distinguish it from the *Hadisi Kudûs*, or *divine sayings*, contained in the *Korân* ; which were dictated by the angel *Gabriel*. Cant.

C H A P. X.

The Reign of Selîm I.

S E C T. I.

Transactions to the War with Egypt.

^a **S**ELIM, who was surnamed *Yavûz* (R), ascended the throne on the 19th of *Sevr*, 918, A. D. 1512. in the 46th year of his age, having been born in the year 872, whilst his father was lord of *Amasia*. His brothers, either on account of his interest with the soldiery, or else to avoid the sallies of his passion, did not dare to contradict his election. Only *Abmed*, who knew he could no-where be safe whilst *Selîm* was on the throne, resolved, through despair, to remove him if possible. Hereupon, allured by a false expectation, that some great men, who favoured his brother only in appearance, would espouse his cause, he, with all the forces of *Amasia*, prepares to pass into *Europe*. *Selîm*, having had early notice by his spies of *Abmed*'s design, leads his forces into *Asia*, in order to surprise him before his whole army was assembled; as in effect he did. However, *Abmed* bravely met his brother with what troops he had at *Enishâbr*, and fought in the foremost ranks; so that he more than once rallied the broken wings: but at last his army, being overpowered by numbers, was intirely broken, and most of his men slain; few endeavouring to escape by flight, among whom was *Abmed*: but, being taken, he was immediately strangled, and buried at *Prusa*⁹.

OTHER writers say, that *Abmed*, on *Selîm*'s approach, fled to the mountains bordering on *Armenia*, and endeavouring to raise forces; while his brother, unable to winter in so cold a country, retired to *Prusa*. From thence he dispatched *Ufeghi Bâshâ* to surprise *Morâd* and *Alao'ddîn*, two of *Abmed*'s sons, in *Amasia*: but having notice of his design from *Mostafa*, the old *Bâshâ* (who detested his cruelty to his other nephews, although he was the main promoter of his advancement to the throne), they laid an ambuscade for *Ufeghi*; who was taken, and most of his men slain. The captive *Bâshâ*, however, discovered the treachery of *Mostafa*, and gave advice of it to *Selîm*, who immediately put him to death: on which news, *Abmed* served *Ufeghi* the same sauce.

SPRING drawing nigh, that prince was solicited by his friends, in his turn, to fall suddenly on *Selîm*: who, for want of his *European* forces, might easily, they said, be vanquished. Accordingly, he set out for *Prusa* with 15,000 horse, leaving for haste his foot to follow by easy marches. *Selîm*, advised hereof, prepares to oppose him; and, having intercepted the letters of some friends of *Abmed*, directed from his own camp, urging him to come before his brother's forces were joined together; he first puts the conspirators to death, and then sends letters in their names, renewing their instances to hasten his march, and not stay for his foot: for that, as soon as the signal of battle was given, they would raise a tumult in the army, and slay *Selîm*.

^a AHMED, on this encouragement, advances as far as the river *Parthenius* (S); where *Sînân Ahmed taken Pâshâ*, who was sent before with 15,000 *Asiatic* horse to try the enemy's strength, fell unexpectedly in their way, and was defeated, with the loss of one half of his men. *Selîm*, however, not discouraged, marched on to the river *Elata* (T); and crossing to the other side, where his brother was encamped, placed 1000 men in ambush in a wood, under the command

⁹ CANT. p. 143, & seq. LEUNCL. in Bajazet II.

(R) *Yavûz* properly signifies *ferce*, or *savage*, and from thence *passionate*. This name, it is said, was applied to *Selîm* for his rage and tyranny, with which he pursued not only criminals, but also the innocent, even his father and brothers. Having once ordered his prime *Wazîr* to pitch his tents in a proper place, and the *Wazîr* only asking to what quarter he would have them pitched, he was immediately put to death without any answer made him. His successor met with the same fate the same day: but the third, made wiser by the

examples of the other two, pitched the tents to the four quarters of the world. So that, being asked by the *Soltân* to what quarter the expedition was prepared, he answered, that every thing was in readiness, let him design his march what way he thought fit. Hereupon, *Selîm* replied, *the death* of the two first has saved the life of the third, and procured me a good *Wazîr*. CANT.

(S) Now *Bartin*, a corruption of the old name.

(T) Now, it is thought, called *Halzebli*.

A. D. 1513. of *Khân Oglî*, a young *Tatar* prince, his brother-in-law, with orders to fall on the enemy's rear, when the battle was begun. Next day, both armies being ready to engage, *Abmed* sent to challenge *Selim* to decide the quarrel by a single combat; and, on his refusal, charged his right wing, sword in hand, with his *Persian* horse, who made the *Turks* retire. Then going to the support of his other troops, who were worsted by *Selim*'s left wing, and main body, where the *Janizaries* fought, he renewed the battle, bearing down all before him, with great courage and order. But while he was in great hopes of victory, *Khân Oglî*, issuing forth out of the wood, attacks his rear; so that his small army being every way hemmed in, fled as well as they could to save themselves. *Abmed* got off among the rest: but falling with his horse into a ditch, he was there taken, and put to death by his brother's order: but his two sons, before-mentioned, escaped; the first into *Persia*, and the other into *Egypt*.

put to death.

Korkûd
strangled.

A FEW days after, *Selim* leads his victorious troops against *Korkûd*, who had hitherto chosen to reverence his brother, and see what fortune would allot him, rather than imbrue his hands with fratricide: but finding his submission disregarded, and his blood thirsted after, he meets *Selim* with such troops as he could raise in haste (U); proposing rather to die not unrevenged, than to conquer. Accordingly, being easily vanquished, and deserted by his people, he wandered alone in the night through desert ways, and by day conceals himself in obscure caves; intending, as it was thought, to fly, like his brother *Jem*, to the Christians. *Selim*, to prevent this, causing him to be more diligently sought after, he was at last discovered by a soldier, and brought to his brother; who, without giving him an opportunity to speak for himself, though he earnestly desired it, delivers him to the executioner to be strangled.

Selim marches
into Persia
against the
Shâh.

SELM, after settling the affairs of *Asia*, returned to *Europe*, and went to reside at *Adriano-ple*; because his capital was afflicted with the plague, which swept away 160,000 persons.

Hejrah, 920.
A. D. 1514.

THE *Soltân* having thus destroyed the rivals of his empire, as well as some domestic enemies (X), turns his thoughts to foreign conquests. The chief object of his resentment was *Soltân Gaurî*, king of *Egypt*, with whom *Bâ-yezîd* had made a peace; but fearing lest *Kizîl-bâsh Shâhî* (Y) should fall upon him in the interim, he resolves to humble the *Persians* first. With this view, in the year 920, leading a numerous army into *Asia*, he marched to the plain called *Kaldirân* (Z), at *Tibrîz*, or *Tauris*; where, finding the enemy's troops not inferior to his own, he calls a council of his *Wazîrs* and friends, who were for deferring the battle till next day, that his forces might have time to recover from their fatigue. *Selim* did not think this reason good, because the enemy was equally fatigued, and therefore gives orders to prepare immediately for battle. Then sending for *Pîrî Pâshâ*, his *Defterdâr* (A), or *treasurer*, he bids him give his opinion in the case; which happening to be agreeable to his own (B), *Selim* cries out, *that assuredly, to his own and the empire's great loss, this man had been till then uninvested with the prime wazîrship*.

A great battle.

HEREUPON he commands the enemy, who had invested the city with their forces, to be invested and attacked. The battle began with the great guns; which were discharged by the *European* troops, stationed so unluckily, that an opposite hillock either received the balls, or sent them over the *Persian* camp. Upon this *Sinân Pâshâ* (C), advancing with the *Asiatic* forces, drawing their field-pieces after them, when he came within cannon-shot, ordered the

* LEUNCL. Hist. Musul. & Annal. Soltan. RICAUT, in Bajazet II.
LEUNCL. ubi sup.

* CANT. p. 144, & seq.

* RICAUT, ubi sup.

* CANT. p. 145, & seqq.

(U) According to others, *Korkûd* made no opposition, but fled towards the sea, in hopes of getting a passage to *Kândia*, or *Rhodes*: but being prevented by the *Turkish* galleys, which lay on the coast, he hid himself in a cave by the sea-side, not far from *Smyrna*; whence sending his man for relief to a cottage hard by, he was discovered by a peasant, and taken. Before his death, being allowed to write his mind, he did it very readily in *Turkish* verse; setting forth his brother's cruelty, and praying for vengeance in so pathetic a manner, that *Selim*, on sight of it, burst into tears, and professed great sorrow. He likewise caused 15 of those whom he sent to search for him, to be put to death. *Ricaud*, in *Selim* I. See also *Leunclavius* in *Selim*.

(X) These were some great courtiers who privately favoured *Bâ-yezîd* (or *Abmed*), and were all put to death. *Cant.* Among them also may be reckoned the sons of his brother, Or *Khân*, son of *Alem Shâh*; *Mehemet*, of *Jehân Shâh*; Or *Khân*, *Armîsa*, and *Musa*, sons of *Mohammed*: all young princes of great hopes, especially *Mehemet*, who had admirable perfections both of body and mind. He slew two of his executioners before they could do their work.

(Y) This is, king of the red heads; meaning *Ismael*

Sofî, so nicknamed in hatred by the *Turks*, for the reformation of the *Korân* before-mentioned; which he gave a sanction to. *Cant.*

(Z) According to the opinion of many, it is a spacious plain, under the walls of *Tibris*, and still retains the name of *Khaldirân*. Others think it is a small town not far from that city. The word signifies a man who exposes any thing to theft, from the verb *khalarum*, to steal: hence *khaldirum*, to cause to steal. *Cant.*

(A) Spelt also *Tefterdâr*.

(B) Among other things, he said, it was a good omen to attack the enemy at first sight, and fall on them before they can open their eyes. On which prince *Cantemir* observes in a note, that the *Turks* are persuaded, if they make the first onset, the victory will be theirs: yet that, in the last war with the *Germans*, the best and most prudent of their generals were entirely of another opinion.

(C) A very famous general among the *Turks*. At *Constantinople*, a stately building of his stands on 50 marble pillars, in the entrance of the inner port, over-against *Pera*: where the *Rossânjî Pâshâ* is wont to reside in the spring. *Cant.*

- a foremost ranks to open, and give room for the artillery to play; which made such a slaughter, A. D. 1514. that the *Persian* troops, before like a wall, seemed now to resemble streets and lanes (D). The enemy's ranks being thus broken, the signal is given to charge them hand to hand with swords and javelins; by which means one half of their left wing being slain, the rest are forced to fly. The *Shâh* perceiving the danger they were in, leaves the right; and, with the best regiments, coming to their relief, bravely repels the *Othmâns*, now intent on the destruction of the rest. *Selim*, on the other hand, perceiving his right wing oppressed with numbers, places 13,000 *Janizaries* on their flank, with orders first to charge the enemy at a distance with ball, then attack them sword in hand; and thus, by bearing the brunt of the battle, give the others time to rally.
- b THESE orders having been duly executed, the *Persians* were so fiercely attacked, that they Shâh Ismail; defeated. began slowly to give ground, and at last to fly: the right wing, who still bravely maintained the combat, perceiving this, and despairing of victory, fled likewise, to their eternal dishonour. The *Shâh* himself could not have escaped by the swiftness of his horse, if the night coming on had not put an end to the pursuit. Besides many thousands slain (E) and taken prisoners, the *Persians* lost the leaders of both wings, *Mehemed Khân* and *Tekieli Khân*, the bravest generals at that time in the *Shâh's* dominions. *Selim* found in the *Persian* camp the immense treasure and rich furniture of *Ismail Shâh* (F). After this, he declared *Pîri Pashâ*, the adviser of the battle, *Wazîr*; and orders all the *Nisa* and *Sabian* captives to be dismissed, saying, *it was unjust to make slaves of men who mere Sunni* (G), *and forced into arms; and that the vanquished were rather to be treated with clemency than cruelty.*
- c NEXT day, the inhabitants of *Tauris*, finding themselves deserted by their king, surrendered Tauris surrenders. the city to *Selim*; who enters and refreshes his soldiers for a few days. Then, leaving a strong garrison, returns to *Amasia*, his farther progress being obstructed by the enemy laying waste the country. From hence he sent to *Constantinople* many captives famous for birth and learning; among whom was *Husseyn*, son of (H) *Bikarar* *. This is the account given by the *Turkish* historian or historians made use of by prince *Cantemir*: but other writers of the same nation, as well as Christian, relate this war in a different manner; and affirm that *Ismail* began it first, on the following occasion.
- THE *Shâh* having sent an ambassador to compliment *Selim* on his accession to the throne, Morâd invades Anatolia. and withal a lion by way of present; the *Soltân*, thinking it was done to affront him, sent back two dogs by way of return. *Ismail*, more incensed at this contemptuous usage, resolved to make *Morâd*, son of *Abmed*, the instrument of his revenge. The *Shâh* taking compassion of this young prince, had given him his daughter in marriage, and early in the spring next year sent him with 10,000 horse into *Kappadocia*, as well to make trial of the people's affection to him, as the enemy's strength. At the same time he ordered *Vasî Oglî*, a famous commander, to follow with 20,000 horse more, keeping still a day's march behind, while he himself, with a much greater power, staid in *Armenia*, for fear he should want provisions. When *Morâd* had entered *Kappadocia*, several places surrendered to him; others he took by force, which he destroyed. His design was to have proceeded to *Amasia*: but was prevented by *Khemdem*, Selim sets out. *Beglerbeg*, of *Anatolia*, an old experienced commander; who, with a great army, met him at *Siwâz*, or *Sebastia*†.
- By this time *Selim*, being arrived at *Prusa*, quickly assembles an army of 40,000; and, setting forward, in thirty days comes to *Arsingân*. There understanding how the enemy had ravaged the country, and retired, he resolved to follow them close: but when the affair came to be proposed in council, a great many difficulties were started, as the length of the march, the cold of *Mount Taurus*, and heats of the *Armenian* plains, besides the danger from the petty kings of *Armenia*; especially *Alaideulet*, lord of the mountains, who, it was thought, ought not to be left behind. *Khemdem* therefore advised him to refresh his men, and wait for the enemy in *Kappadocia*. But *Selim*, disliking this council, spoke contemptuously of the giver; which affording his enemies an occasion to ruin him with the *Soltân*, they went so far as to pro-

* CANT. p. 148, & seqq.

† PAUL JOVIUS. LEUNCL. RICAUT, in Selymus.

(D) *Sekak* or *sekak*, street by street; a *Turkish* phrase, signifying confused heaps here and there. CANT.(E) But the number on either side is not mentioned by the *Turkish* historians. CANT.(F) Instead of *Shâh Ismail*, perhaps by way of contempt.(G) This is an inviolable law with the *Turks*, unless they be rebels; and then they must either be put to death, or released: but the *Tatars* do not observe this maxim, of which prince *Cantemir*, on this occasion, gives an instance.(H) He was the *Mecenas* of the oriental musicians; and had the greatest regard for *Hoja Musîkar*, the *Orpheus* of the *Persians*, and his scholar *Gulâm* the *Arab*. All *Turkey* and *Persia* were delighted with their melody and songs, till the time of *Soltân Mohammed* (the 4th), in whose reign the science of music, almost forgotten, not only revived, but was much improved by *Ozmân Effendi*. CANT.

A. D. 1514. cure false witnesses to swear that he had received a great sum of money from *Morâd*. Where-
upon *Selîm*, without more ado, ordered him to be put to death. a

Enters Arme-
nia.

AFTER this, he marched to the borders of the *Lesser Armenian* kings, whom he desired to join him against the *Persians*; promising to bestow upon them all the conquest: but their answer was, that they had taken up arms for no other end than to secure their territories, and without any design to offend either him or the *Shâb*. At the same, they offered him a free passage through their states, provided he would commit no hostilities; and promised when he was entered into the *Greater Armenia*, to supply him with such provisions as their poor countries could afford. Hereupon *Selîm*, dissembling his resentment, passed the mountains, and in eight days came to the *Euphrates*; along which he kept, for fear of wanting water, till he came to its source in *Mount Periaro* (I); where he encamped. From thence he sent scouts b to get intelligence; who after two days search, returned without one prisoner, and told him, that all the country lay waste, and was deserted by the inhabitants. On this he began to fear treachery, and called to mind the advice of *Khemdem*: yet he appeared chearful, and understanding, by his guides, that to the right, beyond the mountain, was the most fruitful country of all *Armenia*, he bent his course that way; and having, after a long progress, crossed the *Arâs*, above *Koy* (K), he marched to the *Kalderân* plains (L), which are in its neighbourhood.

Encamps near
Koy.

Prepares for
battle.

SHAH Ismail, who was near at hand, to prevent the enemy taking that city, resolved forthwith to give them battle. But first he sent a herald, with some attendants, to expostulate with *Selîm*, about invading his master's country, and bid him prepare for battle next day; while c those in company observed his camp. The *Soltân*, in answer, required *Morâd* might be given up; and, on that condition, promised to return home. Next day he set forward against *Ismail*, in order of battle; though he could by no means learn what force he had: so faithful were the *Persians* to their prince, that not one of them deserted to the *Soltân*, though many of the *Turks* went over to the *Shâb*.

His great
forces.

SELIM, who had 80,000 cavalry in his army, posted *Hassan Pâshâ*, with the *European* horse, in the left wing; and *Sinân Pâshâ*, with the *Asiatic* horse, in the left, having the *Akanji* before them: the *Asapi* were placed in the main battle; and behind moved the artillery guarded by 4000 horse. Then followed *Selîm* himself and his *Janizaries*, encompassed with small field-pieces and carriages, besides a double fortification of his chained camels. He also ordered his d foot, who were in the van, on the approach of the enemy's horse, immediately to open for the cannon to play upon them.

Those of Is-
mail.

THESE dispositions being made known by deserters to *Ismail*, he divided his forces into two bodies likewise; one commanded by himself, and the other by *Vâstî Oglî*. *Ismail's* force was very small (M), compared with that of the *Turks*, consisting of 30,000 horse, without any foot; but among them were 10,000 men at arms. These were all brave troops, armed with lances, scimeters, and maces: the rest, who fought with arrows, or staves, wore cuirasses and helmets. The *Persians*, not regarding the number of their enemies, reckoned to amount to 300,000, boldly advanced against them; and the *Shâb*, observing that the *Asapi*, on his approach, divided for the artillery to play, he did the like with his troops, and presently charged the *Turks* right wing. After a terrible fight, he slew *Hassan Pâshâ* himself, and a great number of his men; forcing the rest to retreat to the place where *Selîm* was with his *Janizaries* ².

The battle
doubtful.

ON the other side, *Vâstî Oglî*, having received no small harm from the enemy's artillery, because he was not so nimble as his master in opening his troops, charged the *Asian* horse in the left wing, and made a great slaughter. But that general happening to be slain, the *Othmâns* renewed the battle with great fury, and with their *harquebusiers* drove the *Persian* horse head-long upon the *Turks* common foot. Yet the *Persians* valiantly breaking through those foot, pierced even to their cannon, which they took; and like conquerors came to the right wing, where *Ismail* was vigorously charging the *European* horse, who, retreating, sent to *Selîm* for help. Hereupon, the *Soltân* opened in two places the carriages, with which he had barricaded e his horse, and detached part of them to succour the distressed *Europeans*: but could neither by

² PAUL JOVIUS, &c. ubi sup.

(I) *Minadoi* says it was in his time called *Kheilder*; but *Tavernier*, *Tournefort*, and other later travellers, assure us, that the *Euphrates* rises about six hours journey from the city of *Arzerûm*, in the mountain called at present *Minghiol*, or the thousand springs.

(K) That must be to the north of the city *Koy*, which may be about 60 miles to the west of *Taurus*.

(L) These plains, according to *Minadoi*, and others, lie near *Kay*, possibly between that city and *Tabriz*, or

Tauris, but rather nearer the first than the last; drawing, perhaps northward towards the river *Arâs*, the antient *Araxes*. See p. 243.

(M) But it seems incredible, that so small a number should make such a stand against, and almost vanquish, 300,000; especially considering the *Turks* had above double the number of horse, and fight nearly on a par with the *Persians*.

a fair nor foul means make the *Janizaries* go briskly on. So that the *Persians*, in this heat, surrounding the cavalry, hewed them down like sheep; and were ready to attack *Selîm* in his greatest strength, when *Sinân Pâshâ*, though his wing had been in a manner overthrown, following the enemy over heaps of the slaughtered foot, came seasonably to the *Soltân's* assistance, and restored the battle, now almost lost, with so much fury, joined to the thundering of the *Turkish* cannon, that the *Othmâns*, among their dismal days, term this only *the day of doom*. A. D. 1514.

THE fortune of the day now began to change, chiefly through the invincible courage of *Ali Beg*, and his brother *Mehemed*, of the noble family of *Mikail Koffi*; and *Ismail* happening to be shot in the left shoulder, was persuaded by his officers to retreat. This he the readier did, on hearing of the death of *Vahti Oglî*; and in so good order, as to have no resemblance of a flight. As he passed by *Tauris*, he required the citizens to open their gates to *Selîm*, rather than be utterly ruined. The wearied *Turks* did not pursue the *Persians* at all; but entering their camp, took all their tents, and many noble ladies; who, after the *Persian* manner, had followed their lords to the wars. And what is very remarkable, there were found among the slain the bodies of many women armed, who had fought beside their husbands in the battle. These *Selîm* ordered to be decently buried; and set at liberty all the rest, excepting one of *Ismail's* wives, whom he gave in marriage to a *Pâshâ*. In this famous battle, fought the 7th of *August* 1514, *Selîm* lost 30,000 men of the flower of his army, with *Hassan Pâshâ*, and seven *Sanjâks*; among whom were the two valiant brothers before-mentioned. The Persians overthrown.

c FROM the *Khaldirân* plains, *Selîm* marched to *Tauris*, and lodged his army in the suburbs. Some say he was afraid to go into the city but in disguise: others affirm, that he made a great feast in the *Shâh's* palace. His design was to have spent the winter in those parts: but the *Janizaries* declaring they would desert him if he staid, and *Selîm* at the same time being informed, that the *Shâh* was making great preparations against him, he, contrary to his promise, exacted a great sum of the inhabitants of *Tauris*, and carrying along with him 3000 workmen, best skilled in making armour and weapons, he marched back with all speed to the *Euphrates*. But, before his whole army had crossed that river, the *Georgian* horse, the van-guard of *Ismail's* army, came in sight; which struck the *Turks* with such a fright, that 2000 of them were drowned, several field-pieces were left sticking in the mud, and great part of their baggage carried away by the stream: for all this the enemy got a considerable booty there. The Turks harrassed in their turn.

THEIR passage over the *Antitaurus* was yet more dangerous than that of the *Euphrates*; for they were continually alarmed and attacked by the mountain people, who did them much harm. This was all done by the orders of *Alaideulet*, though he pretended it was not in his power to help it. However *Selîm*, who knew to the contrary, put off revenging the ill-offices of that prince to a more favourable opportunity; and at last, with much ado, got safe to *Trapezond*. From thence he proceeded to *Amasia*, where he spent the winter in recruiting his army; designing, in the spring, to go and call *Alaideulet* to an account for the damage done him in his last march^a.

e THIS is the account given by *Paulus Jovius* of the wars between the *Turks* and *Persians*; Cause of the with whom, for the general, *Angiolello*, who served in the army of *Uzûn Hassan*, *Ismail's* predecessor and father-in-law, agrees (N). According to that author, the *Soltân* would never have undertaken the war against *Ismail*, but for the encouragement given him by several of his lords, who dwelt on the frontiers of *Turky*; particularly the *Kurdi*, inhabiting the mountains of *Bitlis*, who were the *Shâh's* (O) enemies. These having invited him to invade *Persia* at a time when *Ismail* was at war with the *Tatars*, and his forces at a great distance in *Khorassân*; *Selîm* fearing, that, if the *Shâh* routed the *Tatars*, he would soon make up matters with the *Soltân* of *Egypt* to his prejudice, in 1514, marched with a great army to *Amasia*; from whence, in May, he set forward, passing by *Tokâd* and *Siwâs*, where the dominions of the *Shâh* began (P), to *Arsingân*, making great spoil in his way.

f ISMAIL, being informed of these proceedings at *Tauris*, sent *Stuji ali Mehemed Beg*, and *Kara bek Saru pira*, two of his best generals, to raise forces in *Diyârbekr*, his army being still in *Khorassân*. These commanders, having gotten together 20,000 men, advanced to the passage of the *Euphrates*: yet, finding that *Selîm's* forces were greatly superior to their The armies meet.

^a PAUL JOVIUS, ubi supr.

(N) *Jo. Ant. Manavini*, a *Genoese*, who pretends to have served in the *Turkish* army, relates, that tho' *Selîm* defeated the *Persians* at the river *Euphrates*, yet having afterwards been defeated himself in his way to *Tauris*, turned back without going to that city; which, being contrary to the testimony of all other authors, shews his history of those wars quoted by *Knoroles*, to be fictitious.

(O) Our author gives him the name, or title, of *Sofi*, instead of *Shâh*.

(P) Hence it appears, that in the time of *Ismail*, the *Persian* empire, which is now bounded by the *Tigris*, extended on this side of the *Euphrates*, six or eight days journey within *Asia Minor*.

A. D. 1514.

own, did not think proper to wait for him ; but, turning off, marched to *Koy*, where there is a large valley, like a plain, called *Kalderîn* ; in which they encamped, and were joined by *Ismail* in person. Mean time the *Turks* destroyed all the country through which they passed ; and being at length arrived, at such time as the *Shâh* was returned to *Tauris* to raise more forces, the two generals thought fit to attack them ; which they did with inexpressible fury. On the other hand, the enemy fought out of necessity, as they wanted provisions, and knew they should all perish if they lost the victory.

Persians de-
feated.

THE 23d of *August*, the first *Persian* squadron, composed of half the army, led by *Stuji ali Mehemmed Beg*, attacked the troops of *Anatolia* ; which he worsted, and broke : but, *Sinân Pâshâ* coming on with the forces of *Romania* (Q), an infinite number of men were killed ; and at length, *Stuji ali*'s squadron being broken, he was himself taken prisoner, and his head b struck off ; which was afterwards sent to the *Shâh*. Hereupon the second *Persian* squadron engaged, and fought so bravely, that the *Soltân* was obliged to retire with his camp to the place where the *Janizaries* and the artillery stood, his army being broken and almost ruined. But by the conduct of *Sinân Pâshâ*, who inspired them with new courage, the *Persians* were at length defeated, and *Karabek*, their general, taken prisoner ; whom *Selim*, after giving him very injurious language, ordered to be put to death. They likewise lost all their tents, and one of the *Shâh*'s wives was found among the captives.

The Shâh re-
tires.

THE *Soltân*, after this victory, which he bought with the lives of a great many soldiers, rested at *Koy* ; while the news of the defeat being brought to *Tauris*, the *Shâh* departed immediately, with those who escaped, and all his treasures, for *Kashbîn*, in order to raise new c forces. Hereupon the inhabitants of *Tauris*, seeing themselves exposed to the *Turks*, sent two ambassadors, with several presents, to *Selim* ; who, going to that city, picked up 700 families of different trades, and sent them to *Constantinople*. As provisions grew short in his army, and he was apprehensive the *Persians* would return with more force to attack him, he staid there but three days. In his way back, he suffered much for want of provisions, and by the attacks of the *Hiberi* (or *Georgians*) ; but, at length, he got safe to *Amasia* b.

Alaideulet
conquered.
Hejrah, 921.
A. D. 1515.

As *Selim* had learned by this year's experience, that nothing could be effected in those cold and mountainous regions, which bounded *Persia*, unless by early expeditions ; in the year 921, soon in spring, he marches from *Amasia*, and suddenly takes *Ghiumah* and *Bayburud* (R) from the *Persians*, who little expected so early a visit (S). Then sending part of his army, d under *Ferbâd Pâshâ*, against *Alaideulet*, son of *Zoulkadîr* (T), who was believed to have favoured the *Persians*, the *Pâshâ* came on him unawares ; and, having routed his forces, cut off his head. Hereupon *Selim* gives his dominions to *Ali Beg* (U), son of *Shâh Suvar*, who had faithfully served him at court, on condition the *Soltân*'s name should be mentioned in the public prayers ; and, towards the end of the year, returns to *Constantinople* e.

His stout de-
fence.

THIS war is more circumstantially related by the Christian than the *Turkish* historians before us. The former tell us, that, on *Selim*'s approach, *Alaideulet* brought all his horse, to the number of 15,000, into a large valley ; commanding his foot, which were numerous, to keep the mountains on the right and left. In this situation he waited for the *Soltân* ; who, relying on the multitude of his forces, made no scruple to attack the enemy, though at so great disadvantage. Accordingly, he ordered *Sinân Pâshâ* (X), now made general of the *European* horse, to form himself in a square body, and charge them in front, since the place would not permit him to use wings ; while he himself, with the *Janizaries* and *Asiatic* horse, followed in the rear. Mean time, the soldiers of *Alaideulet* fought valiantly, and still kept the advantage of the ground against the *Turks* ; who were grievously galled by that prince's foot from the sides of the hills, with arrows and darts.

SELIM, finding such unexpected resistance, sent some companies of musketeers to support their fellows ; and, at the same time, commanded his *Janizaries* to ascend the hill. The mountaineers, terrified with the shot, and not able to endure it, presently fled ; but, not being

b ANGIOLELLI. *Vitæ & Fatti del Uffun Cassano*, cap. 18. in Ramusio's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 74.
c CANT. p. 152.

(Q) The author mistakes ; he commanded the *Asian* troops in this war, although in that against *Alaideulet* he is said to have been made general of the *European* horse.

(R) Rather *Bayburud*, or *Beyhurt*, a town midway between *Trebizond*, or *Trebizonde*, and *Arzerûm*.

(S) *Angiolullo* says, he sent one part of his army under *Sâkîr*, who took *Tania*, a great city of the *Persians*, inhabited by 150,000 people. Others mention *Klamafem*, a strong town on the *Euphrates*. A mistake, perhaps, for *Kamak*, about 21 miles south of *Arsingân* ; which the *Turkish* author, given by *Leunclavius*, says, was taken by *Selim* in this expedition.

(T) The annals of the *Soltâns* say, that *Alaideulet* was prince of the province of *Dhu'lgadîr*, or *Zou'lkadîr*, as it may be pronounced, though written the same way.

(U) One of the noble *Persian* refugees to *Soltân Selim*. An instance of fidelity (confidence, or gratitude), among the *Turks*. *Cant*.

(X) Prince *Cantemir*'s author substitutes *Ferbâd Pâshâ* ; but the other *Turkish* writers before us, as well as the Christian, ascribe this service to *Sinân Pâshâ*.

a able to make great speed through the roughness of the way, were killed in heaps: so that the foot suffered most, while the horse, being at length put to flight in the plain, retreated with their king to their strong-holds, without much loss. The *Soltân* pursued the enemy in that rough and barren country for seven days; but, finding it to little purpose, encamped, and sent the *Pâshâ*, with the light horse, to hunt them out. Mean time *Selîm* was informed by the prisoners, that *Alaideulet* had intrenched himself on a strong rock, whither he had conveyed store of provision, and was resolved not to venture another engagement, till he had drawn his enemies to the straits leading to his camp; especially as he was afraid of being betrayed by his kinsman *Ali Beg*, who first fled out of the battle. A. D. 1515.

b THE *Soltân*, on this advice of the captives, ordered their chains to be knocked off; and, loading them with presents, sent letters by them to *Ali Beg*, to excite him, at so proper a juncture, to revenge his father's death. The young lord, being thus easily prevailed on to join *Selîm*, went over to *Sinân Pâshâ*, with a considerable part of *Alaideulet*'s horse. Upon which, that prince, flying to hide himself in a cave, was there taken, and a few days after, by the *Soltân*'s order, put to death. His head, in derision, was carried about as a spectacle thro' all the *Lesser Asia*; and afterwards sent by *Selîm* to the senate of *Venice*, as a loathsome evidence of his victory. He reduced the conquered kingdom into the form of a province, dividing it into three parts, where *Sinân Pâshâ* commanded in chief, and then returned to *Constantinople*. In his absence, this same year, *Yunus Bâshâ*, *Sanjâk* of *Bosnia*, recovered that country which king *Matthias* of *Hungary* had wrested from *Mohammed II*. He likewise took several frontier places, and even cities in *Hungary* itself. The *Hungarians* hereupon raised great forces, and besieged *Semendria*; of which notice being given to *Selîm*, who then besieged *Kamakb*, on the *Euphrates* before-mentioned, he ordered the *European* forces to assemble; who, coming on the Christians unexpectedly, obliged them to raise the siege.^a Taken and put to death.

c NEXT year a fresh opportunity offers of enlarging his empire. The nation of *Kâra Amîd* (Y), inhabiting the province of *Diyârbekr* (Z), having long endeavoured to throw off the *Persian* yoke, attempted to do by stratagem what they could not effect by force. With this view, they contrived a counterfeit letter to be brought from the *Shâh* by a messenger to the governor *Kâra Khân*, commanding him to march out of the city within five days, and encamp in a place called *Kavakilder*, and there wait for farther orders. *Kâra Khân*, not suspecting any deceit, departed accordingly, with all his forces and family: after which, the citizens shutting the gates, put the garrison to the sword; and then sent a letter to *Selîm*, promising to surrender the city to him, with a request that he would appoint for their prince *Mehemmed Beg*, son of *Bilikli Oglî* (A), their countryman; who was then at his court. This proposal was very agreeable to the *Soltân*: but, suspecting some fraud from that deceitful people, deferred sending an answer for a whole year, choosing rather to lose them than hazard his troops. At length, being tired with the continual hostilities which they had with *Kâra Khân*, *Chemsîd Beg*, a rich nobleman, who possessed above 300 villages in that country, gains credit at last for his nation, after several messages to *Selîm*, and obtains what was desired. The Kara Amîd revolt from Ismail. Hejrah, 922. A. D. 1516.

d THE treaty being ratified, the *Soltân* creates *Mehemmed Beg*, *ibn Bilikli*, *Beglerbeg* of *Diyârbekr*, with sovereign authority, and gives him the whole kingdom; allowing him, moreover, an annual pension of 40 *Yuk* (B), on the sole condition of being faithful. Hereupon the new prince hastes to take possession of his dominions; which, with consent of all orders and degrees of the people, he annexes to the *Othmân* empire. Mehemmed Beg made their prince.

SELIM, knowing that *Kâra Khân*'s order would not be extinguished by *Mehemmed*'s presence alone, he, in 922, sends a good body of troops to his assistance, with a letter upbraiding his backwardness in chastising that *Persian*'s insolence. *Mehemmed*, stung with this reprimand from the person to whom he owed his life and fortune, without waiting for the imperial forces, with what troops he could raise, marched against *Kâra Khân*: but, while both armies stood ready to engage, a great cloud of butterflies appeared in the air between them; and dividing

^a LEUNCL. Hist. Muful. & RICAUT, in Selymus.

(Y) *Kare Emîd*, that is, the *Black Midi*, who inhabit the country between *Urfa* and *Vân*, in *Asia*. *Cant.* We meet with no such nation as the *Black Midi*. By *Kare-Emîd*, or *Kâra-Amîd*, are to be understood the inhabitants of the province of *Diyârbekr*, who take their name from the city itself; which is called also *Kâra Amîd*; *Kâra*, or *black*, being only an epithet added to *Amîd*, which is the antient *Amîda* of the *Greeks*. The inhabitants of *Diyârbekr* were a mixture of *Arabs*, *Kurds*, and *Turkmâns*, of the *Kâra Koyunlu*, or *Black Sheep*, family, who reigned in this country before their dynasty was destroyed by *Uzun Hassan*, founder of the *Ak Koyunlu*, or *White Sheep*, dynasty.

(Z) *Diyârbekr* signifies the province of *Bekr*, a country on the borders of *Kurdestân*, containing at present all *Mesopotamia* to the confines of *Mosul*, the *Nineveh* of the antients. *Cant.* *Diyâr Bekr* signifies the country of *Bekr*, or perhaps of the girl, which *Bekr* signifies in *Arabic*.

(A) *Bilikli* is a nickname given those who have prominent whiskers. *Cant.*

(B) *Yuk* is a certain sum of money used in the accounts of the treasury, consisting generally of 100,000 aspers. *Cant.*

A. D. 1516. { themselves into two parties, the white go to the *Turks*, and the red to the *Persians*: presently a the white charge the red, and, after a fierce conflict, rout them. The *Turks*, encouraged by this good omen, bravely fall on the *Rafazi* (C), and easily defeat them, already dispirited by superstition. The commander himself being found among the prisoners, his head was instantly struck off, by the victor's order.

His great successes.

MEHEMMED BEG, flushed with this unexpected victory, besieges the strong city of *Mardûn* (D); which was forced at length by pestilence and famine to surrender. A few days after, having taken *Musul* (E), at the first assault, he destroyed it with fire and sword. These two bulwarks being thus reduced, the lesser cities (F) were easily subdued: so that, within a short space, the whole kingdom of *Kyûrdi* (G), and of *Jazîreh* (H), was annexed to the *Othmân* dominions, to the great reputation of *Mehemmed Beg*, as well as joy of *Selim*; who, by the rapid course of his victories, is inspired with a thought of subverting the *Persian* empire, or, at least, of entirely weakening it ^m.

^m CANT. p. 152—157.

(C) Or *heretics*. So the *Turks* call the *Persians*, as being of a different sect in religion. They likewise slanderously ascribe other heresies to the *Persians*, because the knowledge of them came first from *Persia*. *Cant.* The *Arabs* pronounce *Rafedhi*.

(D) Vulgarly called *Mardin*, a very noted city of *Mesopotamia*. *Cant.*

(E) A famous city, supposed to be the antient *Nineveh*. *Cant.* The ruins of *Nineveh* are said to be in the neighbourhood of this city, which is variously named by authors, *Mosul*, *Muscl*, *Mozul*, &c.

(F) These were *Anna*, *Hadiza*, *Hegheti*, *Sujari*, *Hefn Keyfa*, *Jemishborg*, *Amadia*, *Sudek*, *Jeidjeon*, *Baldir*, *Ham*, *Zerbak*, and *Khayzan*. *Cant.* Our author writes *Hafinkesi* for *Hefn Keyfa*. *Amadia* should more properly be *Ommadiya*.

(G) This kingdom, if I rightly remember, extends from the borders of *Syria* to *Shebrezûl* and *Vân*, or *Wân*, on the borders of *Persia*. The inhabitants are called *Kiurdi*, and speak broken *Persian*. *Cant.* These are the people commonly called *Kûrds*, which is pronounced as if the *û* had something of an *i* in it, therefore better expressed in writing by a *y*; which reduces the name to a monosyllable, as in effect it is.

(H) *Jazîreh* signifies an island, and is the same country with *Mesopotamia*, lying between the rivers *Erât*, or *Euphrates*, the *Morûd*, a branch of that river, and the *Shât*, or the *Tigris*. *Cant.* *Jazîreh* signifies also a peninsula, which is more applicable to *Mesopotamia* than an island.

S E C T. II.

The conquest of Egypt.

A. D. 1517.

War with Egypt. Hejrah, 923.

WITH this view, in the year 923, he departs from *Constantinople*, with a more numerous army than before, and encamps near *Halep*: not far from which city *Soltân Gauri* (I), king of *Egypt*, met him with equal forces; and, sending him ambassadors, offers friendship (K), and assistance against the *Persians*. But while these things were in agitation, a party of *Cherkassians*, either with or without their sovereign's connivance, intercepted certain camels going to the *Othmân* camp, and plundered them. *Selim*, taking this as done to affront him, on a sudden lays aside the *Persian* expedition; and, declaring war against *Soltân Gauri*, turns his arms against *Egypt* ⁿ.

Occasion of it.

In an account of this war (L), written by a very considerable *Turkish* officer, who was in the expedition, we find that it was expressly designed originally against the *Soltân* of *Egypt*. The *Kadhi'lasker* informs us, that in the year 1516, *Selim* having been apprised of the treaty concluded between *Kansu al Gauri* and *Shâh Ismail*, determined to go against the former with a powerful army, the rather as he knew *Ismail* had work enough cut for him by the *Green*:

ⁿ CANT. ubi sup.

(I) Or *Kansu al Gauri*, commonly called by the *European* historians *Kampson Gaurus*.

(K) The *Turkish* author translated by *Leunclavius* says, he sent ambassadors from *Egypt* to expostulate with *Selim* the cause of invading his dominions, and offering to make peace in very modest terms: but the Christian writers, in conformity to some *Turks*, say, that *Kansu Gauri* was already in *Syria*, with an army, designing to aid the *Persians*, his friends and confederates, in case *Selim* should proceed against the *Shâh*; and that *Selim* having sent ambassadors to desire him not to interfere between them, the *Egyptian Soltân* declared he would

oppose him in case he proceeded; and that he would make no peace with him, unless he restored the son of *Alaideult* to his father's kingdom, which had been under his protection. At the same time, reproaching him with his restless disposition, cruelty and parricide.

(L) It is inserted by *Angiolello*, at the end of *The Life and Actions of Uzûn Hassan*, published in the second volume of *Ramusio's Italian Collection of Voyages*. The account of *Selim's* war against the *Soltân* of *Egypt* was written originally in *Turkish* by a *Kadhi'l Asker*, or judge of the army, to a *Kadhi* of *Constantinople*, and translated into *Italian*, we presume, by *Angiolello*.

^a *Heads* (M). With this view, his army, in *May*, passed over into *Anatolia*, and *Sinân Pâshâ* ^{A. D. 1517.} was sent before with a body of musketeers, and a train of artillery, into *Karamânia*. The *Shâh*, on this advice, dispatched ambassadors to advise *Kansu* to march with his forces on that side, in order to rout *Sinân Pâshâ*, while he proceeded on the other. Accordingly the *Soltân*, with a numerous army, came to *Halep*. As soon as *Selîm* heard of this, he left *Constantinople* on the 5th of *June*, in order to succour his general. On the way, he sent the *Kadî'lasker* (N) and *Zakbaria Pâshâ*, his ambassadors, to the *Soltân* of *Egypt*, to know the reason of his coming to *Halep*, which was not customary: and, as they had not an expeditious answer, they concluded that he held intelligence with the *Shâh*. ^{Embassy to Kansu,}

HEREUPON *Selîm*, having assembled all the doctors and learned men, asked them, *what the law of God commanded on this occasion?* He was answered, *that it was lawful first to cut off that evil thorn, and then proceed where God should guide him.* On this, he marched joyfully towards *Halep*, and encamped in a fine plain, near the venerable grave of the prophet *David*. This is the *Kadî'lasker's* account of the occasion of the war; which differs in many other particulars from that of *Saadi Effendi*, to whom we shall now return.

AT the same time *Selîm* receives letters from *Kair Beg*, governor of *Damaskus* (O), and *Gazel Beg*, of *Halep*, who bore a mortal enmity to the *Soltân*; wherein, having set forth his tyranny, ingratitude, avarice, and design against their lives, they promise to desert to him in the heat of the battle, and become his subjects; requiring no other reward than that one of them should have for life the government of *Egypt*, the other of *Damaskus*. *Selîm*, having granted these conditions under his hand, and confirmed them by an oath, the traitors, following his directions, urge on *Soltân Gauri* to a battle. The *Soltân* believing this advice of his generals was the effect of their valour, draws up his forces in *Burj Vaik* (P), and marches against the *Othmâns*: who were so placed, that they they might receive the enemy from what quarter soever they came. The *Cherkassians* (Q), with a slow pace, approach within bow-shot: then, rushing with a great cry on the *Turks*, furiously charge them, and, notwithstanding their gallant resistance, force them to give ground.

BUT, while they are in the greatest hopes of obtaining the victory, *Kair Beg* in the right, and *Gazel Beg* in the left wing, going over to the enemy (R), strike the *Cherkassians* with the utmost terror. However, chusing rather to die than be overcome, they renew the battle, and so fiercely press the *Othmâns*, that, notwithstanding the numbers against them, victory seemed to incline to their side. ^{His forces defeated.}

HEREUPON *Selîm*, observing that the *Cherkassians*, by their nimbleness and agility of body (S), avoided the strokes of swords, spears, and darts, orders the horse to halt, and placing the *Janizaries* in the front, commands them to fire on the enemy.

His orders were so well executed, that the *Cherkassians*, astonished at the sudden slaughter of their men, fall back to close their ranks (T). The *Turks*, seeing this, gave them no time to renew the fight, but, rushing on them like a deluge, easily routed the broken troops. *Soltân Gauri*, finding all hopes of victory vanished, resolves not to survive the disappointment: so, piercing into the thickest of his enemies, he overthrows all he meets, and flies through their ranks, as if they were so many sheep. He looks and calls for *Selîm*, challenging him to single

⁹ See ANGIOLELLO, ubi sup. cap. 20. ad finem.

(M) The *Yeshil Bâshi*, or *Green Heads*, are the *Uzbek Tatars*, so nicknamed from the colour of their caps; as for the same reason the *Persians* are named *Kezil Bâshi*, or *Red Heads*.

(N) The author, as we conceive, of this narrative.

(O) The *Kadî'lasker* calls the governor of *Damaskus*, *Sibes*; and says he was slain in the battle: and makes *Kayer Bek* governor of *Hâlep*.

(P) That is, *the tower, or fortress of Vaik*, a place near *Hâlep*, or *Aleppo*. The *Turks* give the name of *Burj*, or *Zodiac*, to the turrets of their fortresses, in allusion to their surrounding those places, as the zodiac does the sphere. *Cant.*

(Q) The *Turkish* author affects every-where to call them *Cherkassians*, and not *Mamlûks*, or slaves. Perhaps because that appellation may be as well applied to the *Janizaries* (and indeed all the officers military and civil of the *Othmân* empire, of whom he was himself one), as to the soldiery of *Egypt*, in imitation of whom they were perhaps instituted; although the custom of training bought slaves to arms was practised by the *Arab* monarchs, and their successors, in *Asia*. Besides, the *Egyptian* soldiery consisted of the slaves of others as well as *Cherkassians*: whence, in the *Turkish* annals of *Gau-*

dier, we find them distinguished into *Cherkassians* and *Mamlûks*, or slaves; that is, we presume, other slaves.

(R) Other *Turkish* as well as Christian writers make *Jamburdi Gazel Beg* true to his master, and not to have joined with *Selîm* till *Egypt* was conquered. Particularly the *Kadî'lasker* says, that the *Mamlûks*, being pursued by *Yunus Pâshâ*, and overtaken at the city of *Kamau*, *Al. Gazeli* fled to *Kayro*: but *Kayer Bek*, lord of *Hâlep*, submitted; and, being brought to *Selîm*, was kindly received, seated near the great lords, and loaded with rich presents. So that, according to this author, he did not go over to *Selîm* in the battle.

(S) *Baumgarten*, who travelled into *Egypt* in 1567, about ten years before this revolution, gives a surprising account of their feats of agility, in riding and shooting. Book i. c. 20. in *Church. Collect.* vol. i. p. 398.

(T) The *Kadî'lasker* says both sides were repulsed by turns, five or six times: that the lord of *Hâlep* at length fled with his troops before *Sinân Pâshâ*; who then fell on the lord of *Damaskus*; but, not able to stand the attack, he fled also; and in his flight had his head cut off. Soon after which followed the death of the *Soltân Kansu Gauri*. And this is all that officer says about it.

combat :

A. D. 1517. combat : but, fortune not throwing the *Soltân* in his way, he returns as he came ; and, imagin- a
 ing that he slew *Selim* in every *Turk*, makes a dreadful havock among his troops. At length,
 not wounded amidst so many swords, which is wonderful, but tired with wounding, and his
Falls down
dead. breath failing through heat, he falls down dead among his slaughtered foes ^p.

Acts against
the advice of
Gazeli Beg. THE other *Turkish* historians give a very succinct account of this battle : they only tell us,
 that *Selim*, after drawing up his forces like an expert warrior, made use of stratagem, sending
Ali Beg before-mentioned to lie in ambush, and, when the two armies were engaged, to attack
 the *Egyptians* in the rear ; who, by this means, being put between two fires, were soon defeat-
 ed ^q. But the Christian writers relate some particulars not mentioned by any of the *Turkish*,
 excepting the *Kadhi'lasker*, with whom they in the main agree. They impute the loss of the
 battle, in good measure, to the pride and vanity of *Kansu Gauri*, who could not be persuaded ^b
 that *Selim* intended to attack him, till he was informed by his spies, that the *Soltân* had crossed
 mount *Amân*, and lay encamped with his army two days march distant. Being much perplexed
 at this unexpected news, and in doubt whether he should fight or retire, *Jamburd Gazel Beg*,
 governor of *Apamia*, or *Afamîya*, advised him not to think of so rash an attempt as to engage
 such numerous and well-disciplined troops with so small a force (not exceeding 12,000 *Mam-*
lûks, with their armed servants), but retire towards *Damaskus* : adding, that there he might
 recruit his army out of the garrisons, and with *Arab* troops, before the *Turks*, with their heavy
 carriages, could come up ; and thus, protracting the war till winter, distress the enemy for want
 of provisions, as well as give the *Persians* time to join them, while cannon might be procured
 also from *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*.

Order of bat-
tle.

KANSU was inclined to follow this advice : but the foolish hardiness of the *Mamlûks*, eager ^c
 for battle, and especially the influence which the treacherous *Kayer Bey*, governor of *Halep*,
 whose brother the *Soltân* had poisoned some years before, determined his mind the other way.
 Upon this he went and encamped ten miles from that city, on the river *Singa* (U), and divided
 his army into four bodies. The first was commanded by *Kayer Bey*, the action being in his
 province : the second by *Sibes*, the brave governor of *Damaskus*, surnamed *Balvan*, or *the*
Tumbler, from his agility. After these followed *Gazel Bey*, to relieve the other two, as occa-
 sion might require ; and *Kansu* himself, in gilt armour, led the fourth. On the other hand,
Selim placed his *Asiatic* horse in the right wing, his *European* in the left, the *Janizaries* and
 artillery in the main body : before these, in the middle between the wings, he posted his wings, ^d
 he posted his brave pensioners, among whom, contrary to his custom, he chose to serve
 that day.

Kayer Bey's
treachery.

KAYER BEY, as soon as he approached the enemy, briskly charged the *European* horse,
 and presently, as if he would have surrounded that wing, wheeled to the rear of them ; and
 there, falling on the sutlers and other followers of the camp, pretended to make a great
 slaughter among them. Mean time *Sibes* in the other wing, forbearing to charge in front,
 entered athwart the enemy's ranks, where his *Mamlûks* made a terrible slaughter of the *Asian*
 horse, and penetrated to their very standard. So that, having broken in two the right wing of the
 enemy, and fallen between the front and rear of the pensioners, they brought no small terror on
 the main body : for *Selim*, by this brave action almost cut off from his foot, in which he placed ^e
 his greatest confidence, was now in imminent danger of being overthrown ; and the rather, as
 the *Janizaries* were at the same time furiously charged by the faithful *Gazel Bey*, who, seconding
 the design of *Sibes*, had set upon the front of the enemy's battle. The *Asian* horse also, broken
 and cut to pieces as aforesaid, found no means to rally and renew the fight.

The Mamlûks
defeated.

BUT in this extremity *Sinân Pâshâ*, coming in with his horse, mightily encouraged the
Turks to continue the battle ; and *Selim's* cannon playing at the same time on the *Mamlûks*,
 made a great slaughter among their troops : who, though forsaken by *Kayer Bey*, lost neither
 courage nor conduct, but closing together in a body, broke through the enemy with great
 slaughter, and so retreated to their camp. Mean while *Kansu Gauri*, who advanced to relieve ^f
 them, being informed of their flight, and the desertion of *Kayer Bey* (but for whose treachery
 the *Turks* must have been infallibly overthrown) was greatly dismayed. At the same time,
 the enemy coming on, soon put the troops about him to flight, while he, being a corpulent
 man, and very old, fell off his horse, and was trodden to death. This famous battle was fought
 August 17th, 1516, the same day on which, two years before, *Selim* overthrew *Shâh Ismail*, in
 the *Kalderân* plains. The *Egyptians*, beside their *Soltân*, lost above 10,000 of their brave
Mamlûks, and the *Turks* 3000 horse. To return to the *Turkish* historians ^r.

^p CANT. p. 157, & seq.

^q LEUNCL. Hist. Musul. in Selymus.

^r RICAUT, in Selymus.

(U) By *Singa* here must be understood the river of *Halep*, called *Kowik*, or *Kaik*. For the *Singa* runs se-
 venty or eighty miles to the north. Great confusion
 rises in history from authors making use of ancient names
 of places, whose situations they are generally unac-
 quainted with, instead of the modern.

a AFTER the victory, the inhabitants of *Halep*, with their keys, meet *Selîm*, who receives ^{A. D. 1517.} them with much honour, and presents each of the principal citizens with a *Khilaat* (X), or vest. <sup>Halep surren-
dered.</sup> Next *Friday*, going to the *Jâmi*, he hears his name mentioned in the prayers, and commands the reader, whilst yet in the pulpit, to be clothed with a vesture wrought in gold, and alms to be distributed liberally not only to the ecclesiastics, but persons of all conditions. This clemency caused not only the lesser towns in that region to offer themselves to the conqueror, but also the inhabitants of *Damaskus* to send their elders to meet the *Soltân* on his approach (Y), and implore his mercy as well as goodness. These he receives with a pleasant countenance; and, after twice reading their petition, promises to do every thing they desired.

b NOT content with these instances of clemency, he thought proper to gain the hearts of the *Damaskus* superstitious people by some testimonies of his piety. With this view, the day of his entrance ^{submits.} into *Damaskus* he ordered divine service to be performed in the *Jâmi* of *Bani Ommiyah* (Z), and prayers offered for his welfare. Next he visits the monument of the famous *Mubiddîn* (A), without the city. The old men could scarce remember to have heard their fathers mention the burial of this hero; and the monument itself was not only laid in a vile place, but so covered with filth by such as were ignorant of the precious relics it contained, that it looked more like a dunghil than a religious place. *Selîm*, having expressed a due abhorrence of the impiety of the ^{Selîm's piety,} inhabitants, orders the dirt to be instantly removed, and finds a marble stone, with an inscription to this effect: *This is the Monument of Sheykh Mohammed Ebn Arabi, Conqueror of Spain.* The emperor, being from hence satisfied that the hero's body lay there, erects over the monument a large *Kubbeh* (B), and near it a *Jâmi*, with an hospital, where he orders the poor to be daily supplied with meat and drink. He moreover exempts the whole from taxes, and confirms these appointments with a *Khati-Sharîf* (C). The *Turks* believe these pious works were amply made up to *Selîm*; since they ascribe to the virtues of this *Sheykh*, and his favour with God (D), the victories which he obtained against so large and powerful a kingdom.

c WHEN he had thus spent some days at *Damaskus*, he leads his forces, big with the hopes of ^{and severity.} victory, towards *Elkair* (E) (or *Kayro*). In this march, being arrived at *Khâni Yunus* (F), and talking freely with his officers, *Hiisân Pâshâ*, one of his *Wazîrs*, with more boldness than prudence, asks, *Most auspicious emperor, when shall we enter Kuthuir Kais* (G)? *Selîm*, perceiving

(X) It is a robe of various colours, distinguished with a gold or silver border, given by the *Soltân* as a token of honour to persons at their entrance into office, or for some notable service done. It is also commonly called *Kaftan*, and is of three sorts. *Cant.*—Also *Kalât*.

(Y) The *Kadhi'lasker* says, *Selîm* first encamped by the city, with great magnificence; and that, as there were people here of seventy-two different nations, a more splendid appearance was never seen.

(Z) In prince *Cantemir*'s history it is, by some mistake, both in the text and note, written *Beni Ummie*, for *Ummie*, or rather *Ommiyah*. It was first a temple of the *Sabeans*, then of the Christians; who being dispossessed by the *Khalifah Walid*, son of *Abdo'lmalek*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, in *Hej.* 86, *A. D.* 705, he for several years laid out the whole revenue of *Syria* in beautifying it. It was reckoned one of the finest structures in the world, till ruined by *Timûr*, in the year 1400. See *Ebu Al Amid*, c. 13. and *D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient.* p. 291, art. *Demschak*.

(A) Prince *Cantemir* will have this person to be one of the *Khalifahs*, and the same with *Musa*, who sent his general *Tarif*, in *Hejrah* 92, to conquer *Spain*: but *Musa* was no *Khalifah*. As *Mohammed* was his proper name, and *Mubiddin* a surname, he may possibly have been *Mohammed Abdo'lmu'men*, son of *Tomrût*, who took the name of *Mohadi*, or the conductor of the faithful. This commander, after driving the *Moravidah*, or *Marabûts*, out of *Africa*, drove them also out of *Spain*, in *Hejrah* 519, *an.* 1125, and founded the race of princes called *Meabiddin*, for which we suppose, by some mistake, *Mubiddin* has been inserted in the text. But then he is here called *Ebn Arabi*, not *Ebn Tomrût*. And, if he reigned in *Spain*, how came he buried here?

(B) Of this word *Kubbet*, or *Kubbat*, signifying in general an arch, our cupola is a corruption.

(C) That is, *holy character*. Under which appellation is properly comprised the *Soltân*'s name, confirming any mandate or letter. It is placed in a sort of cypher, or flourish over the mandate, and is commonly called *Turreb*, or *Tura*. *Cant.*

(D) Although the *Turks* believe that the souls of the

deceased can give no assistance to the living; yet we read in the best *Mohammedan* divines, that the dead are appeased by the prayers of the living; and, in their turn, intercede with God to grant their petitions. They likewise own it meritorious to reverence departed saints, and religiously visit their monuments: but are chiefly commanded by their law to invoke the names of *Mohammed* and his successors; and write them on tablets or boards, which they hang up in the *Jâmi* and other buildings. They also inscribe them against the walls in large letters. In the middle of the tablet they describe the person of *Mohammed*, with a ruddy complexion, long visage, flat nose, bluish eyes, black beard, eight inches long, broad chest, slender waist, round hands, long fingers, strait legs, broad feet, with longish toes, &c. but never dare paint any part of him but his hands and feet: though the *Persians* are not so superstitious. *Cant.*

(E) It is commonly by our countrymen falsely written *Alkâir*; so *Alkorân*, instead of *Elkurân*. *Cant.* With regard to this note, which seems to contradict the *English* manner of writing those words, it may suffice to observe here, that the *Alif* in the article *Al* must be pronounced like *a* in *fat*, *hat*, or *art*; not like *a* in *all*, nor like the *English* *e*, as pronounced at present: thus, although *Erpenius*, a foreigner, writes *Elif*, Mr. *Vaughan*, in his grammar, writes *Aif*. The like may be understood of *Korân*. Although the pronunciation differs among the orientals according to time and place; the *Turks*, *Persians*, and people of *Marokko*, sounding the *Alif* in some words softer than the *Arabs*, and in others changing it: thus, instead of *Iran* (*Irawn*), the *Persians* say *Irûn* (*Iroon*). As to the word *Alkair*, it is like *Kayro*, a corruption of *Kahera*, the Arabic name of the capital of *Egypt*, which is also called *Misr* by the *Turks*.

(F) That is, *John's Inn*. *Cant.* The other *Turkish* authors instead of this place put *Ramla*, supposed to be the antient *Rama*: and we the rather think them in the right, because *Khani Yunus* seems to be the same name with *Khano'ljuni*, mentioned afterwards, and inserted by some oversight.

(G) A village or suburbs of *Kayro*, seeming to have been some narrow and difficult place. *Cant.*

A. D. 1517. his too great familiarity with his friends bred disrespect, replied, *We shall enter, indeed, when a God pleases; but for thee, it is my pleasure that thou stay here:* and immediately ordered his head to be struck off.

Visits Jerusalem.

FROM thence he marched to *Gâza*; where, hearing that *Kûdsharîf* (or *Jerusalem*) was not far off, he became exceedingly desirous to see a city the fountain of so many prophets, and the scene of so many miracles. Accordingly he went thither with a few attendants; and, in three days, performing what religion required, returned to his army. Then, pursuing his route, he takes by the way *Sifido'lbâbr* (H), and *Kbano'ljuni* (I), where he leaves such as were disabled by wounds or fatigue. As soon as he was gone, the people of *Gâza*, imagining that he would be cut off with his army by the *Cherkassians*, killed all the sick, and their physician, committed to their trust.

The Turks in danger of being surprised.

THIS part of the expedition is represented differently by other historians, particularly the *Kadhi'lasker* before-mentioned; whose account we shall here follow, supplying it from the rest in the notes. According to that officer, when *Selim* had been a few days at *Damaskus*, he ordered *Mamet Bey* and *Skander Bey*, two lords of *Greece* (K), to march with their troops to *Gazzera*, or *Gaza*, at the entrance of isthmus of *Egypt*. In their way, they were often attacked by the *Moors* (L) and *Arabs*. News of this being carried to *Kayro*, *Al Gâzeli*, who was a valiant commander, and newly arrived there from the last battle, asked leave of *Tumân Bey*, the new *Soltân*, who had been grand *Diadâr*, to march against them with 5000 *Mamlûks*. The *Turks* at *Gazzera*, on this advice, were in no small perplexity: but, in the interim, *Selim* having, to reinforce them, detached *Sinân Pâshâ*, with 15,000 men, that general joined them before the enemy arrived.

AL GAZELI, who at the same time was not far off, was greatly vexed at this disappointment. However, he lost not his courage, but exhorted his men to do their duty; resolving to surprise the *Turks* in the night. *Sinân Pâshâ*, being apprised of his design, drew up his men in order of battle, and the night was spent with great joy, by firing of guns and lighting up fires in the camp. When we began to march, says our author, the people of *Gazzera* imagined we were returning to join the emperor; and, having put to the sword the sick whom we left behind, sent word to *Al Gâzeli*, that we were fled, which gave him great satisfaction for that night: but when, at three o'clock the next day, he saw the dust raised by our army, which advanced to attack him, he was greatly dismayed.

Sinân Pâshâ's speech.

As we drew nearer, we alighted to buckle the girths of our saddles tighter: then we asked pardon of each other, shook hands, and saluted; praying to God, that, through the merits of *Mohammed*, and his four assistants, *Abubekr*, *Omar*, *Ozmân*, and *Ali*, as well as of all the antecedent prophets, he would help the cause of the good. Then *Sinân Pâshâ*, speaking to his troops, told them, "That they had defeated more numerous armies, and won greater battles, than that which they were going to fight could be. He exhorted them to stand firm; for that whoever was to die must fall, whether he fled or not; and that he who was not predestined to die would fight. He added, that as wethers were good to be sacrificed, so they ought to fight for their lord. Let vengeance, continued he, be taken for our friends who were killed by these dogs in the first battle, whose bodies, if they could speak would cry, *kill! kill!* By conquering you will obtain great rewards from your lord, and gain eternal fame: while many of you who are now in low stations will be promoted to high posts."

Gâzeli Bey routed.

To this harangue they all answered, "God grant long life to the lord! let all the world be subject to him, and those, who would not have it so, die! Let us march! let us march!" Then marching forward, both armies engaged. The *Cherkassians* sustained our onset with great courage and force: each side having often given way, from the hour of three till noon, and lost many men (M). At last they were broken, and our troops remained victors, with a great

* CANT. p. 159—163.

(H) That is, *White Sea*. But the antient name of this city and the next was unknown to prince *Cantemir*.

(I) This signifies, *The inn of the Ionians, or Greeks*, and seems to be the *Daro'l Rûm*, or *House of the Greeks*, as the *Arabs* call it; often mentioned by *Sanutus* and the historians of the crusade, who place it about fifteen miles from *Gaza*, in the way to *Egypt*. *Thevenot*, in his *Travels*, p. 179, writes it *Caunions*.

(K) We presume the word in the original was *Rûm-ili*, which answers to *Greece* in general, or perhaps more particularly to *Thrace*.

(L) As we know not what word was used in the original, by *Moors* we understand the *Egyptians*, or other *Mohammedans*, who were not *Turks*.

(M) The *Othmâns* placed their musketeers in the wings of their army, which was drawn up in a great length, the more easily to use their pieces, and hem in the *Egyptians*; and in the middle they posted their horse, to receive the first charge of the *Mamlûks*. The battle for a long time was doubtful: for, although the *Turks* far exceeded in number, yet the *Mamlûks* were the braver men, and could not have been overcome, if they had not been surrounded by the enemy. They lost in this action, besides a great many *Arabs*, the governors of *Alexander* and *Kayro*, with about 1000 *Mamlûks*. The *Turks* also had 2000 of their best horse slain, and some considerable commanders. *Leunclavius*. *Ricaut*, in *Selymus*.

booty.

a booty. The *Mamlûks* fled back, pursued by part of our army, while the rest returned to *Gazzera*, with the *Pâshâ*; who ordered the heads of all the slain lords to be filled with straw, and those of inferior persons to be fixed on palm trees, in memory of the battle. The greater part of two hundred (N) *Solâks*, sent by the *Soltân* to meet *Sinân Pâshâ*, being attacked by the *Arabs* in their way, were killed, and all the rest slain in their retreat excepting six. These not being able to give any account of the *Pâshâ*, *Selim* rose in great fury to go in quest of him; but was quickly freed from his concern by the arrival of some *Moors*, with intelligence, that *Al Gâzeli* had been defeated, and the *Turkish* army was returned to *Gazzera* in triumph.

b THE *Soltân*, highly pleased with this news, marched from *Damaskus* to *Peneti*, where the *Solâks* were killed, which was plundered and burnt. From thence he went to *Jerusalem*; but met with much rain and bad weather, which occasioned great fatigue, and the death of many. He distributed a deal of money among the poor of that city, and offered sacrifices of good wether-sheep. In his march from thence to *Gazzera* he entered a terrible valley, where not above two horsemen could ride abreast. The *Arabs* had seized on this pass, and amassed heaps of large stones to cast down upon us: but the *Janizaries* having found means to discharge their fire-arms, notwithstanding the rain had put them out of order, the *Moors* were put to flight, and some killed. As we approached *Gazzera*, the valiant men of *Greece*, well clothed in the enemy's apparel, came a bow-shot from the town, to meet the lord. The *Moors* were quite stupefied at the sight of so much pomp. The whole army being divided into two bodies, c the *Soltân* placed himself between both, and received their compliments. On sight of *Sinân Pâshâ* he thanked him heartily, together with his troops, and made them large presents.

HAVING rested four days at *Gazzera*, *Selim* marched to *Kasali*; which was plundered, to be revenged on the *Arabs* of the place, who had opposed them in the valley. The rains which fell had rendered the road thither commodious, and we took the direct route for *Kayro*. Thus far the *Kadbi'lasker*. It may not be amiss to add, from other authors, that, although the way lay through an uninhabited scorching desert, where the sand moved with the wind, like the billows of the sea, yet it was at that time so laid by a three days heavy rain, followed by calm weather, that the army, notwithstanding it was molested in its march by the *Arabs*, got in eight days within a small way of *Kayro* ^{Arrives near Kayro.}.

d UPON the enemy's approach *Tumân Bey* (O), sprung from the noblest *Cherkassian* family, having been elected in the room of *Kansu Gauri*, by a council called by those who had escaped from the late battle near *Halep*, and qualified with the title of *Muluk Esbref* (P), assembled all the remains of his nation, with some auxiliary troops of *Arabs*, amounting in all to about 40,000 choice men, encamps in a place called *Ridania* (Q). Here they fortified themselves with cannon, and various contrivances (R), in expectation that *Selim*, on his coming up, would instantly attack their camp, and so be taken in their toils. But the *Soltân*, informed of their snares by his spies, as he was superior in number, orders part of his forces to march round the enemy's camp, near *Jebeli Maktab* (S), and, at a signal given, to fall on their rear.

e THE *Cherkassians* being thus surrounded on all sides, in the first ten days of *Jemazio'lawel*, in the year 923, there was fought so bloody and obstinate a battle as can hardly be described. The enemy, overpowered by numbers, are sometimes forced back, yet as often renew the

^c ANGIOLELLO, LEUNCL. & RICAUT, ubi sup.

(N) Others say, 2000 horse were sent; and that they had all been destroyed by the *Arabs*, had they not met at *Rama* with a strong body of troops under *Juleb*, governor of *Akhania*, going to *Sinân Pâshâ*: yet both parties had much ado to get back. *Leuncl. Ricaut.*

(O) Called by our historians *Tomombeius*. *Tumân Bey* signifies the lord or commander over ten thousand: a military post, first established among the inhabitants of *Tartary* by *Jenghiz Khân*. He was great *Darvidâr*, *Dorvidâr*, or *Diadâr*, which was the same with *Wâzîr* among the *Turks*.

(P) *Muluk Esbref* signifies the most holy, or most auspicious. *Cant.* Our author should have added king. The reading is properly *Mâlek Asbraf*: which last word signifies most noble, and was not peculiar to *Tumân Bey*, but was the title or surname of many of the *Soltâns* of *Egypt*, *Syria*, and of *Tumman* in *Arabia*: hence *Sharîf*, or the most noble; which title is assumed by the descendants of *Mohammed*.

(Q) The Christian writers call in *Rodania*, a village near that of *Maturea*, another village, famous for the balm, six miles to the north of *Kayro*.

(R) These were ditches dug across the fields and highways, covered with earth and hurdles. The *Kadbi'lasker* informs us also, that the *Soltân* had mounted his cannon with design to have discharged it all at once upon the *Turks*, as soon as they approached; and had prepared 14,000 *Mamlûks* and 20,000 *Arabs* ready to fall out afterwards and disperse them: but these things being discovered to *Selim* by six *Mamlûk* deserters, he of a sudden changed his route, and marched where the enemy's artillery could not annoy his army. See *Angiolello* in *Ramusio*, vol. ii. also *Leunclavius*, and *Ricaut* in *Selymus*.

(S) Prince *Cantemir* thinks it should be *Makhtab*; which signifies a bill or mount; whereon the monuments of the antients, and the pyramids are placed. But the pyramids are not on the side of the river where the battle was fought. It is rather the hill called *Makottam*, which lies to the south-east of *Kayro*, there being only a passage between it and the castle, nor is there any other mountain thereabouts.

o charge;

A. D. 1517. charge; the king himself fighting always in the front, and animating his soldiers by his example. The battle is continued for some time with broken ranks, when at last *Tumân Bey*, seeing part of his forces slain, part taken prisoners, and victory no way to be hoped for, with a select band, opens a passage through the thickest of his enemies, and flies to *Sheykh Arab* (T), son of *Bekkaar*. Thus the *Othmâns*, though not without great slaughter of their men, obtained a complete victory. On their side fell the hero of his age, the renowned general *Sinân Pâshâ* (U); whose death was so grievous to *Selim*, that he is said, long after the taking of *Kayro*, to have lamented in this manner: *Misr, or Egypt, have I gained, but Yusef, or Joseph, have I lost: without Yusef what signifies Misr?*

Their forces. OTHER writers furnish us with more particulars of this battle, which decided the fate of *Egypt*. As soon as the two armies engaged, *Tumân Bey*, who had 12,000 *Mamlûks* and a multitude of *Arabian* horse, ordered the latter to go and hem in the wings of the enemies forces (X), and to skirmish with them behind. Mean time the cannon played furiously on both sides, till most of the *Égyptian* gunners were slain, and several of their pieces broken: whereas *Selim* had several Christians to manage his artillery, who did him excellent service. Hereupon they joined battle every-where. *Tumân Bey* fought in the main body against *Selim*; the wings of the *Mamlûks* encountered those of the *Turks*, and the *Arabs* valiantly charged them in the rear (Y): so that four sharp engagements being carried on at the same time, there ensued such a hideous noise, with the clashing of armour and other weapons, that nothing could exceed it.

Gallant behaviour of the Soltân. GAZELI BEY, to retrieve the loss he had sustained at *Gâza*, fell with surprising fury on *Jonus Pâshâ*, in the left wing, and broke in upon his ranks, while the *Arabs* fiercely pressing him behind, forced those *European* troops to fly; which they never did before. Here the famous *Sinân Pâshâ*, coming to their relief, was, by *Bidon* and his *Mamlûks*, slain, with all his followers; besides 500 select *Janizaries*, who, being surrounded, were in a trice cut to pieces. On the other side, *Mostafa*, with the *Asian* horse in the right wing, pressed so hard on the *Égyptian* left (Z), that, with the help of *Selim's* cannon, which made great slaughter among them, he not only disordered but quite overthrew him. At the same time *Tumân Bey*, who was a large man, and of great strength, breaking through the main body of the *Turkish* horse, penetrating in person to the foot, hewing down all before him; and the *Arabs*, casting themselves in a ring, performed their parts with great bravery. This brought on *Selim*, with his foot and resolute *Janizaries*; who, with dreadful fury, renewed the battle; which continued with great obstinacy from four till sun-set (A). But, at length, *Tumân Bey*, fearing a total overthrow from the number of his enemies, founded a retreat, though needless, as night approached, and abandoning his camp and train of artillery, retired towards *Kayro* (B). In this flight the *Diadâr* (C) (or *Dowidor*), and the gallant *Bidon*, were taken, and put to death next day by *Selim's* order; though the first was mortally wounded, and the latter had his leg shot off. This battle was fought on *January 24, 1517*.*

Fortifies Kayro. THE brave *Tumân Bey*, no-ways discouraged by so many misfortunes, encamped with the remainder of his troops between *Kayro* and the *Nile* (D). These he recruited with 8000 *Ethi-*

* CANT. p. 164.

* LEUNCL. & RICAUT. ubi sup.

(T) *Sheykh Arab* signifies no more than an *Arabian Sheykh*. These are more concerned in the ecclesiastical than civil government; and pretend to be the immediate successors (or descendants) of *Mohammed*. Of these there are seven races, chiefly celebrated among the *Turks*. Prince *Cantemir* saw one of these *Sheykhs*, who, in a visit to *Soltân Mostafa II.* sat all the while, and familiarly conversed with him. Whenever he talked of the *Soltân*, he called him his *Bizum Vekil*; that is, vicegerent, or lieutenant. Cant.

(U) At the same time all his men, who eat of his bread and salt, and were many, fell a sacrifice; saying, with the cloaths on, which he has given us, we are willing to die with our master. They washed him with their tears, wrapped him up in the finest linen, sprinkled him with the water of *Zemzem*, a well in *Mekka*, and, having dug a grave, buried him. Thus the *Kadhi'lasker*.

(X) This the *Turks* are before said to have done to the *Cherkassians*.

(Y) The *Kadhi'lasker* informs us, that *Al Gâzeli* attacked the *Grecians*, or *European* troops, commanded by *Sinân Pâshâ*; *Allem*, the *Wazir*, or *Diadâr*, those of *Anatolia*, led by *Mostafa Pâshâ*.

(Z) The *Kadhi'lasker* says, they fell on with such rage, that they cut down the *Cherkassians* like blades of

corn, to the amazement of all. The emperor's squadron and *Grecians* likewise fought the enemy gallantly.

(A) The *Kadhi'lasker* says, the battle began in the morning, and continued with great obstinacy till noon; when *Sinân Pâshâ* was killed.

(B) Towards evening, says the *Kadhi'lasker*, as every one was fatigued, they retreated; and the *Cherkassians*, making a shew of taking breath, betook themselves to flight, some to *Kayro*, others elsewhere. They were followed by the *Grecian* troops, who killed a great number, and made many prisoners. These latter were all put to death that night, by order of *Selim*, who lay in the field of battle.

(C) That was *Allem*, before-mentioned. *Jovius* calls him *Helmys*, and the *Turkish* author, translated by *Leunclavius*, *Allen*.

(D) The *Turkish* army, according to the *Kadhi'lasker*, rested three days on the field of battle, and the fourth marched to *Bikkieri*, on the *Nile*, where they staid two days. Mean time the *Mamlûks*, to the number of 9000, joined the *Soltân*, in order to attack the enemy in the night; but *Selim*, being informed of their design, kept on his guard: however, the *Cherkassians* attacked his army next day.

a opian slaves. He likewise armed the *Jews*, *Arabs*, and the sons of the *Mamlûks*: but, as he wanted artillery, and had not force enough to oppose the enemy in the field, he resolved to surprise them in the night. This design being betrayed to *Selîm*, he stood on his guard, and ordered great fires to be made throughout his camp: so that the *Egyptians* were repulsed with great loss. *Tumân Bey*, upon this, retires to *Kayro*; and, by help of the inhabitants, fortifies the gates and avenues; for it had no walls. Then he collects all his strength in the broad street, leading from the east gate to the castle, which he likewise supplied with soldiers. The rest of the streets he took no care of; for they were so narrow and crooked, that no great artillery could be brought in by them, or soldiers enter without great danger.

A. D. 1517.

HOWEVER, *Selîm*, being informed of all this, next morning by sun-rise, entered by the *Bâb* *The city at-*
b *Zuil* (E), the chief gate of *Kayro*; and at the same time thrust in his horse at divers avenues *tacked.*
of the city; but introduced his *Janizaries* by the largest street. Immediately horse encountered horse in the narrow streets and lanes; while the foot, with their light field-pieces placed in front, cleared the way before them. Yet were they still valiantly opposed at the barricades and trenches; where after the most bloody conflict that can be imagined, the *Turks*, pressing on one another, tumbled by heaps into the covered trenches, and perished on the sharp stakes planted there on purpose by the enemy. The very women and children had a share in the battle, assaulting the *Turks* with stones, tiles, and the like, from the tops and windows of the houses: while many of the *Egyptians*, who hated both the *Mamlûks* and *Turks*, attacked sometimes the one, sometimes the other, as they saw fortune was likely to declare herself. In
c short, the lanes and streets did so flow with blood, that the dust, which at first rose very thick, was quite laid.

THE fight had now lasted two whole days, when the *Mamlûks*, being weary and but few, *Terrible*
began to give way: yet, the third day, considering their all was at stake, they fought with such *slaughter.*
renewed courage (F) that they drove the *Turks* a great way back, and took some of their cannon, which they turned upon them with good success. It is said, that *Selîm*, upon this repulse, despairing of victory, and seeing *Tonus Pâshâ* slain before his face with a stone from a window, ordered the houses to be set on fire (G); so that while the inhabitants were calling out for mercy in the flames, the *Turks* fought but faintly, expecting the sound of a retreat. While
d things were in this suspense on one side of the city, *Mostafa* had beaten the enemy on the other
side, and seized the horses of the *Mamlûks*, which stood ready bridled and saddled in the broad street, to secure their escape, in case they should be constrained to fly. This news raised the sinking spirits of the *Othmâns*, and so discouraged the *Mamlûks*, that they betook themselves to flight, and abandoned *Kayro* to *Selîm*, who immediately sent to quench the fire.

THE *Kadhi'lasker* informs us, that, after the fire had been extinguished, as set forth in the *Tumân Bey*
last note, the *Cberkassians* renewed the battle in such a manner, that the arrows fell as thick as *flies.*
rain. The fight continued with the same fury all the day; so that streams of blood ran thro' the streets. Night coming on, the *Cberkassians*, who were fatigued and weak, retired into a mosque, where they held out gallantly, as if in a castle, for three days and nights. Being at last
e pushed very hard, it was taken. *Tumân Bey* fled in disguise; and *Selîm* went to take some rest,
while the army was intent on plundering and taking prisoners; whose heads were afterwards cut off on the *Nile*.

AL GAZELI, who had been out of *Kayro* raising *Arab* troops, was returned near the city, *Gazeli Bey*
at such time as *Selîm* had caused proclamation to be made, that all the *Cberkassians* who would *submit.*
submit in three days, should be pardoned. This brought in a great number, who were at no great distance, to present themselves. He also came and bent his knee; all receiving large presents. After this, *Selîm*, accompanied with the great white standard, drums, kettle-drums, and fifes, went to the *Soltân's* palace. Here the treachery of certain *Mamlûks* having been discovered, they endeavoured to escape; but being taken, some were put to death, and the rest imprisoned for a few days, and then drowned in the *Nile*. *Selîm* likewise detached *Al Gazeli* and
f a *Begler Beg* to *Kayta* (H), with orders to pillage that city, and punish the slaves there, who

Y LEUNCL. & RICAUT, ubi sup.

(E) In *Ricaut Bosuela*; doubtless a mistake for *Bab-fuela*, or rather *Zuil*.

(F) The *Kadhi'lasker* says, they thought of nothing else but to die sword in hand, looking on it as a disgrace to fly, and leave all their effects in the hands of the enemy.

(G) The *Kadhi'lasker* says, that *Selîm*, finding he could not break the *Cberkassians*, ordered the city to be fired; which was done by the *Janizaries*, in several places: but that the *Mamlûks* crying out most fright-

fully for mercy, the *Soltân*, in pity, ordered the flames to be extinguished. Our author adds, that it was a miracle the whole city was not burned down; and that the enemy renewed the battle with surprising fury.

(H) Rather perhaps *Katîa*, or *Katiya*, a city near *Tina*, the ancient *Pelusium*, and *Farma*, miscalled *Faramida*, at the eastern mouth of the *Nile*, above sixty miles to the east of *Demyat*, or *Damietta*. Other writers, as *Leunclavius* and *Knowles*, put *Akhasia*, instead of *Al Kayta*, or *Al Katiya*.

A. D. 1517. had greatly insulted his soldiers, sent thither to procure necessaries for the army. The place a being accordingly plundered, and the *Moors* put to death, those of the neighbouring places became as tame as hens.

Selîm offers peace.

WE were all attentive, continues the *Kadbi'lasker*, to see what the *Soltân Tumân Bey*, who had passed the *Nile*, and fled into the country of *Saetta* (I), intended to do. On the other hand, he, no less desirous to know what the *Turks* did, sent emissaries to *Kayro*, secretly to engage the citizens to use them ill (K). Mean time, *Omar* (L), a *Moorish*, or *Arab*, lord, came privately to kiss *Selîm's* hand, and informed him of the whole; for which he was rewarded with a *Sanjak* in *Saetta*. Hereupon guards were set on every place, and artillery planted on the banks of the *Nile*; so that not a bird could pass. It was afterwards resolved to send two grandees, with the *Kadbi* of *Kayro*, as ambassadors to the *Soltân*, to exhort him to humble himself to *Selîm*; and promise him, on that condition, to give him a great standard, with the lordship of *Kayro* (M). But the *Cherkassians*, when they had the ambassadors in their power, put them to death^z (N).

Another bloody battle.

As soon as *Selîm* heard of this cruelty, he ordered bridges to be built across the *Nile*, and *Mostafa* to march over with his whole army. Of this design the *Soltân* having been informed, he, with 5000 *Cherkassians* and 10,000 *Arabs* well mounted, set forward; and in one day and night made such speed, that they drew near the *Turks* at such time as part of the troops of *Greece* had crossed the river, and the rest were getting over; little expecting so sudden a visit from the enemy. But those appointed to mark out a place for the emperor's tent, perceiving their approach by the dust which their horses raised, in a great surprize, mounted, and *Selîm* sent to order *Mostafa* to do the like. The *Cherkassians* stripped the *Turks* of every thing till they came to the standard; but the latter, being there reinforced, repulsed them. The enemy rallied a-new, and drove back the *Othmâns* with so much slaughter, that the blood ran like a river (O). The *Moors* only fought to give the *Cherkassians* time to breathe; and the *Turks* had all the disadvantage on their side. However, they stood their ground, though to their great loss.

The Soltân flies.

AT length the *Pâshâ* (*Mostafa*), who was in *Selîm's* presence, seeing the battle in danger of being lost, drew his scymitar in a rage, and ran towards *Tumân Bey*, determined to deprive him of life, and afterwards fall himself. The *Grecian*, or *European*, troops, beholding so much bravery in their commander, followed with a resolution to act in conformity with him; and certainly, had courage been then wanting, they must all have quickly bid adieu to life. The battle being thus renewed with so much vigour, the *Soltân* perceived that the *Turks* were resolved to obtain the victory: at the same instant reflecting with himself, that from a great lord he was reduced to an insignificant slave, and from immense riches to extreme poverty; he fixed his eyes on the heavens, and expostulated in such bitter terms, as filled all those who heard him with grief and compassion. After a great many exclamations and infinite tears, he fled by day and night till he came to a bridge, where he rested for a while. *Mostafa*, with the *Grecian* band, pursued him, while *Selîm* set out for *Kayro*; but as he continued his flight, he kept out of their reach.

He is taken, and put to death.

THE *Bâshâ* had now been four days and as many nights in pursuit of him, when he, through fatigue, was obliged to retire to a farm-house of the *Moors*: but the *Turks*, being also soundly tired, could not easily come up with him: They therefore wrote to those of the farm, to keep a guard, and take care that the *Soltân* proceeded no farther, under pain of having it pillaged and burned. *Shaykh Affaim* (P), who was chief of the farm, having acquainted all the rest with this order, the *Moors* surrounded *Tumân Bey* and his *Cherkassians* in such a manner, that they could not escape: but when the *Turks* came up, they threw themselves into a neighbouring lake; where part of them were cut to pieces, and others made prisoners. *Tumân Bey*

^z ANGIOLELLO, ubi sup.

(I) By which, we presume, is to be understood, not *Saïd*, or *Upper Egypt*, but *Shiba*, or *Shibat*, corruptly *Scetis*, and *Scithiaca Regio*. It is the same which is otherwise called the desert of *St. Makarius*, and the valley of *Habib* or *Natron*, which is the *Nitria* of the antients. It lies to the west of the *Delta*, or *Lower Egypt*, and extends northward to near the sea-coast, between *Alexandria* and the tower of the *Arabs*. See *Renaudot's Hist. Patriach. Alex.* vol. ii. p. 167. and *Pocock's* elaborate map of *Egypt*. In *Leunclavius* and *Knowles* this country is called *Segasta*, and said to border on *Cyrenaica*, as *Saetta* or *Shibat* does.

(K) Others say, they sent to invite him.

(L) Corruptly by some, *Albucomar*; doubtless for *Abû Omar*; that is, the father of *Omar*.

(M) Others say, he offered to restore the kingdom to *Tumân Bey*, on certain reasonable conditions. See *Ricaut* in *Selymus*.

(N) Some say, it was done without *Tumân Bey's* knowledge. *Ibid.*

(O) *Tumân Bey's* design was to clear his way to the head of the bridge; that, by breaking it, he might prevent more of the enemy from getting over: but *Mostafa* had retired thither with his broken troops, and made a stand till more got over the river. *Ricaut*.

(P) He seems to be the *Shaykh Arab* of prince *Cantemir's* historians.

a was taken knee-deep in water (Q), and brought to the *Pâshâ*, who thereupon dispatched a courier to the emperor with an account of what had passed. A. D. 1517.

THE messenger was received with great joy, and all the *Sanjâks* and lords kissed his majesty's hand. The *Soltân* was not brought into *Selîm*'s presence, but lodged in a tent near him, and strongly guarded. *Mostafa* fought another battle at a farm-house, near the *Nile*, with the *Moors*; who, in conjunction with some *Mamlûks*, had murdered and plundered the *Turks*. Having destroyed this house, he staid in the neighbourhood four days, and then returned to the emperor; who held a court, and ordered that *Tumân Bey*, the *Soltân*, should be carried on a mule through the country of *Kayro*, and hanged at the gate called *Bâbzowelet* (R); which was accordingly executed. This was the end of the kingdom of the *Mamlûks*, and beginning b of *Soltân Selîm*'s greater grandeur^a. Here the narrative of the *Kadbi'lasker* ends. We find nothing in prince *Cantemir*'s history from the *Turkish* authors concerning what passed after *Tumân Bey*'s flight from *Kayro*, till the time that he was taken: which event, with the circumstances preceding that prince's death, he relates in the following manner.

As the conquest of *Egypt* could not be secure so long as *Tumân Bey* remained at hand, ready to attempt a change, as soon as the *Othmân* forces were withdrawn, *Selîm*, to prevent the danger which threatened from that quarter, sends ambassadors, with noble presents, to *Sheykh Arab*; desiring him to deliver up his enemy, and advising him rather to gain his friendship by good offices, than incur his indignation by fruitless obstinacy. The *Sheykh*, either fearing the *Soltân*'s power, or gained by his presents, shamefully delivers up *Tumân Bey*, contrary to the c law of nations; and particularly against the *Arab Ray* (S). But the bravery which could not affect the mind of a base friend, appeased the wrath of a generous enemy. For *Selîm*, when the king was brought bound into his presence, and his fortitude plainly seen, could not refrain from giving him liberty, and bidding him daily eat at his table. Thus *Tumân Bey*, having purchased his freedom by his virtue, conversed both in public and private with his conqueror; informing him of the state of the *Egyptian* affairs, with the laws, genius, and manners of the people.

BUT the miserable captive shortly after bitterly experienced how fortune sports in human affairs. *Selîm* could not but admire his heroic virtues, singular fortitude, sound counsels, and grave deportment. He thought it base to put such a man to death; and, as he seemed to d free him from all danger, he had resolved to take him into his friendship, and set him over the kingdom of *Egypt* (T). These things being known to the people, they began already to express their hopes; that, by being vested with so great authority, *Tumân Bey* would, soon after the *Soltân*'s departure, have it in his power to help the *Arabs* to expel the *Turkish* garrisons, and restore the *Cberkassian* dominion. For a while *Selîm* was unwilling to give credit to such reports, as thinking them raised by enemies: but finding them to continue, he ordered *Ali Beg*, son of *Sheykh Suvar*, whose father had lately been fastened to an hook by the *Cberkassians*, to hang up the unfortunate king in the gate of *Kayro*, called *Zavil* (U), with these words: *How great my mercy was, is already declared: but what the malignant speeches of the vulgar, though on his side, can effect, let the wretch himself experience.* The order was gladly e executed by *Ali Beg* on the tenth of *Rabio'lauwel*.

THE unexpected death of their king infused a terror into the *Egyptians* not to be expressed. They who before, with concealed indignation, bore his unjust dominion, now ran in a suppliant manner to *Selîm*, intreating his clemency, and promising faithful obedience. The *Soltân* pardons them, on condition that they delivered up the concealed *Cberkassians*. Hereupon the common people, fond of novelty, search every-where for their former lords, and drag them bound to *Selîm*, to be butchered. This prince having the next day ordered a theatre, with a throne on it, to be erected on the banks of the *Nile*, commanded all the prisoners, said to

^a ANGIOLELLO, ubi sup. See LEUNCLAVIUS and KNOWLES, who agree pretty well therewith.

(Q) Others say, he hid himself in a marsh, where he was found by the peasants among the reeds, standing in water up to the shoulders. See *Ricaut*.

(R) *Zavil*, or *Zuil*, as before. Others say, he was first tortured to discover the vast treasures of *Kansu Gauri*, supposed to have been hidden by him: and that, after being publicly strangled, he was hanged by the neck under an arch of the gate, April 13, 1517. *Ibid*.

(S) That is, parole, or word of security and protection. The *Arabs* boast themselves to be of all mortals the strictest observers of their parole; and perhaps very justly. It is death by their laws to kill a man to whom the *Ray* was given. When they have given a prisoner

of war the *Ray*, they draw a circle round him, out of which he must not stir, though dying with hunger, till the ransom be paid, even though his party should gain the victory; for, in that case, he would by friends as well as foes be deemed a man of no honour or credit. *Cant*.

(T) This, which happened before *Tumân Bey* was taken, is here artfully but partially put afterwards, to magnify *Selîm*'s generosity; and perhaps to extenuate his tyrannical treatment of the *Soltân*; whose only crime was self-defence.

(U) Rather perhaps *Zuil*.

A. D. 1577. exceed 30,000 (X), to be beheaded in his presence, and their bodies thrown into the river. ^a
 The second day he makes a triumphant entry into *Kayro*; but, after a few hours stay, departs, and encamps near the *Nile*, in a place called *Ruz*. Having allowed his forces time for refreshment, on the seventh of *Jemazio'lawel*, he marches towards *Iskanderiyâ*, or *Alexandria*: but the city having avoided his indignation by a surrender, after settling the affairs of it, he returns to the inland parts of *Egypt*, and appoints *Khair Beg* governor of the kingdom ^b.

Raïs Soleymân yields up the fleet.

MEAN time *Raïs Soleymân*, admiral of the *Egyptian* fleet, came and paid allegiance to *Selim*. This fleet had been built in four years time, at *Swîz*, or *Suez*, at the end of the *Red Sea*, by order of the late *Kansu Gauri*, and was designed against the *Portugueses*; who, by their discovery of the *Indies* by sea, and conquests made there, had diverted the course of trade, which ^b before passed through *Egypt*, to the extreme prejudice of that country. It was sent out under the command of *Amîr Azîz* and *Raïs Soleymân*: but news arriving, while they lay at *Jidda*, the port of *Mekka*, of the death of that *Soltân*, and *Selim's* entrance into *Egypt*, a mutiny arose among the soldiers: the issue of which was, that *Amîr Azîz*, who favoured *Tumân Bey*, was obliged to fly to that city for refuge: and, being some time after delivered up to *Soleymân*, who threatened else to attack the place, he was drowned in the night. After this *Soleymân* sailed back to *Swîz*, and went to submit himself to *Selim*, as hath been already mentioned.

EGYPT and its provinces being thus brought into subjection to *Selim*, he, in the beginning of *July*, sailed down the *Nile* to *Alexandria*, there to view his fleet, sent by *Piri Pâshâ* and ^c his son *Soleymân*, from *Constantinople*; whither he removed 500 of the best families from *Egypt*, besides the treasures of the country, and then returned to *Kayro*; from whence he soon after set out on his return for *Europe*.

Yonus Pâshâ put to death.

YONUS PASHA was become so popular by his valour and liberality, that *Selim* sought an occasion to destroy him; which that officer soon furnished him with. A few days before the army was to depart for *Syria*, the garrison of *Kayro* petitioned for an augmentation of their pay. The *Soltân*, always liberal to his soldiers, readily consents, and orders *Yonus* to see it done: but the *Pâshâ*, carried headlong by the resentment he had conceived at the advancement of *Kayer Bey* to the government of *Egypt*, which he thought himself more worthy of, gave the treasurers and paymasters no orders about it. His view was to incense the soldiery ^d against the *Kayer Bey*, as the author of those wrongs, and by that means get him displaced: but the *Pâshâ* was fatally out in his calculation; for, when pay-day came, and no money was to be had, the governor and officers of the treasury, after excusing themselves to the insulting soldiers, dispatched messengers to *Selim*, then at *Larissa* (Y), to acquaint him with the matter. The *Soltân*, highly incensed, sends for *Yonus*; who alleged, that he had no ill intention in what he did; that the soldiers had been already sufficiently enriched by the spoils of *Egypt*; and that his majesty's coffers were empty: but *Selim*, not giving him leave to proceed, ordered him to be executed in his presence (Z); as an example for disobedience ^e.

Selim's conquests and farther designs frustrated by death.

BEING arrived at *Gaza*, to revenge the perfidiousness of the inhabitants, he puts every soul to the sword, and razes their city to the ground. Afterwards, coming to *Damaskus*, he delivers that city, with the government of *Palestine* and *Syria*, to *Gâzeli Beg*, according to agreement. In short, within the space of one year, and in the same expedition, *Selim* added more territories to the *Othmân* empire, than any of his predecessors had been able to subdue in his whole reign: for he not only conquered all the dominions of the *Cberkassians*, in *Asia* and *Egypt*, but likewise reduced to his obedience, as it were by-the-by, other strong and famous cities of *Asia*; such as *Malatiya*, *Dierbeghi*, *Derendâ*, *Behtisi*, *Kierkieb*, *Kiakble*, *Berejik*, *Antâb*, and *Antakbia* (A). Even the *Sharîf* of *Mekka* (B) brought the keys of his city to *Selim*, whilst he was was about *Kayro*, and openly acknowledged his sovereignty. He was honourably received by the *Soltân*, who appointed his son, famous for virtue and learning, his successor in

^b CANT. p. 165, & seqq.

^c LEUNCL. & RICAUT, ubi sup.

(X) This author makes *Selim's* cruelty vastly greater than any other historian.

(Y) Rather *Al Rijha*, called by some, *Laris*, *Riche*, and the like. It lies about twenty miles to the south of *Gaza*, at the bottom of a gulph of the same name, or *Al Rijha*.

(Z) Others say, that, talking to him aside, he of a sudden, in a rage, ordered him to be thrown to the ground off his horse, and the *Solak Basbi* to kill him. *Leunclavius*. This *Yonus* had married a beautiful Greek lady, named *Manto*, whom, after the death of her husband in the wars, he took prisoner: but in time grow-

ing extremely jealous of her, though without cause, she proposed to make her escape to her own country; which he discovering, slew her with his dagger.

(A) Of these cities, *Malatiya*, *Derenda*, *Berejik*, or *Bir* on the *Euphrates*, *Antâd*, and *Antakbia*, or *Antiokh*, are pretty large: the rest are rather towns than cities. *Cant.*

(B) He was before this *Soltân's* reign a sovereign prince over *Mekka*, and some other cities of *Arabia*: but from *Selim's* time he has acknowledged the *Turkish* emperors for guardians and protectors of the *Musulmân* affairs. *Cant.*

a the principality. By the authority of this man, the tribes of the wandering *Arabs* (C) were induced voluntarily to submit to him, and deliver him a writing for a testimony of their fidelity, with some of their principal countrymen in hostage. A. D. 1519.

BEING arrived at *Halep*, in *Ramazân*, 925, he was met by a *Persian* ambassador, sent by *Hejrah*, 925. a feigned submission to divert the storm which threatened his master. The more easily to obtain his ends, besides making magnificent presents, he tries to sooth the ambitious *Soltân* with new titles; after flatteringly styling him *Shabîm Shâbi alem, ve Sâheb Kerâni bani Adam*, that is, *The emperor of emperors* (D), and *sole conqueror* (or *Autocrator*) of the sons of Adam. *Selîm's* pride was so swelled with such great victories and vain congratulations, that, having made his triumphant entrance into *Constantinople*, he, (E) the next year, as if the fortune of war had been at his command, binds himself with an oath, not to recede a step till he had subverted the empire of the *Persians*, and utterly extinguished a nation perfidious to God, and hateful to man (F). This he did in a belief, that he should afterwards subdue, without difficulty, the Christian princes. But providence seemed to thwart his arrogant designs: for he is obliged, for want of money, both the external and internal treasures (G) having been exhausted in the late expedition, to defer his intended war the first year, and turn his thoughts to raising new supplies out of the conquered countries, which took up another year. Winter drawing on, to divert the time he resolves to visit the monuments of his ancestors at *Adrianople*: but he had scarce reached the villiage *Suafîdi* (H), when he was seized with a slight fever. Next day, there appeared in his thigh an imposthume (I); which so tormented and weakened him, that all the sinews of his body and feet (K) were contracted and dried. The tumor was indeed opened by a skilful surgeon, and remedies were applied: but the obstinate ulcer so infected his whole body, that, after forty days of torture rather than sickness, the splendor of the *Othmân* empire expired, on *Sunday* the ninth day of *Shawâl* (L), about sun-set^d.

FERHAD PASHA, who alone had staid with the *Soltân*, concealing his death from all but the *His successor*. rest of the *Wazîrs*, for fear of some commotion, immediately sends notice to *Soleymân*, *Selîm's* son, then residing at *Trapezond*; who, on receipt of his letter, hastened to *Constantinople*, where all the great officers, cloathed in mourning, salute him emperor, in *Shawâl*, 926. The *Hejrah*, 926. same day, after noon, he went, attended by his courtiers, to meet his father's funeral, and *A. D. 1520.* conducted the body, with great pomp, to the *Jûmi* built by *Mohammed II.* where it was d interred, with this epitaph inscribed on his tomb; *This year Soltân Selîm departed to an everlasting kingdom, leaving the empire of the world to Soleymân.*

SELIM lived 54 years, and reigned nine years and eight months (M). He had all the *Reign and character*. qualifications of a hero; with an able head, strong arm, and great contrivance: indefatigable, where the safety of the state was concerned, very fit to manage affairs, and extremely quick in discovering hidden designs. He frequently walked in disguise about the public places, streets, and camp, as well by night as day; and punished severely whatever he found contrary to his laws or the common good. He had also his spies, dextrous in their business; who, mixing with all companies, daily reported to him what they had heard or seen. By these means, he was so well acquainted with every thing which passed, that it became a common saying in his

^d CANT. p. 167, & seqq.

(C) As *Bani Ibrakîm*, *Bani Sewalem*, *Bani Ata*, *Bani Affyia*, *Bani Sâud*, and many others. There being above 70 nations or tribes of them sprung from different branches, who range the deserts, and all speak the *Arabic* language; but in such different dialects, that they can hardly understand each other. *Cant.*

(D) Though all the *Turkish* emperor's titles are very lofty; yet at court, when mention is made of him, these are never used: but the common appellations are *Pâdishâhi alem Penah*, the emperor who is the refuge, or protector, of the world, and *Alî Othmân Pâdishâhi*, emperor of the sons of *Othman*. *Cant.*

(E) Other writers say, the thing which hastened him home was the advice he had received, that several Christian princes, at the instigation of pope *Ieo X.* had entered into consultations about making war on him: and that at his return he made great preparations, especially by sea, for an invasion, as was supposed, either of *Rhodes* or *Italy*. But that he was prevented by death, while visiting the cities of *Lérac*. *Ricaut.*

(F) This is to be understood only of themselves, the *Persians* being in more esteem with other nations than the *Turks*; who bear them an implacable hatred ever since the time of *Stâb Ismail*.

(G) The external called *Djebkâzîneh*, containing

the public money of the *Musulmâns*, which the *Soltân* himself cannot touch without danger of a rebellion, unless in the utmost necessity: Over this presides the *Defterdâr*, or high treasurer. *Ich-khâzîneh*, or the internal, is also called the imperial treasure; which is at the *Soltân's* disposal. Over this presides the *Haznadâr Bâshi*. *Cant.*

(H) That is, he has swam over the water. The name was given on account of an action of *Bâ-yezîd II.* who, being denied the purchase of the bridge there by the *Pâshâ* who erected it, swam over the torrent with great danger of his life; saying in verse, that it was better to be swallowed up by the waters, than to pass over the bridge of a sordid discourteous man. *Cant.*

(I) The Christian writers say, that he was struck with a cancer in his reins; which so corrupted his body by degrees, that he became loathsome both to himself and others. *Ricaut.*

(K) The *Turks* consider this as a judgment on *Selim*, for swearing that he would not draw back his foot till he had subdued the *Persian* empire. *Cant.*

(L) The Christian historians place his death in September, 1520, near the city of *Chiurli*.

(M) The Christian writers say he lived 46 years, and reigned eight. *Ricaut.*

A.D. 1520.

time, *the emperor will know to morrow what passes in the chamber between man and wife*: and a this diligence, to pry into people's behaviour, proved of so great service to the empire, that, during his absence in such remote expeditions as were undertaken by him, there happened no rebellion but what was stifled in the very birth.

Horrible cruelty.

In short, this *Soltân* would have merited immortal praise, if he had not, by his proneness to anger and cruelty, sullied the lustre of his virtues, and caused himself to be branded with the appellation of *Yavuz* (N). On which occasion, it may not be improper to relate one instance. Two years before his death, *Turkomania* (O) being infested with a robber, who, at the head of a considerable force attempted to become master of that and the neighbouring provinces; *Selim* sent against him *Ferbâd Pâshâ*, with great part of his forces: but before his arrival, the rebels had been routed by *Ilbistân Beg Mehmed*, son of *Sheykh Savur*. While the *Pâshâ*, not daring to return without the emperor's order, encamped about *Amasia*, a malicious slanderer, under the pretence of fidelity, tells him that a counterfeit *Morâd*, who pretended to be the son of *Soltân Ahmed*, had drawn the whole city to his side, with above 700 robbers. *Ferbâd*, without examining into the matter, acquaints the emperor with what he had heard, and desires his orders in this imminent danger. *Selim*, trusting perhaps to his general's prudence, commands, without any inquiry, that all the chief men of the country should be impaled. By this precipitate and cruel order, above 600 innocent persons of note suffered that infamous as well as horrible punishment; others were beheaded, and the rest dragged through the streets at the tails of horses.

Remarkable passages.

SELIM alone, of so many *Turkish* emperors, shaved his beard after he ascended the throne, contrary to the received custom, as well as the precepts of the *Korân*; by which the sons of princes are enjoined (or permitted) to do it before, but not afterwards. The *Soltân* being, on this occasion, gently and facetiously reproved one day by the *Mufti*, answered, *that he did it to prevent his Wazîrs from having any thing to lead him by*.

THE *Turks* relate of him, that he always had by him, or in his hand, a club, called *Topûz* (P); of which they say, this was the occasion. In the time of *Bâ-yezîd*, some provinces bordering on *Persia*, for peace sake, paid yearly to that emperor, by way of tribute, a certain number of carpets, called *Chul*. His father being dead, the governors of those provinces sent to know whether this slight tribute was to be continued or not. His answer was, *Tell the infidel Kezilbâsh, or Red-head, that the father of the carpets is gone, and the father of the clubs (Q) is come in his room*. The *Turks* are full of such stories of their *Selim*; which for brevity are omitted.

WE shall conclude with a passage from the Christian writers. They tell us, that *Selim* one day, during his last illness, leaning his head on the lap of *Piri Pâshâ*, whom he loved above all the rest, he said, *O Piri, I see I must shortly die without remedy*. The *Pâshâ*, taking this occasion, told him, he would do well to build an hospital for the relief of the poor, with the great wealth taken from the *Persian* merchants in several parts of his empire: the *Soltân* answered, *Wouldst thou have me, Piri, bestow other men's goods, injuriously taken from them, on works of charity, for my own vain-glory? That I will never do: nay, rather see that they be restored to the right owners; which was done accordingly*†.

† CANT. p. 172, & seq.

(N) As mentioned at the beginning of his reign. Prince *Cantemir* has transcribed some things relating to this *Soltân* from a most elegant, but scarce book, concerning *Mohammed II. Bâ-yezîd II. Selim*, and *Soleymân*, written by *Ali Effendi*. An author no less grave than studious of truth, and void of flattery, says the prince, by whom he is often mentioned.

(O) It may be questioned if this name be in the original *Turkish* author made use of by prince *Cantemir*. In case it be, by it must be understood the countries of *Di-*

yârbekr and *Armenia*, subject not long before to the *Turk-mâns* of the *Black and White Sheep*.

(P) In his picture published in prince *Cantemir's* history, he is drawn with a *Topûz* in his hand, and resting on his shoulder.

(Q) *The father of clubs* is a phrase borrowed from the *Arabs*, signifying *a man abounding with, or possessed of, any thing*; as *Abu'l Imam*, the father of faith, or induced with faith; *Altûn Babasî*, the father of gold; that is, one abounding with money. *Cant.*

C H A P. XI.

The reign of Soleyman I. surnamed Kanûni.

S E C T. I.

Containing the taking of Rhodes, siege of Vienna, and wars of Hungary.

- a** SOLEYMAN KANUNI (A) had scarce mounted his father's throne, when *Gâzeli* A. D. 1520.
Beg, made governor of *Damaskus* by *Selim*, revolts, with a design to render himself inde-
 pendent. With this view, raising forces, he suddenly besieges *Hâlep*; which was bravely
 defended by *Koja Mostafa Pâshâ* (B) till the arrival of *Ferbâd Pâshâ*. On this, *Gâzeli Beg*,
 too weak to oppose him, raises the siege, and encamps near *Damaskus*, in a place called *Gazeli Beg*
Mustaba; which he strongly fortifies, in hopes the imperial army would be forced by the
 scarcity of corn, and season of the year, to march back: but *Ferbâd*, mindful of the empe-
 ror's order, follows him, and at length, contrary to the opinion of all, *Sefer* the 27th, 927, Hej. 927.
 attacks him in his fortified camp. There, after a fierce and doubtful fight for ten hours, all
 difficulties being surmounted, the whole rebel army, with their leader, is slain. After this the
b conquering *Pâshâ* enters *Damaskus*, and appoints *Ayâs Pâshâ Beglerbeg* of the city.
 ASIA being now in peace, *Soleyman* resolves to turn his arms against the *European* princes, Belgrade
 in order to extend his dominions as far to the west of his capital, as it reached to the east: taken.
 and, that he might not be disturbed in the midst of his progress by commotions in other parts,
 he leaves to *Ferbâd Pâshâ* the care of *Asia*; sends one fleet into the *Archipelago*, and another
 into the *Black Sea*, consisting of 50 ships of war, with 400 transports to take care of the pro-
 visions for his intended expedition. These precautions being taken, he departs by land, with
 a great army, to subdue *Hungary*: but before he sets out, sends to *Yabia Beg*, son of *Bali Beg*,
 governor of *Semendria*, suddenly, with what forces he had, to besiege *Belgrade*, and hinder
 either provisions or a reinforcement to be thrown into the city. The *Soltân*, at length arriving,
c encamps in the field called *Zeknîn*; from whence he detached *Mostafa Pâshâ*, and *Ahmed*
Pâshâ, *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm eli*, or *Thrace*, with forces to assist *Yabia Beg*. These two generals,
 by battery and undermining, soon destroyed the walls, and so fatigued the besieged by
 hourly assaults, that at length they are forced to surrender, on the fifth of *Ramazân* (C), the
 bulwark of *Hungary*, which had often been attacked, but never taken before: and thus
 opened the way to *Buda*, capital of that kingdom.
 MEAN while *Soleyman*, with the rest of the army, took, partly by assault, partly by Ali Beg slain.
 capitulation, *Burgaz* (D) *Burij*, *Tinuje*, and *Biugurdlen*, over-running the adjacent country;
 which he made the seat of the future war. On his return to *Constantinople*, he receives advice,
 that *Sheb Suvar Ogli*, prince of *Marâsh* (E), was secretly preparing to shake off the *Othmân*
d yoke, when things were become ripe for rebellion. Hereupon he sends orders to *Ferbâd*
Pâshâ to take off that prince's head. As it seemed dangerous to attempt this openly, the
Pâshâ sends him a letter, telling him, he was by the *Soltân* appointed his assistant, and desiring
 he would come to consult with him about the public affairs. The prince, suspecting no deceit,
 falls into the snare; and, coming to *Ferbâd's* tent, is, with his two sons, put to death².

² CANT. p. 174, & seqq. & RICAUT, in *Soleyman the Magnif.*

(A) *Kanûni* is taken from the Greek word *Kanonista*, instituter of rules: for *Soleyman* instituted the written laws, which now subsist in the *Othmân* court and commonwealth; where affairs before were regulated almost intirely by custom, or rather the will of the *Soltân*. By reason of these institutions, he is, in the imperial library, painted with a book in his hand. He is by the Christian historians surnamed *the Magnificent*. Count *Marfigli* has published a translation, both in *Italian* and *French*, of the *Kanûn Namch*, so far as relates to the army and revenue, under the title of *The Military State of the*

Othmân Empire. Printed at the *Hague* and *Amsterdam*, 1733, in folio, with cuts.

(B) That is, old *Mostafa Pâshâ*; though *Koja*, or *Khoja*, signifies also a person of gravity and wisdom.

(C) The Christian writers say, on the 20th of *August*, 1521.

(D) Formerly *Pyrgos*.

(E) A city near the *Euphrates*. This was *Ali Beg*, to whom *Selim* had given the country of *Alaidulst*, or *Zulkad.r.*

A. D. 1521.

Rhodes sub-
dued:

Hejrah 928.

A. D. 1521.

SOLEYMAN having prepared a great fleet in 928, sends the *Wazir Meslasi Pasha* to Rhodes (or *Rhodes*), and follows himself in *Ramazin*. On his arrival, he closely presses the city, and surrounds it with strong works. In this siege were employed all the arts of assaulting and defending hitherto invented by the wit of man. Both parties fought for five months with such fury, as if the dispute had been for the empire of the world, rather than a single city. At length the Christians, exhausted with continual slaughters and watchings, are forced to surrender on the third of *Safer* the next year. This event was followed by the voluntary submission of the neighbouring islands *Iskankioy* (F) and *Bairum* ^a.

Forces there:

As the Christian historians have written copiously of this important place, we shall from them supply the deficiency of the *Turkish*. These authors tell us, that the damages committed by the galleys of *Rhodes*, within his dominions, determined *Soleymân* to reduce that place. With this view, he made great preparations; which alarming the grand master *Philip de Villiers Lisle-adam*, grand prior of *France*, he put himself into the best posture of defence he could: and, on a general muster, there were found to be at most between five and six thousand men in the city and villages able to bear arms. Among whom were 600 knights of the order, and 500 *Candiots*. ^b

ABOUT the middle of *June* a fire was made on the continent, and a galley sent to see what was the matter: but the captain refusing to land, one of the horse-men laid a letter on a stone by the water-side, and then rode away. It came from the *Soltân*, requiring *Rhodes* to be given up to him, with promises to grant them their religion and liberty in case they complied; and threatening destruction in case they refused. The *Rhodians*, now assured of *Soleymân's* designs, destroyed their suburbs and houses of pleasure, the grand master setting the example himself. The common people were also, by his order, brought into the town, with what provision they could get. ^c

The force of the
Turks:

THE 26th, early, the *Turkish* fleet, to the number of 400 sail, great and small, with two hundred thousand men on board, sixty thousand of them pioneers, appearing in sight, the gates of the city were shut up. The vice-admiral bore directly towards the mouth of the port; but, seeing himself likely to be sunk by the guns from the bulwark on the left side, he passed on with the rest of the ships. While the *Turks* were landing, and making other preparations at *Parambolin*, a place about six miles from the town, the *Rhodians* sunk several deep sounds within the walls to discover the enemy's mines; and fortified their bulwarks with great ramparts. At the same time the grand master sent to *Spain*, *Rome*, and *France*, for assistance; but to no purpose, on account of the distractions at that time among the Christian princes. However, the brave *Prejanes*, governor of *Khios*, then under the power of the *Rhodians*, made a shift to get to the island; as did also *Gabriel Martiningo*, a famous engineer from *Candia*, by whose skill fifty-five mines were countermined during the siege ^d.

City described:

THE city of *Rhodes* lies to the north part of the island, by the sea-side, where it has two ports; one for galleys to the north, the other for ships to the east. It was inclosed with a very strong double wall; which had several fair gates, and was defended by five great bulwarks, thirteen fine towers, and very deep ditches. Without the walls, is a stony plain, not very broad, but of great length, bounded with hills, full of springs; which surround the city at some little distance, and were planted with olives, figs, and vines. ^e

THE city had not long been invested, before it was in danger of being fired by some *Turkish* women slaves; who being discovered, their ringleader was put to death. The enemy having possessed themselves of a hill directly over-against the place where the *English* knights were posted, began from thence to batter the place; and, under cover of their guns, opened their trenches, and fell to mining. But their pioneers, and those who guarded them, were so molested by the sallies of the garrison, that vast numbers of them being slain, they were forced to raise their mounts by night, and turn their artillery against the part from whence the *Rhodians* sallied.

Batteries
raised:

MEAN time, the *Turkish* soldiers being weary of the siege, as they were informed by some prisoners who were taken, *Soleymân*, at the request of *Piri Pasha*, on the 28th of *August*, came himself in person to the camp; and now they began to make their approach to the ditch by trenches; raising two vast mounts of earth, one opposite to the gate of *Auvergne* and *Spain*, the other against the gate of *Italy*. These were carried to the edge of the counterescarp, and advanced ten or twelve feet higher than the walls of the town. The trenches being finished, the several generals took their posts, each against a bulwark, and furiously battered the walls with their ordnance. Stones of a vast size were thrown into the city ^f

^a CANT. p. 177.^b History of the Siege in HAKLUYT. Collect. Voy. vol. ii. p. 72. Hist. Knights of St. John in THEVENOT's Trav. p. i. c. 72. RICAUT, in Soliman.(F) Or *Ko*, corruptly by the *Greeks* *Eis ten Ko*, as *Isambol*, from *Eis ten polin*. Cant. It is faultily printed in the text *Iskankioy*. It is in the maps called *Stankio*.

- a from twelve great mortars; and a battery of forty cannon, whereof twelve were basilisks, A. D. 1521. never ceased playing. But they did no great good with another planted against *St. Nicholas's Tower*, because much annoyed with the cannon of the city. However, *Piri Pâshâ*, after having had thirty two of his mines frustrated, on the fourth of *August* blew-up the *English bul-* English bul-
 bulwark, where several of that nation perished. The *Turks* attempted to enter by this breach, up: but were repulsed by the grand master and his party; when *Mostafa Pâshâ* coming on with fresh troops, renewed a most terrible fight. However, by the bravery of the women as well as men, the *Turks* were forced to retreat, with the loss of two thousand men: while the besieged had fifty knights of the order besides a few others, slain. The enemy had no better success in the second assault, which lasted three hours; wherein they lost as many men as in
 b the former, with three great officers. *Piri Pâshâ* also was beaten from a mount which he had taken, and from whence he battered the *Italian* bulwark, which was near to it, with seventeen pieces of cannon; whilst the mines formed against the *French* bulwark were all counter-
 mined^m.

- MOSTAFA*, to retrieve his credit with *Soleyman*, resolved on a third assault against the *English* bulwark, in concert with *Abmed*, a great officer, who was at the same time to attack Several
 the *Spanish* bulwark. But although many brave *Englishmen* lost their lives, and *Prejanes* was wounded in the furious conflict; yet *Mostafa* was baffled in his attempt. *Abmed* indeed won the top of the wall, and pitched the *Turkish* standard on it, yet he was quickly beaten out again. However, the enemy having, on the 23d of *September*, by their mines and battery
 c against the *Auvergne* bulwark, made a large breach, *Soleyman* resolved on another assault the next day: of which the grand master being informed by means of a Christian slave, he prepared his people to receive the enemy. The attack was made in five different places at once, with ten thousand *Turks* in each body: but they were opposed by the besieged of all ages and conditions, as well as of both sexes; who, with all kinds of destructive instruments, from the walls made great havock among them. The grand master was present every-where. After having taken all proper care of the *Italian* quarter, much distressed by *Piri Pâshâ*, he went to that of the *English*, hardly pressed by *Mostafa*. While he was there, a sudden cry was Spanish bul-
 heard, that the *Spanish* bulwark was lost; as in effect it was: for while the *Spaniards*, who wark lost, and
 guarded that bulwark, left it to assist the *Spaniards* posted to the right of it, who were briskly regained:
 d charged by *Abmed*, some *Turks*, who at the beginning of the assault, to avoid the shot, had hid themselves among the rubbish at the foot of the bulwark, took that opportunity to mount the wall, and quickly got possession of it. But they were scarcely warm in that post when the grand master, with a party of choice men, resolutely scaled it again; while *Hugh Capon* and *Ménosius*, both knights of the order, with a company of *Candiots*, broke into the bulwark by the gate, which the *Turks* had not yet bolted, and recovered it, after it had been two hours in the hands of the enemy. In short, the *Turks* being every-where put to the worst with great slaughter, *Soleyman*, after an assault of six hours, and the loss of 20,000 men, sounded a retreat: but was so enraged for this ill success, that he ordered *Mostafa* to be put to death, and *Piri Pâshâ* afterwards, for interceding for him. Both would have suffered, if the rest of
 e the great officers had not implored mercy for them. However, his admiral, because he could not hinder relief from coming to the city by sea, did not fare so well: for though by the mediation of *Abmed* he escaped death, yet he was removed, and whipped as a slave on board the admiral galley.

- SOLEYMAN*, discouraged with these losses, would have raised the siege, but that he was per- Soleyman
 suaded by his favourite *Ibrahim* to continue it. Being thus resolved, he began to build a stately discouraged.
 palace on *Mount Philermus*, in sight of the city; during which time, several letters were shot with arrows into the town, disclosing many of the *Soltân's* counsels; and intimating the designed revolt of a great man, supposed to have been *Mostafa*: but he having been soon after made governor of *Egypt*, in the room of *Kayser Beg*, deceased, they received no more letters from
 f the camp. Mean while, if the besieged had friends in the enemy's camp, the enemy did not want them in the town: for first a *Jew* physician, employed as a spy, gave them notice of the state of the place by letters; and then they were encouraged by the advice of *Sir Andrea* Treachery of
De Amiral, a *Portuguese*, prior of *Castile*, chancellor of the order, and one of the principal Amiral:
 lords of the council. This traitor, disgusted that *De Villiers* should be preferred to the grand-mastery before him, betrayed the weak condition of the place to the *Soltân*; informing him that the besieged were quite spent, and promising him an easy conquest if he staid but a few days longer, and attacked the town in the place which he directed to. This notice was given by a letter or letters, tied to an arrow, and shot into the *Turkish* camp; in doing which, his servant was detected, and being examined, confessed the whole affairⁿ.

^m Hist. of the Siege in HAKLUYT. Collect. Voy. &c. ubi supr.

ⁿ Ibid.

A. D. 1522.

A great
breach :

FOR all this, it being now the month of *October*, the bad weather which came on, so much a
incommoded both the army and fleet, that *Soleyman* was at his wit's end, when *Abmed* encour-
aged him to continue the siege, by promising in a short time to open a way into the city. To
accomplish this, he never left attacking the outer wall of the *Auvergne* quarter, till he had
made himself master of it; after which he raised a strong pent-house against the town-wall,
and fell to undermining it. This struck a great damp upon the spirits of the *Rhodians*, who
yet destroyed many of the *Turks* at their work: however, the latter prevailing by numbers, at
last beat down the wall; so that the besieged had no better shift left than to labour day and
night in raising a new one.

General
assault :

THESE advantages gained, *Soleyman* prepared for one general assault more on the last day of
November. The *Turks*, with colours flying, and great shouts, hastened towards the breach, and b
advanced to *St. Ambrose Gate*, while the fleet made a shew of attacking the city from the sea:
but the besieged, preferring death to the thoughts of captivity, behaved so gallantly, that the
Turks, notwithstanding their fierce attacks, were forced to retreat. However, stung with
the scoffs flung at them by the *Rhodians* on that occasion, and disdaining to be so treated by
a handful of men, they returned to the charge with greater fury than before; yet at last were
obliged to march back, after leaving five thousand more dead behind them.

Turks gain
ground :

AFTER this defeat, they applied themselves to make trenches through the rubbish of the
walls, in order that way to get into the city, and demolish the new-raised countermure, and
other barricades. In effect, they made such progress with their mattocks and pickaxes, at
the same time continually skirmishing with the besieged, that they soon obliged them to pull c
down several houses, in order to erect new fortifications, and dig new trenches (G). Thus
they found the city daily going from them, and themselves pent up into less room, the enemy
having by this time gained within the town almost 200 paces in breadth, and 150 in length.

A parley re-
quired :

SOLEYMAN, though now assured of carrying the place, at the persuasion of *Abmed* and
Kassi, sent *Jerom Monelia*, a *Genoese*, to parley with the *Rhodians*: but as his orders were to
deliver this message in private to *Mathias De Via*, his countryman, *Farnovius*, one of the
knights, ordered him forthwith to depart. Yet, soon after, the grand master, at the earnest
solicitations of the people, was forced to send ambassadors to *Soleyman*, to know for what
end he had sent to require a parley: but the *Soltân* in a great heat, as if he had known nothing
of the matter, said there was no such thing; and sent them back with a letter to the grand d
master and citizens, advising them to make trial of his clemency; with a promise of liberty
and goods, in case they submitted. The grand master was for fighting it out to the last, in
defence of their faith and honour. With him some others joined, out of distrust that the
Turks would not keep their articles with them: but the majority were for putting it to a trial,
rather than occasion the destruction of so many people.

The city sur-
rendered :

HOWEVER, the grand master broke up the assembly without coming to a final resolution;
only promising to take care of their welfare: but next morning, finding by *Prejanes*, that the
enemy had so shaken and battered their works, that the city could not possibly be long
defended, it was by general consent agreed to deliver the same up; and a truce was accord-
ingly settled for four days. Mean time, a ship arrived from *Candia*, with wines, and one e
hundred volunteers, unknown to the *Venetians*, then in league with the *Turks*; who, in great
numbers approaching the walls of *Rhodes*, *Favorinus* ordered a whole tire of cannon to be
fired against them. The enemy, justly offended at this breach of the truce, advanced through
the ruins of the breaches into the city, as far as the rampiers and barricadoes, to revenge the
injury; but were valiantly driven back. However, the *Rhodian* ambassadors, then in the
Othmân camp, must have been torn in pieces by the enemy, had it not been for the *Turkish*
hostages in the town: but on the arrival of two burgeses in the camp, with the terms of
surrender, all was presently quiet.

Le Villiers
honoured :

SOLEYMAN having agreed to all the articles (H), the grand master, by *Abmed's* advice,
went in a mean habit to prostrate himself before the *Soltân*, attended with a few knights of the f
order. Having waited at the tent door in the rain most part of the day, he was clothed with
a rich robe, and then introduced. Soon after, he was admitted to kiss the hand of *Soleyman*,
who would have had him to become his vassal: but *Le Villiers* declining it with a modest
boldness, which pleased the *Soltân*, he was sent back to the city with honour. A few days
after, when *Soleyman* visited the place, the grand master would have prostrated himself before
him; but the *Soltân* took him up, and called him *Father*. Likewise, when he went to desire

(G) The *Rhodians* had 1500 *Turkish* slaves in the town; who, on this, and other occasions, did them great service.

(H) These were, that the churches should remain in the hands of the Christians: that no children should be taken from their parents: that none should be forced

to change his religion: that such as would, might remain in the city without paying tribute for five years; and that the rest, with their goods, should be shipped for *Candia*, with as many cannon as they pleased, within a reasonable time.

leave

a leave to depart, he was received so very courteously, that *Soleyman*, turning to *Ibrahim Pâshâ*, A. D. 1522. said, *Truly, I cannot but be troubled to see this unfortunate old man driven out of his own habitation, departing so heavily from hence.* The Soltân entered the city in triumph on Christmas-day, 1522.

DURING the siege of *Rhodes*, *Khair Beg*, governor of *Egypt*, happening to die, *Jumun-Kaishuf*, (an *Arab Shейkh*, who had submitted to *Selim*), by his speeches and presents persuades all the people of *Egypt* unanimously to attempt to shake off the *Othmân* yoke. *Soleyman* hearing of these transactions, sends his *Wazîr Mostafa Pâshâ*, with five ships, into *Egypt*; who, arriving in a few days at *Eskanderiya*, surprises the rebels unprepared, and entirely routing them, restores the country to its former state. But as it took him up time to settle affairs, and collect *Khair Beg*'s riches, which were very great, *Soleyman*, to whom the whole administration of the government seemed too great a burthen, made *Ibrahim Aga*, from a common Janizary, prime *Wazîr*.

MOSTAFA, who thought his late victory deserved rather an addition of honour, than an affront, was grieved at this promotion: but concealing his resentment, as if intirely ignorant of what had been done, sends an account of his proceedings to *Rhodes*, and requests the government of *Egypt*, as a reward for all his past services. *Soleyman* readily grants his petition, telling him, he reserved nothing to himself, but the royal name and coin. *Mostafa*, thus invested with so great power, and enriched with *Khair Beg*'s treasures, as well as the effects of the proscribed rebels, resolves to subject all *Egypt* to his dominion. This design he imparts to *Mehemmed Effendi*, scribe of the *Divân* (I); and makes him *Wazîr*, as thinking him a man of sense, and his particular friend: but *Mehemmed* detesting his lord's treachery, endeavours, with some accomplices, to kill him when he was bathing; while *Mostafa*, informed of the danger by a trusty servant, escapes through a back-door, and flies with a few attendants to the *Shейkh* of the *Arabs*. By the *Shейkh*'s assistance, he quickly assembles a large force, and wages war with the scribe; whom, for his want of experience, he despised. Mean time, *Mehemmed* having acquainted *Soleyman* with what had passed, obtained as a reward the government of *Egypt*; and encouraging the foldiers with a large sum of money, leads them against *Mostafa*, defeats him after a bloody battle, and cuts off his head.

SOLEYMAN, to make his new *Wazîr Ibrahim Pâshâ* more faithful, in the year 930, gives him his sister in marriage; and whilst he is gracing the nuptials with his presence, the joy is doubled by the *Soltâna* being delivered of a son, who was named *Selim*. Shortly after, the *Wazîr* departs, with some gallies, to settle the affairs of *Egypt*. Being driven by a storm into *Rhodes*, he there leaves his ships, and goes by land to *Kayro*: where, by his authority, dispersing the rebels, and seizing the ringleaders, the sons of *Amar* and *Bekaar* (K), he orders them to be hanged, and their estates confiscated. As among their effects was found a great quantity of gold, he coins dukats, like those of *Venice*, but less in value by thirty aspers; which still bear the name of *Ibrahim*. After this, delivering up the government to *Soleyman Pâshâ* (*), he returns to *Constantinople*.

THE next year, the *Soltân* resumes the war against *Hungary*; and with a great army, on the 30th of *Rajeb*, comes to *Belgrade*. Then crossing the *Save*, proceeds towards *Buda*, taking in his march *Suliuk* and *Osek* (L); whose bridge over the *Drave* he orders to be demolished. Soon after, the *Hungarians* coming thither with the same design, and seeing the work already done, they are seized with fear, as it convinced them that the *Turks* had passed the river, with a resolution to conquer or die. Their king *Ladash* (M), to prevent the devastation of his country, marching with incredible speed, incamps in sight of the *Turkish* army, in a place called *Mohaj* (N). Next day, being the first of *Ziulkadeh*, both armies engage, and contend the whole day with such fierceness, that it was difficult to perceive to which side victory would incline. At length, the king being slain in the battle, about sun-set, the *Hungarians* take to flight, and the rest, with their camp, become a prey to the *Othmâns*.

THIS is the *Turkish* account, which receives a good deal of light from that of the Christian historians. According to them, *Soleyman* was marched with 200,000 men as far as *Sofia*, before the *Hungarians* had any suspicion of his design. Being straitened for want of time, they were not able to raise above 25,000 forces; yet not only the generality of the foldiers were

° History of the Siege in HAKLUYT. Collect. Voy. &c. ubi supr. p. 177, & seqq.

P CANT. p. 180.

° Ibid.

(I) *Divân Kyatibi*. Every *Pâshâ* has such an officer, whose business is to read the complaints delivered in writing to his *Divân*. The prime *Wazîr* has two secretaries. Cant.


(K) Both mentioned in the life of *Selim* I.

(*) He was the admiral of the *Egyptian* fleet, who submitted to *Selim*.

(L) *Osseck*, or *Eseck*, where there is a famous bridge over a marsh three miles long.

(M) This was not *Ladislâus*, as prince *Cantemir* asserts; but *Lewis* II. king of *Hungary*.

(N) Or *Mohatz*. Prince *Cantemir*, in the note, calls it *Mohatz*.

A. D. 1525.  for fighting, but *Tomoreus*, archbishop of *Colossa*, their general, by vain arguments, insisted a on engaging the enemy, before the *Vayvod* of *Transilvania* had joined them with his horse. The wiser sort of the officers thought it madness to hazard a battle with such a handful of men, and dissuaded the young king *Lewis* from venturing his person : but nothing would do with the foldiers without his presence.

severely
punished.

BEING arrived at *Mobatz*, *Balibenes*, who commanded the *Turkish* van, consisting of 20,000 horse, divided them into four bodies, and so continually skirmished with the *Hungarians*, that they could not get to the *Danube* for water. This laying *Tomoreus* under a necessity of fighting, he drew up his army in no bad order, and barricadoed his tents with waggons. But alas! the *Hungarians* were overthrown in the first encounter by the multitude of enemies ; who slew their general, with many other prelates and nobles. Then attacking b their camp, while the few body-guards were engaged to little purpose, king *Lewis* fled, and was unfortunately drowned in a filthy ditch, into which his horse had plunged him. Of all the *Hungarian* army only a few horsemen escaped ; the rest being slain in this fatal battle, fought the 29th of *October*, 1526. When the seven bloody heads of the bishops and nobility were presented to *Soleymân*, he much pitied the hard fate of the young king ; saying, he came not to take the kingdom from him, but to revenge former injuries received from the *Hungarians* ^c.

Buda taken.

AFTER this victory, *Soleymân* marches directly to *Buda* ; which, dispirited by the late slaughter, is easily taken, the third of *Ziulbijeb* ; and next *Pestthe*, opposite to it on the *Danube*, voluntarily surrenders. He then runs a bridge over that river, and sends his troops c in parties after the *Hungarians* escaped out of the late battle, who had killed several *Turks*, dispersed over the fields in search of prey ; and by this means clears the country of those enemies (O). Winter approaching, he returns ; taking in the way, by assault, *Baj*, on the *Danube*, with *Seghedin* and *Titeli*, on the *Tisa*.

Rebellion in
Asia.

Hejrah, 933.
A. D. 1526.

MEAN time, a false report of his death being spread in *Asia*, many free-booters belonging to the country of *Zuulkadîr* (P), miserably harrassed all the neighbouring provinces. They were opposed indeed by *Piri Pâshâ*, governor of *Adâna*, who killed many, and put to death all he took : but for want of sufficient force, could not suppress the rebellion. *Kalendar Beg*, son of *Haji Bektaşh* (Q), rejected all offers that were made him : but the *Wazîr*, *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, being sent over with a good army, finds the arch-rebel at *Kaysariya* ; and after d a bloody conflict, defeats him, and kills above 30,000 of the plunderers.

Religious
disturbance.

Hej. 934.
A. D. 1527.

NEXT year begins with religious disturbances : for one *Kabîzi Agem*, a man of great learning among the *Turks*, being well versed in the law and several sciences, publicly maintained, that the Christian religion stood on a firmer foundation than the *Mohammedan*. When he could not be brought by private admonitions to recant, they carried him before the *Mûfti* ; where, by arguments, he endeavoured to prove the gospel more excellent, for its precepts, than the *Korân*. On this, he was again admonished to abandon his opinions : but disregarding both admonitions and threats, he is at length, by the *Soltân's* command, punished with the loss of his head ; and an edict was published, that whoever should, even by way of dispute, prefer the doctrine of Christ before that of *Mohammed*, should undergo the same penalty. e

Unjust punish-
ment.

ABOUT the same time, some *Albanian* thieves at *Constantinople*, breaking into a Christian merchant's house near *Selim's* temple (R), murder him, and carry away his goods as well as money. Next day, complaint is made to the *Divân* : but as the names of the persons were not discovered, and it appeared from *Constantinople*, that many were concerned in the fact, the *Soltân* ordered, that all the *Albanians*, whether inhabitants, or only sojourners on account of trade, should be seized, and to a man put to death (S). While this butchery was acting at *Constantinople*, a great quarrel arose at *Halep*, between the ecclesiastical judges (T) ; which

* RICAUT, in *Soleymân*.

(O) The Christian writers say, that he ravaged all the country between the rivers *Raab* and *Theyse*, destroying or carrying into slavery 150,000 people.

(P) It is falsely written by the Christian authors *Dulkadir*, by changing the *Zal* into *Dal*. Cant. [Rather the Arabic *dhâl* is pronounced by the *Turks*, after the *Persians*, like *z* : thus, for *Ramadhân* they pronounce, and thence sometimes write, *Ramazân*. Note, the *dhâl*, *dh*, sounds like the English *th* in *these*, *that*, &c.]

(Q) Who *Haji Bektaşh* was is unknown. But the *Turks* own, that his son *Kalender* brought the *Othmân* affairs to such extremities, that the empire seemed on the brink of destruction : for all *Turky* in *Asia*, being at once subdued by him, acknowledged him for sovereign. Cant.

(R) It stands on the mount, which hangs over the

gate *Fenar*, and is a master-piece of elegance and art. The architect was a *Greek* ; who built a still more stately one at *Adrianople*. Cant.

(S) It is a law among the *Turks*, that if one thousand and one men tumultuously kill any person, and refuse to confess who gave the first blow, they shall all be put to death. Prince *Cantemir* saw an instance of this, in the case of eleven *Janizaries*, who having, when drunk, killed a great peasant, not far from the city, were, next day, all put to death for it.

(T) The *Molla* and *Kaziler*. The *Molla* are the judges of principal cities and towns ; the *Kaziler*, that is, the *Kadis*, are those of the lesser towns (and villages). The *Molla* also may be compared to an archbishop, the *Kadi* to a bishop. Cant. *Oth. Hist.* Note p. 31.

- a daily increasing, the citizens, to put an end to it, kill them all in the very *Jâmi* at morning prayers. *Soleyman* being informed of this, orders some *Pâshâs* to march thither with their forces, and put all the inhabitants, guilty or not guilty, to death: but, by the intercession of *Ibrahim Pâshâ*, the chief men and heads of the conspiracy only were executed, with various kinds of punishments; and the common people, as persons rather seduced than guilty, banished to *Rhodes*.

- LET us now return to the affairs of *Hungary*. *John Sepurvias*, *Vayvod* of *Transilvania*, arriving with his troops after the battle of *Mohatz*, so practised with the nobility, that at length they chose him their king. But *Ferdinand*, archduke of *Austria*, newly elected king of the *Romans*, in right of his wife *Ann*, sister to the late king *Lewis*, entering the country, first takes *Buda* (U), and then routs king *John*; who, not able to withstand so potent an enemy, flies into *Poland*. There, to retrieve his fortune, he resolves to apply to *Soleyman*, by the advice of *Jerom Laskus*, a person of great reputation and abilities; who, undertaking the embassy, by his arguments, joined to a promise of doing homage and paying tribute, so gained on the grand *Wazîr Ibrahim*, and the other *Pâshâs*, that the *Soltân* agreed to support *John's* interest. Accordingly, in the year 935, he marches with a great army, and incamps in a spacious plain near *Filibeb* (X): but all the warlike provisions being destroyed by long and lasting rains, which, swelling the torrents, endangered his whole army (Y), he is forced to defer his intended expedition. However, making fresh preparations, he, the next year, marches to *Buda* (Z); and having battered the walls with his engines, the garrison, weakened by continual assaults, surrender the city, on condition of having their lives and arms. But the *Turks* reviling them for cowardice as they were going out, one of the soldiers stabbed a *Janizary*, who was reproaching him. The rest cry out, the articles are violated (A); and against the *Soltân's* order, fell on the *Germans*, who were all put to the sword before the tumult could be appeased.

- THE Christian writers say, this was done by *Soleyman's* orders, on the following occasion. They tell us, that after the governor *Thomas Nadaști*, an *Hungarian* of great accomplishments, had done all that a man could do for defence of the place, the *German* garrison would no longer obey him: but seizing him, agreed to yield up the city, on condition that they might march away with their baggage. But, when they were, to the number of 700, ready to depart, and the *Janizaries* about to unbind the governor, in order to let him go likewise; *Soleyman*, being informed of the garrison's treachery, in detestation of their behaviour, commanded them all to be slain. At the same time, he offered the governor preferments, and on his declining to accept of any, courteously discharged him.

WHILE *Soleyman* staid a few days in the neighbourhood to refresh his army, *Tutuk Lagottiță* Moldavia (B) arrives in embassy from *Bogdân* (C), prince of *Moldavia*, and the people, to offer the *Soltân* both *Moldavias* (D), as a fief to the *Othmân* empire, on honourable conditions; particularly, that their religion should be preserved intire. *Soleyman*, readily accepting of the terms, confirms them with his own hand; and in his return from that year's expedition, is met near

* CANT. p. 180. & seqq.
& RICAUT, in *Soleyman*.

† LEUNCL. & RICAUT, in *Soleyman*.

‡ CANT. p. 185.

§ LEUNC.

(U) In the *Turkish* historian used by prince *Cantemir*, this city is said to have been taken by the emperor of *Germany*, who seems to be confounded with the king of the *Romans*. The emperor is in the text called *Alaman Kîrali* (that is, *Krâl*, or king of the *Almains*). On which occasion the author observes, that at present, the *Turks* honour the emperor with the title of *Memche Karali*, king of the *Germans*, and *Khusar*, which is, *Cæsar*: also *Ruma Impera duri*. Cant.

(X) *Philippe i*.

(Y) This is said, in the text, to have happened as a punishment for *Soleyman's* having that day, without cause, reproached and deposed the *Mufti*. On which occasion, prince *Cantemir* observes, that the *Turks* of all nations are most given to superstition, and pay the greatest veneration to ecclesiastics.

(Z) With an army of 115,000 men, according to the Christian writers.

(A) As the *Turks* cannot deny these frequent breaches of capitulations, they lay hold of any pretence to excuse themselves. Thus, if but an ax or knife be found on any soldier of a garrison, which is to march out without arms, they cry, the articles are violated, and use them with great severity. The like they do, when allowed their arms, in case they defer marching

a little beyond the appointed hour: so that it is better for Christians to die within the walls, than trust to the *Turks*. Cant. This maxim will not hold, since, were it to be granted that the *Turks* have violated some capitulations, yet it must be confessed they have kept others; and Christians should not give them any occasion.

(B) Of the noblest *Moldavian* race, from which 500 families derive their original. He spoke several languages to perfection; was wise and learned. He built a palace at *Constantinople*; which is called *Bogdân Saray*, the *Moldavian* palace. Cant.

(C) This is a *Sclawonic* name, and answers to *Deodatus*. The *Moldavians* surnamed him *Negrul*, or *Black*. He was the son of *Stephen the Great*; who, after a reign of forty-seven years and five months, filled with glorious exploits, advised his only son *Bogdân*, and his nobles, to submit his kingdom as a fief to *Soleyman*, rather than contend with his power; which *Bogdân* did in the seventh year of his reign. Cant.

(D) The upper and the lower. To the latter formerly belonged *Bessarabia*, called by the *Tatars*, *Bujâk*. *Jassi* is the capital of the whole; whither the *Despots* removed their seat from *Soczana*, after the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*. Cant.

A. D. 1529. *Sofia*, a city of *Servia*, by *Bogdân*, accompanied by some of his barons, by whom he was a presented with 4000 gold crowns, 40 bred mares, and 24 falcons, as a yearly present, in token of his feudal subjection. Hereupon, the *Soltân* again ratifies the agreement, gives him a larger *Kukka* (E), adorned with jewels, with a *Khilaat Fabireh* (F), and a horse with all the imperial trappings. Moreover, he orders four of his guard to attend (G) him ^y.

Vienna
besieged:

SOLEYMAN having refreshed his army, resolves to besiege *Vienna*, the capital of *Austria*. To this end, he sends before him *Abmed*, with the volunteer horse; who piercing as far as *Lintz*, destroy all the country, with innumerable inhabitants. The *Soltân* follows, and in his march takes the castle of *Alconburg*: but in vain attacks *Neustadt* seven times in one day. On the 26th of *September*, he arrives before *Vienna*; and with his huge army, encamps in five places round the city, so that it not being possible for *Frederic*, duke of *Bavaria*, who was general b of king *Ferdinand*'s forces, to throw in any supplies, he staid at *Chresme*, about 12 miles distant. However, there were in the city 20,000 horse and foot, under the command of *Philip*, palgrave of the *Rhine*; and great need there was of such a force, the place was so badly fortified. In the second sally, seven officers being taken prisoners, *Soleymân* asked, whether those who had the command of the city intended to defend it against his mighty power? *Zirlitz* answered, that *Ferdinand* would certainly give him battle, as soon as the *German* forces, which he waited for at *Lintz*, were arrived: and that he knew the besieged were resolved to hold out to the last.

Affaulted in
vain.

SOLEYMAN dissembling his concern, gave them their liberty, with a promise of great favour to the citizens, provided they submitted; and threatening ruin to them in case they did not. c Finding they did not comply, he began to batter the city with small field pieces, whilst the great guns were coming up the *Danube*: but they were happily sunk, with the vessels which brought them, by the brave *Wolfgang Hoder*. However, another part of the *Turkish* fleet reaching *Vienna*, broke up all its bridges, and blocked it up on that side also. Hereupon, the enemy fell to mining, which was carried on in fifteen different places; but they were all countermined, with the loss of 8000 *Turks* buried alive or slain. For all this, having had the good luck to bring one mine to perfection, they blew up a great part of the wall, near the gate of *Carinthia*; but were repulsed there with great loss, as well as in two other furious attacks at another breach made not far off by the springing of a mine.

The siege
raised

ABOUT the same time, the besieged, in a sally, cut off 5,300 of the enemy; yet, *October* d the 15th, they made a general assault with all their forces; in which succeeding no better than before, *Soleymân*, next day, sent some of his chief prisoners to acquaint the citizens, that he did not come to besiege *Vienna*, but to revenge the injuries done him by *Ferdinand*: and that, in case they would submit to him, he would not molest them, nor enter into their city. But finding that they disdained his proposal, he raised the siege, and barbarously slew all his prisoners. Besides this, the besieged suffered very little loss; while of the *Turks* were slain, as was computed, eighty thousand men. *Soleymân*, having drawn off with his army, restored the kingdom of *Hungary* to king *John*, to be held by him as his vassal ^z.

by German
address.

THIS is the account given by the Christian historians: but the *Turks* ascribe their *Soltân*'s ill success to the deceit of the *Germans*. They tell us, that after battering the city for 40 e days, and blowing-up part of the walls, he commanded his men to enter the breaches: but, as often as they attempted it, they were repulsed by the valour of the garrison. However, they must at length have yielded, if they had not by fraudulent promises deceived the politic *Soleymân* himself: for, by their ambassador, owning themselves exhausted, and promising to become his vassals, they desire a truce; but prolong it under various pretences, till the time of the autumnal rains; which fell suddenly in such abundance, that the *Turks*, after some faint assaults, were obliged to retire. His army being now, by their losses (H), inferior to that of the enemy, and incumbered with a great number of captives of both sexes, he ordered them all to be massacred in his presence; and then striking his tents, gets with his forces

^y CANT. p. 186.

^z RICAUT, ubi supr.

(E) A crest, or ornament for the head, made of ostrich feathers; with which only are adorned the *Buluk Agalari*, or *Tribunes*; the *Segbân Basbi*, who is next to the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*; and the princes of *Moldavia* and *Walakhia*. CANT. From hence possibly comes our word cockade.

(F) It is the first of the three sorts of robes of honour.

(G) This custom is still observed, whenever the prince of *Moldavia* goes to the *Othmân* court; neither

Pâshâs nor *Wazîrs* in general being created with so much pomp. CANT.

(H) Other *Turkish* historians say, the *Soltân* lost 40,000 men in the siege; and therefore bound his successors by a curse, never to attack *Vienna* for the future. And the *Turks* do not scruple to affirm, that their defeat before *Vienna*, in the last century, was intirely owing to their treading the ground forbidden by *Soleymân*'s curse. CANT.

a to *Buda*, before his retreat was known. There receiving of the *Vayvod* (I) of *Transylvania* A. D. 1529. the tenths of the tribute he had raised in *Hungary*, he confirms him in his principality.

In a few days after, he returns to *Constantinople*, and celebrates the circumcision of his three sons, *Mostafa*, *Mohammed*, and *Selím*; at which were present not only all the *Wazírs*, and *Páshás* of the empire, but also the ambassadors of *Persia* and the Christian princes. It was followed by a splendid entertainment. At the *Soltán's* table sat the *Mústí* and *Kazío' laşker* on his right hand (K); and on his left his *Hoja*; at a second table were the *Wazírs*; at a third the *Páshás*, and at a fourth sat the *Ulema*, or learned in the law. There was a separate table for the foreign ambassadors, among whom the *Persian* and *German* (L) had the precedence. But his mirth was disturbed by a sudden message, that *Firandos* (M) king of the *Chekki* (N), thinking him taken up with those affairs, had besieged *Buda*, and for twenty-seven days attacked it with all his forces. The *Janízaries* making a brave defence, gave *Mehemmed Beg*, son of *Yabia Páshá*, governor of *Semendria*, time to come to their relief with the forces of his *Sanják*: but as he found himself too weak, he spread a report among some prisoners, that he was *Ibrahim Páshá*, the prime *Wazír*, and that the *Soltán* with the rest of the army, would arrive in three days. The captives being suffered to escape, as was designed, repaired to the camp of the Christians with the news; which struck them with such terror, that they fled (O), leaving their cannon and other warlike provisions behind them.

SOLEYMAN, to be revenged for this affront, in 938, invades the king of the *Chekki*, with a great army, destroying the country before him with fire and sword. *Firandos* meets him with no inconsiderable army, and bravely maintains the fight for some time: but he is at last routed, and obliged to fly to *Gradiska*, the place of his residence (P). This victory not only added above 20 cities and towns to the *Othmán* empire, but so terrified the petty princes of the *Sclavi* and *Hirvati* (Q), that they voluntarily submitted to *Soleyman*².

THE whole transactions of this expedition are so very differently related by the Christian writers, that they seem to be treating of quite another affair. According to them, *Soleyman*, not being able to digest his disgrace before *Vienna*, and being withal continually solicited by *John*, king of *Hungary*, quickly after the circumcision of his sons, raises a vast army. Mean time, king *Ferdinand*, apprehensive that it was designed against him, sent ambassadors to *Soleyman*, who was then in *Servia*, to treat of peace; but could receive no answer. However, the emperor *Charles V.* who was now in *Germany*, beginning to take the matter upon himself, prepared to raise all the forces he could in *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. Mean time, king *John*, upon the approach of the *Turkish* army towards *Semendria*, thought it a fit time to besiege *Gran*. But although *Aloysio Gritti* destroyed most of the fleet sent by *Ferdinand* down the *Danube* to its relief, yet he could not take the city.

SOLEYMAN arriving in fifty-six days march at *Belgrade*, sent a great number of horse over the *Sava*, into *Hungary*, and marched himself directly for *Stiria*. Being come to the little town of *Gunz*, where *Nicholas Jurischitz* was governor; the prime *Wazír Ibrahim*, desirous to save so brave a man, and formerly his intimate acquaintance, when ambassador at *Constantinople*,

² CANT. p. 192, & seqq.

(I) He is called by the *Transilvanians* their *Bah. Vayvod* (or *Waywood*) is a *Sclavonic* word, signifying the general of an army; but by the *Poles* is given to governors of provinces, as *Vayvod Kioveski*, &c. The *Turks* call by the same name the Christian princes of *Moldavia* and *Walakhia*, who are tributary to them; although formerly the princes of *Moldavia* had the title of *Tekkiur*, or king. Sometimes the governors of large cities, who are not *Páshás*, are called *Vayvodes*: as *Pera Vayvodesi*, *Galata Vayvodesi*, &c. Cant.

(K) *Kiemal Pascha Zade* was *Mústí*, and *Kadri Chelebi Kazio' laşker*, *Muhi illo'ddin Chelebi*, his preceptor. This custom of sitting at table with the *Soltán* began to be disused under this *Soleyman*; and at present he suffers no man to sit at table with him. Cant.

(L) The diversions on this occasion are described in a letter to *Dav. Chytrens*; particularly the fight between a lion and hog. "Wild beasts," says the writer, "also fought. Among the rest, a hog, brought from the German ambassador's house, so battled it with three lions, one after the other, that if he had not been tied by one leg, he would perhaps have gotten the better, and put them to flight. It is certain, he received the last in so rough a manner with his snout, that he tumbled him over and over, and made him shamefully run away, to the great confusion of the

"*Turks*, who compare themselves to lions, and the Christians, especially the *Germans*, to hogs." See *Lonic. Chron. Tusc.* tom. ii. at the end.

(M) *Ferdinand*, at that time king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*.

(N) So the *Turks* call the *Bohemians*.

(O) Some *Turkish* historians, of little authority, say, the city was relieved after another manner. The *Germans* having beaten the *Turks* from a bulwark, and entered the gate, a Jewish woman tears off the sleeve of her shift, and lighting it, fires off a great gun; which so astonished the enemy, and made such a slaughter, that the *Turks* had time to recover themselves, and repulse the *Germans*. The gun was afterwards, by *Soleyman*, bound with a silver circle like a crown, and the woman, with her whole family, declared free from tribute. Cant.

(P) *Gradiska*, which is a noted town of *Sclavonia*, seems erroneously to be made the seat of *Ferdinand*; since no Christian writer mentions his having resided there any time. Cant.

(Q) These are one and the same nation. However, the *Turks* call them *Hirvati*, who are under the dominion of the Christians; while those who are *Mohammedans*, or obey the *Othmán* power, are named *Serbadi*, that is, people of the borders. Cant.

A. D. 1532. did all he could to induce him to surrender the place. On his refusal, the *Turks* fell to mining, and overthrew the walls in three places; but in spite of their fierce assaults, cannon, and huge mounts, the besieged repaired the breaches, as strong as ever they were. *Ibrahim*, finding all their efforts baffled, after a siege of 28 days, to save the *Soltân's* reputation, advised him to send for the governor, and, as it were of his own bounty, to bestow the town upon him. *Jurischitz* being much wounded, and having but one third part of 800 soldiers left, gladly got quit of the enemy, by setting up one of *Soleymân's* banners on the chief tower of the city, and admitting a captain, with ten *Janizaries*; who, after a short visit, returned to the camp.

Carinthia
invaded.

SOLEYMAN leaving *Gunz*, with an army of 500,000 men (as appeared from the report of some prisoners, and *Ferdinand's* ambassadors), and 300 small field pieces, but no cannon, marched towards *Carinthia*, with a design only to ravage the country, and avoid fighting the enemy. *Kassan* had been detached before that with 15,000 horse on the like occasion, and did incredible mischief: but on his return, finding himself beset on all sides, slew 4000 of his prisoners; and then, dividing his forces into two bodies, endeavoured to escape by night. The party under *Ferises*, cutting their way with incredible labour through thick woods, got safe to the grand army then in *Stiria*: but *Kassan* being met near the valley of *Staramberg* by the general of the *German* princes, with 12,000 men, two of them horse, and some field pieces, was slain, with a great number of his soldiers. Those who remained, falling afterwards in the way of other troops, were all cut off, to the number of 8000.

Soleymân
retreats.

THE emperor, who was now at *Lintz*, being able to get no intelligence of the motions of the *Turks*, marched to *Vienna*; where, on a general review, he found his army to consist of 260,000 men, of which near one half were veteran troops. There in a field, with king *Ferdinand* his brother, he waited in expectation of the mighty host of the *Othmâns*: but *Soleymân*, being informed of their strength, and manner of encampment, thought it not fit to hazard a battle; but returned the same day to *Belgrade*, with 30,000 captives, besides what had been slain. The emperor, instead of pursuing his advantage against king *John*, as his brother desired, returned to *Italy*; leaving behind, however, all the *Italians*, who returned soon after^b.

Koron taken,

WHILE the emperor *Charles* was thus employed by land, his admiral *Andrea Doria*, with a fleet of 35 tall ships and 48 galleys, on board of which were 25,000 old soldiers, sailed with a design to annoy the *Turks* in the *Peloponnesus* or *Morea*: but the *Venetian* fleet refusing to join him, because the league had been renewed between *Soleymân* and the republic, it gave the *Turkish* fleet an opportunity to get out of the bay of *Ambracia*, and retire to the strong port of *Kalcide*. Upon this, *Doria* sailing for *Koron*, besieged it both by sea and land. Soon after there arrived some *Turkish* forces to relieve the place: but being defeated by count *Sarne*, and their general slain, the enemy, wearied with assaults, and falling in want of necessaries, surrendered the city, on condition of liberty to depart with their baggage.

and Patras.

FROM *Koron*, *Doria* sailed to *Patras*; which he easily took, and pillaged: for the *Turks*, distrusting the strength of it, had intrenched themselves near the castle; which they also surrendered on the like terms. After this, he took the castles *Rhium* and *Malykreum*, opposite each other, in the gulph of *Lepanto*. The artillery taken in the first, some of them vastly big, were valued at 70,000 ducats. *Doria* having performed these exploits, returned towards

A. D. 1533.

Genoa. But in the beginning of the year 1533, *Koron* being besieged both by sea and land by the *Turks*, *Doria* hastened thither again. At his approach they retired, the fleet sailing to *Modon*, whither *Doria* followed, to provoke them to fight; which they not thinking fit to do, he retired to *Messina* in *Sicily*.

Koron abandoned.

THE winter following, the *Spaniards* and *Greeks* in *Koron*, beginning to want provisions, desired their governor to lead them out against the enemy; chusing rather to die in battle than by hunger. Hereupon *Macikaus*, much against his will, went with them to surprise the city of *Andrussa*: but the *Turks* being 5000 strong, made such resistance, that *Macikaus*, endeavouring to break in at a postern, was slain, with several of his men. The rest retreated to *Koron*, where the plague beginning to rage not long after, the *Spaniards*, with some *Greeks*, embarked with their cannon, and left the town to be repossessed by the enemy^c.

The Morea
ravaged.

WHAT the Christian historians relate concerning *Koron* is applied to *Modon* by the *Turkish* writers; who, passing over this transaction lightly, only tell us in a few words, that the *Ifrenj* (or *Italians*), assisted by other princes, having with a great fleet miserably laid waste the *Morea*, and taken *Modon*, *Mehemmed Beg*, who, from being governor of *Semendria*, was made *Begler Beg* of that province, hastens thither with his forces; and besieging the city, on a sudden

^b LEUNCL. & RICAUT. ubi supr.

^c Ibid.

a presses it so closely, that the enemy, despairing of relief, surrender it, on condition to be allowed A. D. 1536. to march off^d.

MEAN time, king *John* being solicited by his subjects to let *Hungary*, for sake of peace, devolve to king *Ferdinand* and his heirs, *Soleymân* sent *Gritti*, son of the doge of *Venice*, in *Transilvania* a very magnificent manner, to be his lieutenant in that kingdom, and see that his vassal king *John* did nothing without his consent. *Gritti* entered *Transilvania*, then a province of *Hungary*, attended by 7000 persons; among whom were *Urbanus Bathiani* and *John Docia*, two famous *Hungarian* commanders, with their troops, and a good number of *Janizaries*. Being proud of his authority, he took it very ill, that the *Vayvod Americus Gibach*, bishop of *Veradium*, a person of great rank and power, was not over-hasty to welcome him. At length the *Vayvod* b came with a great train, and pitching his tents, received *Gritti* with so little condescension, that coming out from dinner, he took the cap off his head, and opening it, said, *This cap will not hold two heads, and therefore it must be fitted to one.*

THIS being heard by *Docia*, whom the bishop had struck for some bold words spoken in a public assembly, he aggravated the matter to such a pitch, that *Gritti* desired him, if possible, to seize the *Vayvod*, in order to send him to *Constantinople*. *Docia* sets out from *Baxovia*, with a strong party, towards the bishop's quarters; and understanding by his spies that he lay in the fields, by reason of the hot weather, while his retinue were dispersed in the country villages, he broke into his tent when a-bed, and cut off his head, which he brought in his hand by the ear to *Gritti*; who asked *Laskus*, then present, *if he knew that shaven pate?* adding, *that it* c *was the head of a very rebellious proud man.* *Laskus*, who had quitted king *John's* party, because he had not given him the *vayvodship*, and therefore did not love the bishop, yet was shocked at the sight, and by his answer seemed to condemn the action; which made *Gritti* himself relent.

As soon as this horrid fact was known, the bishop's kindred and friends, to revenge his death, in a few days got together 40,000 men; who, under the command of *Stephen Maylat*, d besieged *Gritti* in the strong town of *Mege*, whither he had retired for his security. *Gritti* finding no assistance come to him from king *John*, or the *Turkish Sanjaks* on the frontiers, and being withal unprovided with victuals, endeavoured to escape thro' the camp of the blockaders: but missing his way, and lighting on *Maylat*, instead of the governor of *Moldavia*, his friend, who was to have met him with a party of horse, his *Turks* were slain, and himself taken without any resistance. Being delivered to the bishop's kinsman, he ordered him forthwith to be beheaded. The executioner, in stripping the body, found about it in jewels to the value of forty thousand ducats. He was the greatest Christian favourite that any of the *Turkish* emperors ever had^e.

^d CANT. p. 195, & seqq.

^e LEUNCL. & RICAUT, ubi supr.

S E C T. II.

Exploits of Barbarossa and Doria. Conquest of Tunis by Charles V. Affairs of Hungary.

e TWO years after, *Olama*, prince of *Azerbejân*, hitherto subject to the *Persians*, flies for *Bâghdâd* at refuge to *Soleymân*, and suggests the means of taking *Bâghdâd*. With this view, *Ibrâhîm* ^{tempted.} *Pâshâ* is sent into *Asia*: but finding more difficulty in executing his design than was expected, he turns off to *Vân* (R), and takes it in the first assault (S). Mean time, *Kbairo'ddîn* (T) *Pâshâ*, who had hitherto exercised piracy in the *White Sea* (U), offers his service to *Soleymân*, and petitions to be admiral of a fleet, that he might reduce the kingdoms of *Tunez* and *Jezaîr* (X). This affair being referred to the *Wazîr* (Y), who was then at *Hâlep*, *Kbairo'ddîn* repairs

(R) Or *Wân*, a famous city on a lake of the same name, in the *Gr. ater Armenia*.

(S) The Christian historians say, that *Ulama* (or *Ulemas*, as they call him) was brother-in-law to *Tâhmaşp*.

(T) That is, *the goodness and grace of faith*. He was afterwards made *Kapudan Pâshâ*, or high admiral, of the *Othmân* empire. He was the terror of Christians, by whom he was called *Barbarossa*. Cant.

(U) Or *Propontis*.

(X) That is *Algiers*, as we call it.

(Y) The *Soltâns* never transact any thing without the *Wazîr's* privity, once they have granted him full power to administer the affairs of the empire: whenever they do, that minister's authority is believed to be sinking. Cant.

A. D. 1553.

Rise of Barbarossa :

thither ; and having made it appear to *Ibrahim*, that the conquest was both easy and advantageous, he is appointed admiral^f.

ACCORDING to the Christian writers, *Khairo'ddin* (whom they call *Hariadenus*), surnamed *Barbarossa* from his red beard, was the son of a Greek renegado of *Mitylene*, in the island of *Lesbos* ; who, in company with his elder brother *Horrukkius* (Z), at first practised little piracies : but at length, joining with *Corfairs* of better account, *Horrukkius* in time became their chief. While these rovers were scouring the seas about *Morokko*, *Selim*, king of *Algiers*, hired them to oppose his brother *Mohammed*, who laid claim to his kingdom ; and they had the good luck to secure him in the throne. This having brought *Horrukkius* into credit, he afterwards slew the king, and got himself advanced in his room : but making war on the king of *Tremissen*, he was slain by the *Spaniards* who came to that king's assistance. *Horrukkius* was succeeded by his brother *Hariadenus*, surnamed *Barbarossa*, from his red beard, who performed many gallant actions ; and on his departure for *Constantinople*, where he arrived in 1533 (+), left a son behind him eighteen years old, under the care of a trusty friend.

Ravages Italy

BARBAROSSA used all the arguments he could to persuade *Soleymân* to the *African* war ; and had brought with him *Rashîd*, elder brother of *Muley Aziz*, king of *Tunis*, as a fit instrument of subduing that country : so that he was soon after made fourth *Pâshâ* and high admiral : on which occasion the *Soltân* delivered to him a scepter and a sword, with eight hundred thousand ducats for the expences of the war. Hereupon quickly putting to sea with a fleet of eighty galleys and some galliots, he steered his course for *Italy*, where he plundered the towns of *Lucidius* and *Citaro*, *Prochita* and *Spelunca* : while two thousand of his land forces crossing the mountains in the night, surprised the city of *Fundi*, and were within a small matter of taking *Julia Gonzaga*, the beauty of *Italy* ; whom *Barbarossa* designed to make a present of to *Soleymân*. Coming at length to the isle of *Capri*, in sight of *Naples*, he filled that city, and all the coast, with terror. Another part of his fleet landed at *Terracia*, which they found deserted by all but a few unable to get off, whom they put to the sword ; as they did all whom they did not think fit to carry away.

Sails to Africa :

AFTER he had ravaged the coasts, and frightened *Rome* itself, he passed over swiftly to attack the king of *Tunis*, against whom the expedition was designed. *Muley Hassan*, who at that time reigned there, being by his father *Mohammed*, at the instance of his wife, declared his successor, in prejudice to his elder brothers *Machin* and *Rachîd* ; he no sooner mounted the throne, than he put *Machin*, with seventeen more of his brethren, to death, and the eyes of three others out. *Rachîd* and *Abdo'lmâlek* made their escape to *Abdo'llah*, prince of *Biskaris* ; where the latter turning monk, the first, by the assistance of the inhabitants, endeavoured to recover his right : but failing in his attempts, he fled to *Barbarossa* ; who carried him to *Constantinople*, where he was detained, though the captor gave out that he was with him in the fleet, in order to be restored to his father's kingdom.

Takes Biserta and Tunis.

MEAN while, the *Turkish* admiral landing at *Biserta* (A), had the place quickly delivered up to him. From thence he sailed for the *Goletta*, a strong castle, commanding the bay of *Tunis* ; and in token of friendship, saluted it with all his great guns, which the castle answered in the same manner : but the governor being required to deliver it up to *Rashîd*, he answered, that it should always be at the command of him who governed in *Tunis*. The citizens, hearing that *Rashîd* was arrived, were presently all in an uproar ; whereupon *Muley Aziz*, who was hated by them for his cruelty, by the advice of *Abdabar*, the *Messuar* (or next in authority), fled, leaving all his treasures behind him. As soon as he was gone, *Barbarossa*, at the invitation of the people, hastened to the city with 5000 *Turks*, and was joyfully received : but they, not finding *Rashîd* among them, and having an aversion to the *Turks*, under the conduct of *Abdabar*, fell upon them as they were entering the castle, and quickly, though with much bloodshed, gained one of the bulwarks. Then sending for *Muley Hassan*, they, by their repeated assaults, distressed *Barbarossa*, till falling out at two gates upon the *Moors*, 3000 of them were slain, with the *Messuar*. On this, *Muley Hassan* fled, and with difficulty escaped to *Konstantina*, the antient *Cyrtba*, in company with his brother *Dorakt*, to whom that city belonged. The citizens next day, discouraged by their losses, and having no king to fight for, begged pardon of *Barbarossa*, and submitted to *Soleymân*. After the affairs of *Tunis* were settled, he, by proper methods, gained the *Numidian* princes to his interest. This done,

^f CANT. p. 196.

(Z) By the *Turks* called *Orûch*. See *D'Herb. Bibl. Orient. art. Khair Aldin*.

(+) The Christian historians say, that the *Wazîr Ibrahim*, hearing of his great exploits, and thinking him a proper match for *Doria*, advised *Soleymân* to invite him over, with a promise of making him admiral : that *Hariadenus*, full of his design to conquer *Barbary*, gladly

embraces the offer. But that being traduced by the envious *Pâshâs*, *Soleymân*, to put him off, referred him to *Ibrahim*, who was then at *Hâlep* : that *Hariadenus*, resolving to push the affair to the utmost, repaired to *Ibrahim* ; and, being recommended back to the *Soltân* by that minister, was forthwith made admiral.

(A) Or *Bizerta*, the antient *Hippoazaritus*.

a he quickly reduced the other cities of that kingdom, excepting *Kayrwân* (B), which held out for a while, and then surrendered ². Let us now return to the affairs of *Persia*. A. D. 1536.

NEXT year, *Soleymán* marches to the assistance of the *Wazîr Ibrâhîm*, who was then about *Vân*; and advancing to *Tigris* (C), *Soltân Mozaffer*, king of *Ghilân* (D), with 10,000 men, and *Mehemmed Khân*, join him against *Persia*, promising for the future to be his vassals. Thence he proceeds to *Soltanîya*, and after a short stay (E), about winter, marches to *Bâghdâd*. The governor *Tekkielû Mehemmed Khân* (F), finding himself too weak to withstand the *Othmân* forces, retires farther into *Persia*, and gives the *Soltân* an opportunity of entering the city without opposition. While *Soleymán* was one day viewing the monuments of the antient heroes, he takes notice of a place dedicated to *Imâm Azem* (G); and as from thence the city could be defended, and the inhabitants bridled, he orders it to be strongly fortified, and garrisoned with *Janizaries*. After this, he examines the *Defterdâr*'s (or treasurer's) accounts; and finding that he had not only embezzled some bags of money, but also betrayed his designs to the *Persians*, orders him to be hanged. The *Defterdâr* being brought to the gallows, asks for pen, ink, and paper; saying, he had some matters to impart to the emperor before he died. Pen and paper being brought him, he writes a letter to *Soleymán*; acquainting him, that *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, the prime *Wazîr*, was also guilty, and bribed by the *Persians* to make an attempt on the emperor's life. Which letter, though at first suppressed (H) by the *Soltân*, was the cause (I) of that famous and prudent minister's losing his life. Bâghdâd taken: Hejrah, 941. A. D. 1534.

News being brought whilst he staid at *Bâghdâd*, that the *Shâh* of *Persia* was marching with a great army to besiege *Vân*, he returns speedily to *Tibrîs*, and next day incamps at *Derghe-jineh*: by which means the *Shâh*, disappointed and terrified, sues for peace by his ambassadors, whom *Soleymán* dismissed without an answer. Next year, seeing nothing to be feared from the *Persians*, he returns, through *Khavîr*, towards *Derjîshâh*, where the *Khân* of *Bitlis* (K) surrenders all his towns to him (L). From thence the *Soltân* marched through *Amza* to *Halep*; and in *Rajeb*, entered *Constantinople* in triumph: three days after which, he ordered his formerly beloved and brave general *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ* to be put to death ^a. Bitlis surrenders Hej. 942. A. D. 1535.

In 943, a fresh expedition into *Persia* being necessary to preserve his late conquest, and being unwilling to undergo the fatigue himself, he sends *Mehemmed Khân*, who had lately submitted to him, with an army into *Gurjîstan*, or *Georgia*; which, after many bloody battles, submits on certain conditions. Georgia submits. Hej. 943. A. D. 1536.

ABOUT the same time an army of *Moldavians*, *Poles*, *Bohemians*, *Germans*, and *Spaniards* (M), voluntarily assembling, invade *Bosnia*, and besiege *Sulien*. But being suddenly attacked by

² RICAUT, ubi supr.

^a CANT. p. 197, & RICAUT, ubi supr.

(B) A city about 70 miles south of *Tunis*, now ruinous, but once very famous; having been the seat of the *Khalifah* of the west, before he removed to *Egypt*, as well as of several races of kings.

(C) A mistake for *Tibrîs*, or *Tevrîz*; which is *Tauris*, in *Persia*.

(D) Or *Khilân*, a province of *Persia*, on the south-west side of the *Caspian* sea; supposed to be the antient *Hyrcania*.

(E) The Christian writers say, that *Soleymán* hearing nothing of *Damas* (as they call *Thamas*, or *Tahmasp*), and his army being in danger of perishing in the plains of *Soltania* by a dreadful storm of rain which fell, he marched from thence towards *Baghdâd*.

(F) A famous *Persian* general, by whose management the *Wazîr* and *Defterdâr* are said to have been corrupted; which danger *Soleymán* escaped merely by the favour of blind fortune. CANT.

(G) Founder of the *Mohammedan* ceremonies, and more followed by the *Turks* than his successor *Shafi*. CANT.

(H) It is universally known how well the *Othmâns* can dissemble in such cases. Hence it is a common saying among them, *We should kiss the hand we cannot cut off*. CANT.

(I) No wonder *Soleymán* should put his *Wazîr* to death upon this single-evidence, since the *Turks* look on the confession of a dying man not only to exceed the evidence of forty witnesses, but even to remove all doubt, though the whole world should be of a contrary opinion. CANT.

(K) The river of *Bitlis* (or *Bedlis*) abounds with the fish *Moruna*, the largest of the river-kind, and found no where else, except in the *Danube* and *Volga*. As they

pass out of this last river into the *Caspian* Sea in spring, the *Russians* stop up the passes with reeds, and so catch infinite quantities of them. The people of *Bitlis*, finding their yearly prey to be thus kept from them, agreed with the *Russians*, that, for the benefit of the Christians in that city, one fence at least should be opened, the day before *Palm Sunday*, and so left for three days: by which means, even on the second day, great plenty of *Morunas* are taken in the river *Bitlis*. If these things, which were told me by a *Turk*, who was an eye-witness, be true, the swiftness of this fish is very wonderful, since it can swim over the whole *Caspian* Sea in twenty-four hours. CANT. Nay, what is more, if this be fact, they must also, in the same time, travel 360 miles by land; *Bitlis* being so far distant from the *Caspian* Sea. If prince *Cantemir* had understood the geography of the country, he could not have been so duped by the *Turks*, who are apt to impose on the credulous.

(L) The Christian historians, on the contrary, say, that 5000 *Persian* horse, on the 13th of *September*, surprising the rear of *Soleymán*'s army, consisting of 18,000 cavalry, in the valley near *Bitlis*, broke into their camp in the night; while the governor of that fortress sallied on the other side, and made so great a slaughter, that the *Pâshâs* of *Kayro* and *Syria*, with *Ulema*, who commanded in chief, had much ado to escape. Three great *Sanjâks* out of five were killed, and one taken. Eight hundred *Janizaries* submitted, and the mountain people took all their baggage; so that the *Turks* account it among the greatest of their losses.

(M) The *Turks* here give the name of *Spaniards* to the *Germans*; which was probably occasioned from the emperor *Charles V.* being also king of *Spain*. CANT.

Hafrûd

A. D. 1536 *Hasrad Bey*, governor of that country, with a small force, fly for fear; and being pursued, are overtaken and routed near *Kilis*, which *Hasrad*, after a few days siege, takes: and thus adds a whole *Sanjak* to the *Ottoman* empire¹.

Emperor
Charles V.
joins for
Africa:

WHILST *Soleyman* was engaged in his *Persian* expedition, the emperor *Charles V.* fearing, by *Barbarossa's* late successes, that in time his own dominions, especially *Sicily*, would be endangered by him, he resolved to pass over to *Africa*, with a puissant army of *Spaniards*, *Germans*, and *Italians*. His fleet was very numerous. Besides the ships, galleys, and galleasses, commanded by his famous admiral *Doria*, *Lewis*, the king of *Portugal's* brother, joined him with 25 caravels and an huge galleon: he had sixty sail of tall vessels out of the *Netherlands*, besides ten of the pope's galleys, and the *Maltese* ships. With this fleet, computed at 700 sail, whereof 80 were capital ships, and on which were embarked a suitable number of troops from several countries, *Charles* set sail from *Barcelona*, on board the admiral galley; which struck upon the bar of *Utika* (N), but getting off, doubled the cape of *Carthage*, and came to an anchor before the castle of *Aquaria*.

Takes the
Gulletta:

BARBAROSSA on this news prepared for defence of the *Gulletta* (O), as the only bulwark of *Tunis* and his naval power. This castle stands in the bottom of the bay of *Carthage*, on a point of land, where the sea, by a narrow strait on the east side of it, runs into the lake of *Tunis*. But since then, the castle has been separated from the land on the west side also (P). Near this place, the emperor's forces landing, with but little opposition, *Vasti*, his general, besieged the castle in form: but *Charles*, dissatisfied with the behaviour of the *Spaniards*, (who, after suffering the brave count *Carue*, with his *Italians*, to be cut off before their faces, suffered greatly themselves by their negligence in another sally), to make short work, resolved on a general assault. Accordingly, the batteries on land, as well as the guns of the fleet, having made a large breach, a fierce attack was made at it; while others scaled the walls, with such resolution, that they entered the place in spite of the enemy, most of whom were killed or drowned: but *Sinan*, their commander, a valiant *Jew*, with others, escaped. By this means, *Barbarossa's* great naval force, which but a while before struck such a terror through the *Mediterranean*, fell into the emperor's hands^k.

Marches to
Tunis.

MEAN time, *Muley Hassan* having repaired to the camp, and intreated *Charles* to restore him to his kingdom, received a favourable answer. After this, he acquainted the emperor with the state of *Tunis*; and assured him, that *Barbarossa* would never stand an assault, or venture a battle with his *Turks*. Just then an accident had like to have drawn on a general engagement: for the *Moors* having annoyed the camp with some field pieces from an olive-yard, the army drew out; and *Montejo*, general of the *Spanish* cavalry, was sent before with some raw troops: but being attacked and wounded by the enemy, his men shamefully fled; which the emperor observing, bravely advanced himself to the charge; and routing the *Turks* and *Moors*, took the before-mentioned cannon. Presently after, thirty thousand *Moors*, with a priest at their head, attempting to surprise a small tower on a hill, near the ruins of *Karthage* (Q), *Charles* came timely enough to relieve it, and slew the priest with many others.

Barbarossa
retires.

THE defeat of the *Spanish* horse induced many to advise the emperor to abandon the design, and return. But, being resolved to proceed, he marched towards *Barbarossa*; who, with a great body of horse and foot, met him, three miles from *Tunis*. His general *Vasti* advising him to give the enemy battle without waiting for his great cannon, the engagement began; but although fierce, lasted not long; for the *Moors*, after losing about three hundred men, fled, and *Barbarossa* retired into the city; where, distracted with the bad state of his affairs, he would have put to death all the Christian prisoners who were in the castle, but for the persuasions of *Sinan* the *Jew*.

The castle sur-
prised.

THOSE captives, to the number of six thousand, being informed of this barbarous design by some renegadoes, by their help, knocked off their chains, and seizing what arms they could, fell upon and mastered the *Turks* in garrison. This strange turn quite confounded *Barbarossa*; who, now seeing it dangerous to stay longer in *Tunis*, fled to *Hippo* (R), where he had sunk fifteen galleys in the lake, to serve him on occasion. Mean time the citizens of *Tunis* went and delivered the keys of it to the emperor; only requesting, that he would not suffer his army to enter and plunder it: but, moved by the murmurs of his troops, as well as other reasons, he refused to grant their petition. The place being thus left at the mercy of the

¹ CANT. p. 199.

^k PAULUS JOVIUS. RICAUT, ubi supr.

(N) Now called *Bushatter*, near the mouth of the river *Mejerdab*, the ancient *Bagrada*, about 24 miles to the north of *Tunis*. *Shaw's Trav.* p. 148.

(O) So called by the *Italians*, as being at the entrance of the gullet, or strait, leading from the sea into the lake of *Tunis*; which stands on the west side of the lake.

(P) This work was begun by *Barbarossa*; but given over again, for fear the sea should fill the lake of *Tunis* with sand; though afterwards it was completed by others.

(Q) Twelve miles to the north-east of *Tunis*.

(R) This is to be understood of *Hippo Zaritus*, now *Bizerta*.

soldiers.

a soldiers, the *Spaniards* applied themselves most to plunder : but the *Germans*, thirsting after *Mohammedan* blood, made a horrid slaughter of the inhabitants, sparing neither age nor sex : till the emperor, by the intreaties of *Muley Hassan*, put out a proclamation, that no man, upon pain of death, should hurt or seize any citizen. For all this, a great number of young people were carried on board the fleet by the seamen ; many of whom were ransomed, for a small matter, by their old king ; and among the rest, one of his own wives for two ducats. The emperor liberally rewarded the captives in the castle ; where great treasures were found, besides thirty thousand ducats hidden in a well by *Barbarossa*, which were given to *Vashti*, at his own request. Among other *Arabic* books destroyed, was the history of the kings of *Tunis* ; the loss of which *Muley Aziz* much regretted.

b MEAN while, *Barbarossa* having weighed and fitted up his sunk galleys at *Hippo* (or *Bizerta*), raised some batteries on the lake side, to defend the harbour against the Christians : so that, when *Adam*, a *Genoese*, sent by *Doria*, to take the place, saw the preparations which had been made, he returned back to the fleet, for a reinforcement. During his absence, the *Turkish* admiral, sailing along the coast, gets safe to *Algiers*. *Doria*, on this advice, angry with himself as well as *Adam*, for letting the prey slip out of his hands, with his own galleys and some of the best ships, repairs to *Hippo*, takes the city, and razes the walls : then, putting a strong garrison into the castle, returned to *Tunis*. But the emperor, to save charges, caused the castle also to be demolished ; and then restored *Muley Hassan* to his kingdom, on condition that he paid a yearly tribute of falcons, with as many *Numidian* horses, and defrayed the expence of one thousand *Spaniards*, to be left in garrison at the *Gulletta*. Affairs being thus settled in *Africa*, the emperor returned to *Italy*^b. Thus far the Christian historians.

THIS expedition of *Charles V.* to *Tunis*, and defeat of *Khairo'ddin*, though mentioned in the *Turkish* annals translated by *Gaudier*, is suppressed by the authors made use of by prince *Cantemir*. On the contrary, they make that *Pâshâ* victorious, affirming, that he laid waste all the *African* coasts in the *Mediterranean*, and took the towns which refused to submit. In his return (continue they) he lands in *Apulia*, takes *Kustube*, and, over-running the adjacent country, carries away a great number of captives. About the end of the year the *Soltân* equips another fleet, and sends it into the *Adriatic*, under the command of *Lusti Pâshâ* (*Ibrahim's* successor in the *Wazirship*), and *Khairo'ddin*, now *Kapudân Pâshâ*, or high admiral, to take *Kiorfes* (or *Korfu*) from the *Venetians*.

HE himself, accompanied by his sons *Mostâfa* and *Mohammed*, leads the land forces through *Albania* *sub-* *Aulonia* (B), in order to chastise the *Arnaudi*, who had raised disturbances : but they would have rendered *Soleyman's* passage very difficult, if they had not, by the persuasions of their countryman *Ayâs Pâshâ*, submitted to the *Soltân*. *Arnaud* (or *Albania*) being thus subdued without bloodshed, after a month's stay there, to settle the affairs of the country, he passes into the island of *Kiofres* ; and commanding all the towns and villages to be burned, closely besieges the city : but at length, after much slaughter on both sides, it is relieved by the approach of winter, the *Soltân* being forced to retreat, and sail back to *Constantinople*^c.

THIS is all we find in prince *Cantemir's* *Othman* history relating to those transactions ; which deserve a more particular account from the Christian writers. According to them, *Soleyman*, to revenge the disgraces he had received in *Africa*, postpones the war of *Persia*, with a design to turn all his forces against *Italy*. To this expedition he was much solicited by *De Forrest*, the *French* ambassador, and *Troylo Pignatelli*, formerly a commander in the emperor's army : but being disgusted with the viceroy of *Naples*, who had executed his brother *Andrew*, a knight of *Rhodes*, he fled to the *Soltân*, and was made one of his *Mutefaraka's* (C). *Soleyman* set out with two hundred thousand men ; and being met at *Aulona*, in *Macedonia*, by his high admiral *Lutzi* (D), and *Barbarossa*, with their fleets, he ordered them to sail over to *Italy*, to try the pulses of the people. By *Pignatelli's* direction they put into the town of *Castro* (E) ; and the same, with the adjacent castle, was delivered by his persuasion upon articles, which the *Turks*, to the great vexation of the admiral, violated.

ITALY was now ready to be overwhelmed with the mighty power of *Soleyman*, when the rashness of a *Venetian* captain diverted the storm upon his own republic. This was *Alessandro Contareni*, who meeting with some *Turkish* galleys, attacked and sunk two, because they refused to make the signals of friendship. Likewise *Soleyman's* chief interpreter, sent with two galleys on a message to *Lutzi Pâshâ*, offering to pass by the *Venetian* fleet at *Korfu*, without saluting

^b PAULUS JOVIUS. RICAUT, ubi supr.

^c CANT. p. 199. & seqq.

(B) A country and city of *Albania* ; which last, with *Epirus*, is called by the *Turks* *Arnaud*. Cant.

(C) They are a body of horse, of all nations and religions, who are obliged to attend the *Soltân* when he goes to war.

(D) So he is called in the *Turkish* annals, but in *Cantemir*, *Lusti*.

(E) Called *Kustube* in *Cantemir's* history. It is about ten miles south of *Otranto*.

A. D. 1536. the admiral, some of his ships drove them on the rocks, where they were taken by the a
 mountain people; from whom the interpreter had much ado to redeem himself. About the
 same time *Doria*, the imperial admiral, cruising in the *Ionian Sea*, met in the night, near *Korsû*,
 with twelve of *Soleymân's* great gallies full of *Janizaries*; who, after an obstinate fight against
 thirty gallies, were most of them slain, and their vessels taken: but *Doria*, finding himself too
 weak to encounter *Barbarossa* with his eighty gallies, returned to *Messina* to refit.

Besiege Korfu, THE *Soltân*, chafed with this loss, but more at the double injury done him by the *Venetians*;
 and pretending that they had entered into a private league with the emperor *Charles V.* changed
 his resolution of invading *Italy*, and proclaimed war against them. Hereupon, marching
 from *Aulona*, he encamped near the mountains over-against *Korsû*, where the people of *Khimera*,
 by the instigation of *Damianus*, a famous robber, undertook by night to break into *Soleymân's* b
 camp, and kill him in his tent. But as *Damianus*, who had approached with them through
 bye-ways, was, from a tree, spying out the *Soltân's* tent, and the order of his guards, the
 bough on which he stood breaking, he was discovered by a *Janizary*. Being thus taken and
 tortured, he confessed the whole design; which the *Turks* revenged on the mountaineers, and
 then prepared to invade *Korsû*.

without succ. ss. As soon as *Pisaurio*, the *Venetian* admiral, discovered their intention, he supplied the place
 with men and other necessaries. Then retiring, left the farther defence to the governors
Aloysia Ripa and *Simon Leoni*, two senators of *Venice*; who caused the fair suburbs to be pulled
 down, and turned all the useless people out of the city. By this means great numbers perished
 in the town ditches, for fear of the enemy, while others up and down the island were destroyed c
 or made captives (F); only three thousand poor inhabitants valiantly defended themselves in
 the castle of *St. Angelo*, fifteen miles from the capital.

Soleymân retires. MEAN time the *Turks* annoyed the city with their cannon from the rock *Maripetrus*, and
 from the ruins of the suburbs with their small shot, while the gallies battered the walls with
 theirs from the sea. But *Soleymân*, perceiving after all that there was no likelihood of taking
 the place, left the island in *September 1537*: yet first did a remarkable piece of justice, in
 ordering those who violated the articles of *Castro*, in *Italy*, to be put to death, and the prison-
 ers who could be found, after a diligent search, to be set at liberty.

Island Ægina subdued. DURING these transactions, *Lutzi*, the *Turkish* high-admiral, subdued, after an obstinate
 resistance, the rich and famous island of *Ægina*. The city of *Ægeum* was first given up to d
 the mercy of the soldiers; then burned; and after a great slaughter of the inhabitants, the
 rest were carried away into slavery. The like spoil and cruelty were committed at *Paros*:
 but the duke of *Naxos*, to avoid the calamities of war, submitted to pay a tribute of five
 thousand ducats. This done, *Lutzi* returned, laden with spoil, to *Constantinople*; from whence,
 soon after, he was banished, for striking and confining (G) his wife, who was *Soleymân's*
 sister d.

Ferdinand's forces IN the year 944, an army of twenty thousand men of different nations, under one *Kobpan*,
 enters through *Serem* (H) the *Othmân* borders, with design to besiege *Semendria*: but, being
 suddenly attacked in their way by *Mehemmed Beg*, governor of that city, they are totally
 routed e. This is all the light the *Turkish* historians give us into an affair, which, according c
 to the Christian writers, much redounded both to their honour and advantage. These latter
 inform us, that the same autumn in which *Soleymân* had ravaged *Korsû*, king *Ferdinand's*
 troops received a great overthrow by the *Turks*, at *Essek*. There was indeed a kind of truce
 between those two powers: but as their respective troops, in small parties, ravaged each other's
 dominions, and the *Turkish* nimble horse had generally the better of the great and heavy
 armed *Germans*, *Ferdinand* was so nettled at it, that he resolved to drive the *Othmâns* out of
 the country of *Possëga*. To this end he raised out of all countries eight thousand horse and
 sixteen thousand foot; over whom he made *John Cazzinaer*, a noble *Kroatian*, his general.
 On this advice, *Mohammed*, the valiant governor of *Belgrade*, to support king *John*, gathered
 forces out of *Bosnia*, and other provinces; which, with the *Hungarians* who joined him, formed f
 an army equal to that of the *German*.

besiege Essek; WITH these he marched to *Essek*, where he resolved to wait for the enemy, who advanced
 towards him: but by the time they got thither their foot was diminished by one half, although
 their horse had an increase of two thousand. They were joined next day by the bishop of
Zagabria, with his horse; and some provision came into their camp. From a hill, which they

d PAUL JOVIUS. LEUNCL. RICAUT, ubi supr.

e CANT. p. 201.

(F) *Barbarossa* had 16,000 slaves to his own share; whom he sold afterwards at his house on the *Bosphorus*, four miles beyond *Pera*.

(H) A large plain beyond the *Sava*, lying between *Alba Græcia* (or *Belgrade*) and *Peterwaradin*, whose inhabitants are called *Serin Ogli*. CANT.

(G) On her expostulating with him for committing sodomy with a youth he kept for the purpose.

a took from the *Turks*, they perceived a rising ground on the other side of the city, fit for erecting batteries; to which they made their way through a troublesome forest, without much loss. There encamping, they offered the enemy battle: but *Mohammed*, who was ordered by *Soleyman* to defend the city to the last, and knew the scarcity of provisions in the Christian camp, declined an engagement. Being reduced by this means to great distress, they quitted *Essek* in the night, and went to besiege *Hermaude*; where they expected to meet with store of provisions, but found scarce enough to serve the army two days.

FROM thence, marching through *Possaga* for *Juvancka*, they in the way met with great refreshment: but the *Turks* getting at the same time to the last place, had several skirmishes with them. They likewise so distressed them in their retreat afterwards, that at length the commanders of the cavalry, seized with a panic, suddenly took to flight, some one way, some another, so that the dismayed general at last fled also: however, many of the troops joined the infantry; who still kept their posts, commanded by the brave *Ladronius*. At the same time, the *Turks* charging them, were valiantly opposed by the horse, who yet suffered much, especially the *Bobemians*. The foot also, being sore galled in their march, near a marsh, were at last broken, and all cut to pieces or taken. *Ladronius*, who was driven into the marsh, and sorely wounded, was persuaded by the *Turks* to yield himself, with three companies who were with him: but, being judged unable to travel by his keepers, they slew him, and carried his head to *Constantinople*. Mean time the general *Kazzinaer* fled to his own castle; and, fearing to appear before *Ferdinand*, broke the prison, and fled to the *Turks*. Soon after he had a promise of the government of *Kroatia*: but, tampering with *Nicholas Serini* to revolt, he was deluded by him, and slain in his house^f.

NEXT year, 945, the Soltân sends his admiral *Khairo'ddin*, and *Soleyman Pâshâ* (I), general of the foot, with a considerable army into *India* (K); where they diligently execute his orders, and annex the whole kingdom of *Yamman* (L), with the adjacent provinces, to the *Othmân* empire^g.

IT has been already related, in the reign of *Selim* I. that *Kansu Gauri* had fitted out a fleet at *Swîz*, or *Sues*, at the end of the *Red Sea*, against the *Portugueses* in *India*, who had ruined the trade of *Egypt*: but that expedition being laid aside, on account of the troubles which ensued in the country, as hath been already mentioned^h, the design lay dormant, till now *Soleyman* revives it, by the advice of *Soleyman Pâshâ*, the eunuch (M). For this purpose the *Pâshâ*, with great dispatch, having built a fleet of eighty tall ships and gallies, at the above-mentioned port, the command of it was given to him, in conjunction with *Hassan Beg* (N), the famous Moor of *Alexandria*. At their setting out, the *Pâshâ*, having seized the effects of the *Venetians* at *Kayro* and *Alexandria*, distributed their seamen on board his fleet.

HAVING sailed through the *Red Sea*, he came to *Aden*, a strong city and port of *Arabia*, not far from the mouth of it; where, sending for the king on board, after many caresses, hanged him, with four of his courtiers, at the yard-arm of his galley, and seized the city. From thence he crossed the *Indian sea*, and, on the fourth of September 1538, came to *Diu*, a very strong fortress of the *Portugueses*, on the coast of *Kambaya*, which he vigorously attacked, and battered with prodigious cannon: but the *Turks*, after taking a bulwark, having been repulsed in all their other assaults, with great loss, he raised the siege; and, on the appearance of the *Portuguese* fleet, sheered off with his own. In his return through the *Red Sea*, the king of *Zibîd* (or *Zabîd*), refusing to come to him, he landed and marched to that city. The unfortunate prince, not able to defend himself, thought it best to go out to him; but, on his approach, *Soleyman* ordered his head to be struck off. After this, he landed at *Joddâb*, the port of *Mekka*, to perform the pilgrimage to that city (O), and sent *Hassan Beg* with the fleet back to *Swîz*ⁱ.

WHILST

^f LEUNCL. RICAUT, ubi supr.

Gen. Collect. Voy. 4to, vol. i. p. 88.

^g CANT. p. 201.^h See before, p. 255, 256.ⁱ RICAUT, &

(I) This was the governor of *Egypt*, before-mentioned.

(K) This must be the borders of *Arabia Felix*: for I have not read that a *Turkish* army was ever in *India*. Cant. For all this it appears from what follows, that there was a *Turkish* army there the same year.

(L) A large country extending between the *Red Sea* and *Persian gulf*; which both antient and modern geographers (of *Europe*) make part of *Arabia*, by the name of *Arabia Felix*. But no *Turkish* or *Arabian* historian ever reckoned the inhabitants of *Yeman* among the *Arabs*; and their name of *Saribindi*, or *yellow Indians*, given them all over the east, shews them to be of *Indian* extraction: hence *Yeman*, properly, is not a part of *Arabia*, but of *India*. Cant. Our author's error in

the former note, seems to have led him into another here: for, that *Yeman*, or *Yamman*, is part of *Arabia*, and its inhabitants *Arabs*, appears from *Abu' fida*, and many other *Arab* and *Persian* geographers. See *Abu'lf. Descript. Arabiæ in Hudson. Geogr. Veter. Græc. Min. Pocock. Spec. Hist. Arab. Golius's Notes on Alfragani's Astron. D'Herbelot, art. Yaman, &c.*

(M) Perhaps the same who was made governor of *Kayro* by *Selim*.

(N) From hence and other circumstances it appears, that *Khairo'ddin*, or *Barbarossa*, is, by mistake, mentioned by prince *Cantemir's Turkish* authors, as performing this voyage.

(O) There is a large account of this expedition from two different authors in the *New Collection of Voyages*

A. D. 1538.

Moldavia invaded, and reduced.

WHILST these things were performing by his generals, *Soleymân*, with numerous forces, as a friend (P), enters *Moldavia*: but, contrary to the expectation of the inhabitants, destroys all with fire and sword from the *Danube* to *Soczava*, then the metropolis; near which pitching his tents, he demands the yearly tribute. The *Moldavians*, seeing no way to withstand so great a storm, humbly sue for peace; and promise the payment of the annual sum: only they petition, that the choice of a prince may remain in the state (Q), and that he might be invested with regal authority. *Soleymân* grants their requests, confirms the prince (R) chosen by them, and restores their captives. Next day he assembles the nobles, and severely reprimands them; saying, "That, unmindful of the favours received from his predecessors, they had dared to draw the sword against so powerful an empire, and not only burned the town of *Kili* (S), but slain many *Musulmans*: that though, for this proceeding, all by the *Mohammedan* law were guilty of death, he, as a demonstration of his clemency, was ready to give them life and liberty, on condition they would deliver up the treasures of their late prince." As the wretched *Moldavians* could refuse nothing, the *Defterdâr*, with a company of *Janizaries*, went into the town, and plundered both the public and the prince's treasury; where were found, besides a great quantity of money, the diadems of the princes, crosses, and holy images (T), adorned with precious jewels. These *Soleymân* abuses as he pleased, and then leads back his forces. In his return, he orders *Kili*, destroyed by the *Moldavians*, to be rebuilt; and, because there were no woods in those parts, he gives them the timber of a bridge he had run over the *Danube*.

Christian fleet defeated.

In the interim, *Khairo'ddîn* (U), unexpectedly near *Kandia*, meets with the enemy's fleet, consisting of 300 sail; and, after an obstinate battle, takes many, and sinks most of the rest. Next day he attacks another fleet, commanded by *Andrevirius* (X), in the port of *Prevesa*; where the enemy, aided by the advantage of the place, behave with great bravery, and render the victory long doubtful: but at length the Christians, perceiving themselves overpowered, make off in the night, leaving some of their ships as a prey to the *Turkish* admiral. He had no sooner turned his back, than *Andrevirius* besieges *Nova*; and taking it, puts all the inhabitants to the sword: but, next year, *Khairo'ddîn*, returning with a fresh fleet, attacks the town; and, recovering it, kills, in revenge, all the Christians whom he found there, without distinction of age or sex ^k.

Barbarossa attacks Kanea;

A. D. 1538.

THIS is the *Turkish* account. Let us now see what the Christians say. The senate of *Venice*, finding themselves hard put to it by the *Turks*, entered into a confederacy against them with the emperor *Charles V.* and pope *Paul III.* The emperor's fleet, of eighty-two gallies, was commanded by *Doria*; the *Venetians*, of the like number, by *Capello*; and the pope's gallies by *Grimani*, patriarch of *Aquileja*. The land forces were under the conduct of *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, viceroy of *Sicily*: and the agreement was, that whatever might be taken from the enemy, in either *Greece*, the islands, or *Dalmatia*, should be delivered up to the *Venetians*. To oppose this power, *Barbarossa*, with one hundred and thirty-eight gallies, early in the spring, sailed to *Kandia*, with a design to surprise *Kanea*: but *Gritti*, the governor, so plied the *Turks* with great and small shot from the walls, that their admiral was forced to retire, after the loss of many men, and leave one thousand more behind him, who were likewise all slain. All he did was to reduce the little town of *Cecilia*, and then sail to the bay of *Ambracia*; which he fortified, for fear of the Christian fleet, by this time arrived at *Korfû*. The general *Gonzaga* was for landing, and attacking *Prevesa*; which, if taken, would bring their ordnance to bear upon the enemy's fleet, and shut up the bay. But *Doria*

retires to Ambracia;

^k CANT. p. 202.

Voyages and Travels, 4to. vol. i. p. 88, & seqq. Where, as to the end of *Soleymân Pâshâ*, we are told, that, after his return, he went to *Constantinople*; and that, not agreeing with one who aspired to his post, he was reduced to the necessity of killing himself.

(P) The *Moldavian* annals say, that the *Turks*, on pretence of a *Polish* expedition, only desired a passage through *Moldavia*, and afterwards turned their arms against the country, laying it all waste. Cant.

(Q) So it continued for almost a century, and then the *Soltâns* began to appoint them princes. Cant.

(R) The *Moldavian* historians call him *Stephanus junior*, natural son of *Bogdân*. Cant.

(S) The occasion was this. A dispute arising between the *Buják Tatars*, in conjunction with some new colonies of *Turks*, and the inhabitants of *Kiegeczy*, these last drove the *Turks* out of the woods; and, on their making a second attempt, pursuing them to *Kili*, set the town on fire: but this was the act of private persons, and without the consent of the state. *Kili*, called *Cilia*

by the *Moldavians*, and formerly *Lycostemon*, is situate on the north side of the largest or northern mouth of the *Danube*. Cant.

(T) Surely this paragraph must have been taken out of some *Moldavian* author, not a *Turkish*; at least words must be added, and the turn of expression altered in the translation.

(U) In his return from the kingdom of *Yamman*. So it follows in the original. But how then, as prince *Cantemir* himself observes, could he have gotten into the *Mediterranean* sea, without sailing round *Africa*? This is a farther proof that he was not in the *Indian* expedition with *Soleymân Pâshâ*.

(X) This seems to be some Christian general, whose name is corrupted by the *Turks*; but who he was I have not been able to find. Cant. — He was the famous *Andreas Doria* (called by *Jovius*, *Auria*), a *Genoese*; and, at the time here mentioned, in the service of the emperor of *Germany*. Tindal.

advised

^a advised rather, that, in case *Barbarossa* could not be brought to an engagement, they should fail for *Lepanto*; and, taking it, ravage all the towns in the bay of *Korinth*: which counsel was mostly approved of. On the appearance of the Christian fleet before the bay of *Ambracia*, *Barbarossa*, being irresolute what course to take, was sharply reprov'd by an eunuch of the court, as if guilty of cowardice; and in the close of his discourse, bid him beware, lest in avoiding an uncertain honourable death, he did not incur a shameful one by the *Soltân's* displeasure. Upon this, *Barbarossa*, turning to *Salek*, one of the chief pirates, said: *We must, for aught I can see, venture a battle, though at too much disadvantage, lest we perish by the complaints of this barking half-man.* A. D. 1538.

THEN, weighing anchor, he stood out of the bay, to fight the Christians; who, thinking he durst not venture, were steering towards *Leucade*. *Doria* on this advice tacked about, and prepared for battle. The enemy's fleet being preceded by twenty nimble gallies, under the conduct of *Dragut*, a famous pirate, the foremost of them bore down upon the great galleon of *Bondelmero*: but that commander poured such a quantity of great and small shot into them, that they were glad to sheer off. Mean time *Doria* resolved not to engage with-out the men of war, which were held back by a calm, steered his course accordingly, which made the crafty *Turk* change his also, and lie still, for fear of being circumvented. However, a little before sun-set, both his wings began in divers places to engage the Christians, from whom they took two gallies and a *Spanish* man of war, besides sinking two ships more, with some other damage: but, a sudden storm arising, *Doria* sailed back for *Korfu*, in such haste as seemed rather a flight than a retreat, for which he was much censured; and because, through fear, the lights in the poops of the ships were put out, *Barbarossa* laughed heartily at it, and used to say, *Doria* did it to conceal his flight.

SOON after he came with the *Turkish* fleet to *Paxos*, an isle four leagues to the east of *Korfu*, braving the Christians to fight. At length, returning to *Ambracia* for fear of tempestuous weather, they besieged and took *Castello Nuovo*; which, contrary to articles, was garrisoned by four thousand *Spaniards*, for the use of the emperor. This so discontented the *Venetians*, that they sued to *Soleyman* for peace; which, soon after, was concluded. In the interim *Barbarossa*, putting to sea, to relieve that place, many of his gallies were wrecked on the *Acroceraunian* rocks, and, it was said, twenty thousand men lost. Yet *Doria* refused to pursue him on this advantage; and, returning to *Italy*, gave occasion to *Ursino*, a noble *Venetian*, then in the service, merrily to say, that *Doria* had done nothing more politicly, and for the emperor's interest, than in thus setting the *Venetians* and *Turks* together by the ears, without the loss of a galley. Nuovo taken,

SOLEYMAN, to recover *Castello Nuovo*, sent *Barbarossa* next spring to besiege it both by sea and land. The *Turks* lost a thousand men at first; but, having made a breach in the town-wall, they stormed it, and, after a very bloody fight, slew almost the whole garrison, with *Sermiento*, who commanded them; but those in the castle had quarter given them. *Barbarossa* then appeared before *Cattaro*; but, finding the governor *Bembo* did not regard his threats, he accepted of some presents and withdrew. and recovered. A. D. 1539.

^e ABOUT this time, peace being concluded between the emperor *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* of *France*, they both sent to invite the *Venetians* to join them against the *Turks*. The senate, after several debates, sent ambassadors to those princes, to dive into their designs; and a third to *Soleyman*, to avoid giving-up, if possible, the cities of *Napoli di Romania* and *Malmasia*, without which the *Soltân* refused to grant them peace. While the ambassador offered a large sum, in lieu of those towns, *Soleyman* took him up sharply as a base dissembler, and recounted to him all his private instructions, in such terms as frightened him to yield up not only those cities, but also two castles in *Dalmatia* (Y). For this he had like to have been banished by the senate; and the traitors being discovered were executed ¹. Peace with the Venetians. A. D. 1540.

^f THIS year a new war is kindled in *Hungary*. *John De Zapol* (Z), who, under *Soleyman's* protection, had managed affairs with good success, left *Istifan* (or *Stephen*), an infant, heir to the kingdom. The king of *Germany* (A), thinking it easy to dethrone a child, with an army of 8,000 choice men besieges *Buda* (B). *Soleyman*, who was made the young prince's guardian, Buda besieged: Hejrah, 947. A. D. 1540.

¹ P. Jovius. RICAUT, ubi supr.

(Y) Ever since this time, the *Turks* delay the Christian ambassadors, in order to know their utmost instructions, believing they have full powers to act.

(Z) Or *Sapuvius*, as the Christian writers call him. He died in 1540.

(A) This was *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans* and *Bohemians*, brother to the emperor *Charles Vth*; who, on the score of affinity, thought he had a title to the kingdom.

dom of *Hungary*: but, when he saw he could do nothing by force, he agreed with *John de Zapol* to succeed him after his death. Cant.

(B) *Ferdinand* was advised by *Laskus*, the *Polander*, to crave *Hungary* of *Soleyman*, and become his tributary for it, before he had recourse to arms. *Laskus* himself was accordingly sent to *Constantinople* on the errand. In the mean time *Ferdinand* sent count *Salm* to shew queen

A. D. 1540. dian, being informed of this by *Joln's* widow, sends his *Wazîr*, *Sofi Mehemmed Pâshâ*, with a good army, and a letter to the queen; promising to come to her aid with all his forces. The *Wazîr*, being arrived at *Buda*, commands his men to attack the *Germans*, though strongly intrenched. The enemy, finding that the *Turks* were not very numerous, divides his army into two bodies, and with one carries on the siege, while with the other he opposes the *Othmâns*: and thus for thirty days there were continual skirmishes. Mean time the besieging party having destroyed the fortifications, *Soleymân*, to prevent the place being taken, advances in spring to his *Wazîr's* assistance. As soon as the *Germans* heard he was within four days march of their camp, they retired in the night, leaving their artillery behind them. *Mechemmed Pâshâ* vigorously pursues them, and getting before to the place where they were to embark, takes some, and kills others; while a few, throwing away their arms, save themselves by flight. *Soleymân*, being arrived, enters *Buda*; and, judging *Istifân* and his mother incapable of defending the kingdom, the one on account of his youth, the other of her sex, sends them into *Transilvania* (C), and assigns them a *Sanjâk* for their subsistence. After this he converts the churches into *Jâmi*, and appoints a *Kadi* (or judge). Then, leaving a strong garrison of *Janizaries* in the city, under the command of one *Soleymân Pâshâ*, returns to his capital^m.

Rogendorf's
plot:

THE Christian historians represent this transaction much more to the advantage of the *Othmâns*, and the dishonour of their enemies, than do the *Turkish*. They tell us, that *Ustref* and *Mohammed*, who commanded on the frontiers, having joined *Valentine*, queen *Isabella's* general, they recovered *Vachia*; but, being baffled before *Pest*, returned home, not without some loss in their retreat. This reviving *Ferdinand's* hopes, he sent more troops under the lord *Rogendorf*; who joining the old army, marched and besieged *Buda*. One part of the wall they battered down, and another part fell, with the weight of earth thrown up within to strengthen it: so that if the general, who was naturally slow, had attacked it immediately, the city must have been taken: but, neglecting this opportunity, the besieged, in the night, raised a new rampart; so that, next morning, the *Germans*, when they came to the attack, were beaten off, with the loss of sixteen hundred men. Their mines likewise were all countermined. For all this, treachery had like to have done what force could not: for one *Borne-missa*, a lawyer, promised to let in a body of *Hungarians* in the night at a postern: but *Rogendorf* having appointed *Germans* in their stead, as soon as they were admitted, the lawyer, who perceived the fraud, dropped them; and they not knowing the way in the dark, fled out again through the postern, except such as on the alarm were slain or taken.

continues the
siege;

A. D. 1541.

IN June 1541, *Mechemmed Pâshâ* entering *Hungary* with his army, *Rogendorf*, instead of marching to fight him, as was advised, continued the siege, posting himself at the foot of *St. Gerrard's Mount*, between a steep hill and the river. From his camp he made a bridge to a little island, and with a fort commanded both the river and the plain. The fleet also of the Christians was much stronger than that of the *Turks*; but, as he had neglected to possess himself of the island *Capella*, the *Turks* soon took the little isle; and though quickly driven out again, yet they became so troublesome to the *German* camp, that they began to be dismayed. At the same time *Perenus*, the general of the *Hungarians*, being secretly advised by *Valentine*, queen *Isabella's* commander, to provide for his safety, because a great beast was coming, who would at one mouthful devour them; *Perenus*, judging by this that *Soleymân* was near at hand, acquainted *Rogendorf*, that, unless the siege was raised immediately, he would march off with his troops.

flies too late.

ALTHOUGH *Rogendorf* refused then to stir, yet fear obliged them next night to pass the river, in four convoys, to *Pest*. The two first did well enough; but the *Turks* fell upon the rest before they could get out of their camp. *Mohammed*, governor of *Belgrade*, and *Valentine*, took the upper tents where *Perenus* lay, and chased the *Germans* over *St. Gerard's Mount*. The garrison of *Buda* sallied out at the same time upon them, and the bishop caused a great stack of straw, near the river, to be set on fire, that the enemies of the Christian name might have light to destroy the Christians; on whom the cannon was played from all quarters. To increase the misfortune, *Kasan*, the *Turkish* admiral, went up the stream with light boats, and set upon the ships crossing the river to *Pest*. Of these he took some, and sunk many others; while the rest of the *Germans*, flying over the bridge into the little island, were there slain, or perished in the riverⁿ.

^m CANT. p. 204. & seq.

ⁿ RICAUT, ubi sup.

Isabella the articles of agreement between him and her late husband: but she proposing first to consult her father *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, *Ferdinand* without more ado invades *Hungary*, and takes *Vicgrade*, *Pest*, *Vachia*, and *Aiba Regalis*. Hereupon *Laskus*, on his arrival at *Constantinople*, is imprisoned.

(C) The *Turks* are naturally so fruitful of good sayings, but withal so barren of good actions, that it is a

common saying among them, *the Othmâns say well, but do ill*. This is verified in *Soleymân's* conduct. When he had, under the shew of virtue, acquired the good-will of all the *Hungarian* nobility, having now found an opportunity, he shews his cloven foot, and swallows up the kingdom belonging to an orphan.

Cant.

a THE Christian fleet, seeing all lost, cleared the way with their cannon as well as they could, and got up the river to *Komorra*. The rest of the land troops endured the same fortune in the camp; of whom the *Bohemians* died valiantly fighting. About three thousand men, who had gotten to a little hill by *St. Gerrard's Church*, there defended themselves; till two parts of them being slain, the rest threw down their arms, and were afterwards killed by *Soleyman's* order. At the same time, *Kasan*, coming with his fleet before *Pest*, frightened the horse out of it; and the rest were so dispirited that they made but little defence: so that the *Turks*, quickly breaking in, exercised on them the utmost cruelty, and plundered that wealthy city. In short, the Christians, by the report of some, lost in this war twenty thousand men, besides thirty-six great cannon, and one hundred and fifty smaller pieces. As for their unfortunate general *Rogendorf*, he died soon after, near *Komorra*, of his wounds and grief.

b SOLEYMAN, after this victory, comes with a great power to *Buda*; and, by his ambassadors, charged with rich presents, required the queen to send the young king to his camp. *Isabella*, by the bishop's advice, to avoid suspicion, sent the child; who, though but in swaddling clouts, was received with all military honours. The *Soltán* talked familiarly with the nurse, and ordered his sons *Salim* and *Ba-yezid* to take the royal babe in their arms and kiss him. But while the nobles of *Hungary* were merry at dinner with the *Pásbás*, some troops, under pretence of going to see the city, seized it; but so dexterously, and with so little noise, that it was not perceived till it was effected. Presently after, proclamation was made for the citizens to fear nothing, but give up their arms; and such exact discipline was kept, that not one person was injured by the soldiery.

c As soon as this was known to *Soleyman*, he sent back the young prince to his mother, but detained the nobles, to the great surprize both of them and her. Hereupon, the queen, by submissive letters, put him in mind of his promises, and intreated their release: but the *Soltán*, not regarding her remonstrances, consulted with his *Pásbás* about disposing of the kingdom of *Hungary*. *Mohammed* (the prime *Wazir*) was for carrying the young king and all the nobility to *Constantinople*, and leaving a governor, who by his moderation might remove from the people any apprehension of servitude. *Rustan Pásbá*, who had been gained by the queen's presents, stood altogether upon terms of honour; alleging, that nothing could be more inglorious, than for a great monarch to break his faith at once with a weak woman and poor infant, whom he had taken into his protection. But *Mohammed*, governor of *Belgrade*, disliking both opinions, as too full of lenity, declared the best way would be to reduce *Hungary* to the form of a province; to send the queen to her father, and bring up her son at court in the *Mohammedan* religion. He farther advised to put all the nobility to death; to raze their castles, and transport the principal families into *Asia*.

SOLEYMAN, having entered *Buda* the 30th of *August*, took a middle method; and, by a public decree, ordered that *Buda* should be kept with a *Turkish* garrison; that the kingdom should be converted into a province of the empire; and that the queen, with her young son, should presently leave the city, and reside at *Lippa*. This she quickly performed, though sorrowfully, attended by the nobility, who were all set at liberty, excepting *Valentine*.

e MEAN time king *Ferdinand*, being informed of the fatal disaster which had befallen his army, sends ambassadors to *Soleyman* with terms of peace, accompanied with curious presents (D). Being admitted to audience, they humbly desired, that the *Soltán* would bestow *Hungary* on their master; who, on his part, would pay him the same yearly tribute as king *John* had done, and undertake to draw the emperor *Charles* into the league: so that the *Turks* might be at liberty to turn their forces against the *Persians*. But, instead of granting *Ferdinand's* request, *Soleyman* required, that he should restore all the places formerly belonging to king *Lewis*, and never after meddle with *Hungary*. He likewise demanded, that *Austria* should pay him a small tribute on account of the charges of the war; and even refused to grant a truce, till such time as the two princes should be acquainted with his answer. However, the ambassadors had liberty to see the camp, where the most exact discipline and profound silence was observed: and, in his return to *Constantinople*, he set *Laskus* at liberty.

f At the same time that *Mohammed Pásbá* was sent into *Hungary*, *Abmed*, governor of *Nissa* *Transilvania* (E), was ordered to invade *Transilvania*, in conjunction with *Peter*, prince of *Moldavia* and *restored*. *Walakhia*. *Stephen Maylat*, who had been made *Vayvod*, not being able to withstand the enemy, fled to *Togaras*. *Abmed*, who found that town too strong to be taken by force, decoyed *Maylat* to his camp, under pretence of peace: but when he had gotten him there, he secured him; and soon after *Togaras* surrendered. Hereupon almost all the country of *Trans-*

^o RICAUT, ubi supr.

(D) Among the rest there was a globe, shewing the hour of the day, motion of the planets, change of the moon, and other phenomena.

(E) Others say, *Nicopolis*.

A. D. 1541. *silvania* was, by *Soleymin's* consent, given to the young king *Stephen*; to whom the people readily swore allegiance ^P.

DURING these transactions, the emperor *Charles V.* made his unfortunate expedition to *Algiers*: but as this was a war rather against the *Moors* of *Barbary* (who, being driven out of *Spain*, turned pirates, and infested the whole *Mediterranean*), than against the *Turks*, we shall say no further of it here; but return to the *Turkish* historians.

French off-
ed.

Hejrah 949
A. D. 1542.

Hungary in-
vaded.

THIS rapid course of victories, which terrified some Christian princes, induced others to implore *Soleyman's* aid against the unjust oppressions of their neighbours. Accordingly, in the year 949, *Firanche Pâdishibi*, no longer able to withstand the *Spaniards*, sends an ambassador extraordinary to make an alliance with the *Soltân*, and intreat his succour. The alliance being made, he sends *Khairo'ddin Pâshâ* with a numerous fleet to *Spain*, and, early next spring, entering *Hungary* with a great army, presently takes *Liposa*, *Beczovi*, and *Shoklovas*, which had been, two years before, recovered by the *Germans*. Then, penetrating farther into the country, he reduces *Ustargan*, *Beligrad* (F), *Tatar Hissari*, and *Ustuni Beligrad* (G). After this, having converted the best churches into *Jâmi*, and strengthened the places with strong garrisons, he returns to *Constantinople*: but as he drew near the city, he receives the news of his son *Mohammed's* sudden death; which so affected him, that, laying aside his intended triumph, he made his entry mournfully, like one who had been vanquished. He afterwards, in remembrance of his son, and for his soul's health, built in the way to the gate called *Erghi Kapu* (H) a large *Jâmi*, adorned with a college and hospital, called *Shehzâde Jâmi* ⁹.

The Turkish
fleet

THE foregoing transaction, so briefly touched on by the *Turkish* authors, requires farther enlargement from the Christian historians; especially those relating to *Soleyman's* sending a fleet to assist the *French*, and his war in *Hungary*. With regard to the first article; new differences arising between the emperor and *Francis* king of *France*, the latter sent *Rinco*, as his ambassador, into *Turky*, to solicit *Soleyman* to make war upon *Charles*: but in his way through *Italy* he was murdered by some *Spaniards*. This assassination inflaming the resentment of *Francis*, he sent *Polinus* on the same errand. *Polinus* arriving at *Constantinople* received no very agreeable reception from *Soleyman* the eunuch, grand *Wazîr*: but having, by means of the *Kapi Aga*, or chief porter, obtained an audience of the *Soltân* himself, that prince promised to send his master, the following spring, as large a fleet as he desired. Spring being come, the execution of this affair was, out of envy to *Barbarossa*, much opposed in council by the *Wazîr*; who said, he saw no reason why the state was put to such an expence, but to serve the admiral's turn. However, *Barbarossa* having with incredible diligence fitted up one hundred and ten gallies and forty galleons, by *Soleyman's* order, he departed from *Constantinople* with the *French* ambassador.

A. D. 1543.

takes Rhegio;

As soon he arrived in the *Fare* of *Messina*, the *Turkish* pirates, being come with their galliots in sight of *Rhegio*, began to land their men. This made the people leave the city: but *Gaictano*, a *Spaniard*, who kept the castle, with his guns killed some *Turks*; whereupon the rest breaking into the town, fired it, to the great displeasure of *Barbarossa* as well as the *French* ambassador. After this, the *Turks* landing some cannon, with a few shot so terrified the commander, that he presently gave up the place. However, he was set at liberty, with his wife and children; excepting one daughter, of exceeding beauty, with whom *Barbarossa* was so enamoured that he took her to wife. The place was plundered by the soldiers; and seventy *Spaniards*, of whom the garrison consisted, with many more citizens, were made captives. The *Turkish* admiral after this, sailing along the coast of *Italy*, came to *Ostia*, at the mouth of the *Tiber*; which so terrified the *Romans*, that the ambassador's letter to cardinal *Rudolpho*, the pope's legate, to assure them of their safety, could scarce keep them from forsaking the city ^r.

besieges Nice;

BARBAROSSA being arrived at *Marseilles*, lay there a long time, fretting to see that the *French* let the season slip without entering upon action. At last, being joined by several *French* ships and 8000 land forces, he had orders to besiege *Nice*, in *Provence*, then under the duke of *Savoy*; which after repulsing the *Turks* at one breach, was so terrified with a fresh battery, raised by the *Turkish* admiral, that the citizens agreed to surrender to the *French*; by which means the *Janizaries*, being disappointed of the plunder, would have slain the ambassador, as the occasion of it, could they done it conveniently. They had presently after a new cause of resentment: for they had not sat down long before the castle, when the *French* sent to borrow powder and shot, their own being all out. This so enraged *Barbarossa*, that

^P RICAUT, ubi supr.

⁹ CANT. p. 206, & seq.

^r RICAUT, ubi supr.

(F) *Strigonium*, or *Gron*.

(G) *Alba Regalis*, called by the *Germans* *Stul Weis-*
senburg. Cant.

(H) One of the twenty-eight gates of *Constantinople*,
looking towards *Sylvria*. Cant.

a he threatened to lay hands on *Polinus*, and was in the mind to have returned home: but he was A. D. 1543. scarce pacified when a letter from *Kasti* to *Paul*, the governor, being intercepted, promising relief within two days, they raised the siege: however, the *Turks* first broke into the city, plundered it, and then set it on fire.

BARBAROSSA being come to an anchor at the the isle of *Lerina*, or *Margarita*, news was *from Doria*; brought that *Doria* with his fleet lay at *Vila Franca*; and as he had lost four gallies in the storm, *Polinus* sent to advise the *Turkish* admiral to fall on him. The latter making no great haste nither, his officers, by way of incer, said, he had reason to deal kindly with his brother *Doria*, in return for letting him escape at *Hippo*: but *Barbarossa's* answer always was, that *he being an old commander, and half blind, saw more into the matter than all those green captains with their sharp sight*. Not long after, sailing to *Thoulon*, he sent out twenty-five gallies under *Salek* and *Hassan*, his kintinen; who, after pillaging some maritime towns of *Spain*, went and wintered at *Algiers*. While *Barbarossa* reitted his fleet at *Thoulon* for the service of the following spring, *Doria*, under pretence of redeeming prisoners, supplied him with some necessaries, although his enemy, for fear he should commit any hostilities against the territories of *Genoa*.

BARBAROSSA, weary of lying so long idle in *Provence*, requested of the king of *France*, *ravages the* that he might have leave either to depart or ravage the coasts of *Spain*: but *France*, *unwill-* *coasts,* ing to grant the latter request, bestowed on him, in lieu of the *Turks* who were dead, all the *Mohammedan* slaves in his gallies, amounting to four hundred, with store of provision and other presents. After this the *Turkish* admiral departed from *Thoulon*; and, coming to the c isle of *Elba*, belonging to the duke of *Florence*, demanded of the governor *Appiano* the son of his old friend *Sinán* the Jew, who was kept a prisoner there. The governor answered, *that the young man being turned Christian, he could by no means do it; but that, for his sake, he would use him as his own son*. *Barbarossa*, not satisfied with this apology, landed his men, and committing great spoil, had the captive delivered up. But the son's liberty proved his father's death: for, overcome with joy at the unexpected sight of him, he fainted away in embracing him, and died.

THE admiral, sailing from *Elba*, landed first at *Telaman*, then at *Porto Hercule*; which *and returns,* city he burnt. He afterwards ravaged the isles of *Gigio* and *Ischia*; burnt the three chief d towns of the latter, and carried away abundance of people from both. Then he endeavoured to take *Puteoli*: but was prevented by the approach of succours from *Naples*. He had better success at the isle of *Lipari*, which he laid waste; then burnt the town, and carried off about seven thousand prisoners to *Constantinople*; where he was honourably received, and applauded by *Solymán*. He performed no other expedition after this to his death (I), which happened in 1547.

LET us now, in the second place, take a review of the war in *Hungary*. As king *Ferdi-* *Ferdinand's* *nand* could not chuse but be much alarmed at the answer given his ambassador at the *Porte*, as *forces enter* before-mentioned, the princes and states of *Germany*, at his request, unanimously resolved to *Hungary*; take up arms, for recovering *Buda*, and other places of *Hungary*, from the *turks*. To this e end they raised thirty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, under the command of *Joachim*, marquis of *Brandenburgh*. They were joined at *Vienna* by *Ferdinand's* forces, ten thousand horse out of *Stiria*, fifteen thousand *Hungarian* horse, and three thousand choice *Italian* foot, sent by pope *Paul III.* and conducted by *Alessandro Vitellio*. The marquis setting out, marched so slowly along the *Danube*, that his officers said, the summer would be spent before he could enter upon action. At length, being come to *Gran*, it was reported, that *Solymán* was on his march with a great army towards *Hungary*: but this report being contradicted by his spies sent to *Sementria*, who brought word that not above three thousand *Turks* were arrived at *Buda*, and that the enemy's fleet was not much inferior to the king's, they were encouraged to march on to that city: but the general, contrary to the opinion of his officers, would needs pass the *Danube*, and take *Pest* first, which would facilitate the reduction of *Buda*. At the same time *Medicis*, an *Italian*, admiral of the fleet, came down the river, and forced the *Turks* out of the isle of *St. Margaret's*, lying a little above that city.

THE marquis being set down before *Pest*, the *Turks* made several sallies; in one of which *besiege Pest*: *Vitellio*, being to retreat, drew the *Turks* after him; while *Perenus*, getting between them and the city with his light horse, five hundred of them were slain. The Christians, elated with this little victory, presently raised their batteries; and, having made a breach, four *Italian* companies, led by *Vitellio*, ran bravely to attack it; but, not being assisted by either the *Germans* or *Hungarians*, they were forced to make a disorderly retreat, after the loss of seven hundred men. No less dejected with this ill success, it was debated whether they should

* RICAUT. ubi sup.

(I) He was buried at his house called *Beysiktesk*, and, to render his burying-place famous, he built there near the elevation *Bozbas*, about four miles from *Pera*: a mosk at his own charge.

A. D. 1543. { raise the siege or not: but while they stood divided in their opinions, a false report, that *Abmed* was advancing against them with the *European* horse, determined them to march off. But before they put this resolution in execution, the enemy sallied, and skirmished with the *Hungarians*. Here it happened that a remarkable commander among the *Turks* desired to see *Vitellio*; who being shewed to him, he ran and embraced him out of respect, and then went off again¹.

obliged to retreat.

THE night following, the *Turks* perceiving the army moving off towards the fleet, they sallied on every side out of the city, and, upbraiding them with cowardice, closely pursued their rear. Nay, *Ulemas*, governor of *Buda*, passing the river, so eagerly followed them, that they must have suffered much, had not *Vitellio* with his *Italians* made a bold stand, and prevailed on the *German* as well as *Hungarian* horse to turn upon the enemy; who by that means were routed, and in the pursuit many of them slain. After this the army retreated without molestation; but seven hundred *Germans*, who were sick, and straggled behind, were slain in their sight by the *Turkish* horse. When they arrived at *Vienna* they were disbanded: but, to cover the shame of this unfortunate expedition, and divert the discourse of people another way, the noble *Peter Perenus*, one of the greatest lords of *Hungary*, was, upon a pretended suspicion of aspiring to the crown of *Hungary*, seized for a traitor by *Ferdinand's* order, and doomed to a perpetual prison.

Gran besieged; bravely surrendered.

SOLEYMAN being by this time arrived in the country, sent *Morád*, governor of *Dalmatia*, and *Ulemas*, the *Persian*, to besiege *Walpo*; which was delivered up by the garrison; who, as a reward of their treachery, were all put to the sword, while the general was treated with much courtesy by the *Turks*. *Pecz*, or the *five churches*, also, and *Siclos* were quickly yielded; the garrison of which last place were all put to death, because they did not submit sooner. The *Soltán*, informed of these successes, marched from *Buda* to besiege *Gran*, then governed by two proud *Spaniards*, *Liscanus* and *Salamanca*; who, being summoned, boasted of their courage and fidelity. Mean time the *Turks* planted their batteries against the weakest parts of the wall, which had been shewed them, and made a large breach; but were bravely repulsed in three assaults. However the two *Spanish* commanders, fearing the event of the siege, it was resolved to surrender the city. To this end *Salamanca*, with the approbation of the officers, although the soldiers were against it, went to the *Turkish* camp, and in his way commanded those who defended the water-tower to withdraw for their safety into the city. The soldiers, frightened at this order, retired with such precipitation, that the vigilant *Turks* broke in before they had all gotten out, slew those whom they found there, and possessed the castle. *Salamanca*, being brought before *Abmed*, insisted on high terms; but could obtain no better than to surrender at discretion. This being signified by letter to *Liscanus*, he delivered up the city, and the *Turks* entered peaceably. But when the garrison was come to *Presburgh*, the two governors, with some other officers, were arrested, on suspicion of treason.

Siege of Alba Regalis.

SOLEYMAN entered *Gran* on the 10th of *August*, and converted the Christian churches into *Mohammedan* temples. Then, fortifying the city, he went and razed the castle of *Tatta*, which surrendered to him. From hence he proceeded to *Alba Regalis*, so called, because there the antient kings of *Hungary* were crowned and buried. This city is seated in the middle of a lake or marsh, and approached by three very broad causeys, with fair houses and gardens on each side. It is surrounded also with strong walls, and a deep ditch filled with water, which makes it difficult to be besieged. On the enemy's approach, *Barcotius*, the chief commander, would have had the suburbs destroyed; but the citizens would not consent, as thinking them defensible. As soon as the *Turks*, with their multitudes, began to surround the place, five hundred *Hussars* (K), who were in garrison, not used to be cooped-up, departed out of the town in the night. Mean time the *Turks*, by the continual firing of their cannon, battered down the planks and timber which kept in the sandy mold, whereof the fortress was built; afterwards, having, with incredible labour, in twelve days time, filled up the ditches and lake, they assaulted the bulwark of the suburbs towards *Buda*; and, being continually relieved, at last gained it.

The city yielded.

On this occasion the very women and religious gave a helping hand. Among the rest, a tall *Hungarian* amazon, thrusting among the soldiers to the top of the *Italian* fort, which still held out, with a great scythe, at one blow, struck off the heads of two *Turks*, who were climbing up the rampiers. That day, being the 25th of *August*, the *Turks* could penetrate no farther; but soon after, making another assault, they, by favour of a mist, got to the top of the rampiers before they were perceived by the besieged. In fine, they won the suburbs,

¹ RICAUT, ubi supr.

(K) These were *Hungarian* horse, who, our author says, lived by robbing, and were called by the infamous name of *Hussars*.

- a and the people fled ; but the draw-bridge being pulled-up, and the gate exceeding small which led into the city, great numbers of them were slain, and among them the general *Borcatius*, whose head and hand, being cut off, were shewed about by the enemy on the point of a spear. Hereupon the magistrates surrendered the place upon articles, and the soldiers in garrison retired to *Vienna*. *Soleyman* after this entered into *Alba Regalis* : and, notwithstanding his proclamation, that the *Hungarians* had nothing to fear, within three days, ordered the principal citizens to be slain : although some will have it, that he only put to death those who bore offices at the time when they revolted from the young king to *Ferdinand*. However that be, he soon after returned to his capital, leaving the *Tartars* to ravage the country. At length, in 1547, a peace was made between the emperor *Charles V.* and *Soleyman*, for five years, wherein king *Ferdinand* was likewise included ". Thus far the Christian historians.

" RICAUT, ubi sup.

S E C T. III.

Expedition to Persia, India, and Africa, with the siege of Malta.

- c IN 954, *Alkasib Mirza* (A), being greatly injured by the *Persians* (B), flies to the *Soltân*, and shews how he might subdue all *Persia*, offering to conduct the forces himself. *Soleyman*, persuaded by his discourses, supplies him with a large sum of money, to raise an army for recovering his dominions (C); and, early in the spring, moves himself towards *Persia* with numerous forces. In this march he is met by his sons *Bâ-yezîd*, governor of *Ikonium*, and *Mostafa*, governor of *Amasia*; who, having kissed their father's hand, are sent back (D) to their governments. Being entered into *Azerbejan*, *Soltân Burbân* (E), descended from the ancient kings of *Shirwan*, surrenders both himself and territories to him. Presently after he commits the custody of *Tibris* to *Alkasib Mirza*: who, seeing himself neither able to do any thing, nor safe from the attacks of the *Persians*, demolishes the palaces of the *Shâb*, and retires with his forces to the imperial camp, which was now before *Vân*. *Soleyman* with this additional strength makes a vigorous assault; whereupon the besieged, on the 19th of *Rajeb*, on condition of having their lives, surrender this strong and noble city. Hence he leads his forces to *Amzeh*, where he surprises and routs part of the *Persian* army.
- d MEAN time, being informed by his spies, that the *Shâb's* immense treasures lay weakly guarded in the cities of *Ispâhân*, *Kashân*, and *Kamid* (F), he sends *Alkasib Mirza*, with some light-armed troops, to seize them. The *Mirza* executed his orders so well, that routing the guards, little expecting his coming, he got possession of the riches; and, after destroying the adjacent country, returns laden with spoil. With part of the prey he obtains of the covetous *Wazîr Azîz Allah*, to be made associate with the governor of *Bâghdâd*. When he comes there, he repents of having deserted the *Persians*, and sends private letters to the *Shâb*; in which he begs pardon, promising for the future to be faithful to him, and a diligent spy upon the motions of the *Turks*. His colleague *Mehemed Pâshâ*, no less watchful of his actions, quickly accuses him to *Soleyman*, and receives orders to send him in irons to the *Porte*.
- e BUT before the order arrived, he was informed of what was transacting by some friends, made with *Persian* money; and, as there was no other way to escape, flies into *Gurjistân* (G). The *Georgians* about a year before had surprised *Mostafa Pâshâ*, governor of those parts, when little suspecting such perfidiousness, and cut his whole army in pieces. To revenge these deeds, *Mehemed Pâshâ* is sent with a good body of troops into *Gurjistân*; where, after several battles fought with various success, he at last entirely routs all the enemy's forces.

(A) In the annals of the *Soltâns* he is called *Erkasîs Imîza*, by some mistake; and is said to be the *Shâb's* brother, as well as king of *Shirwan*.

(B) They say his wife was ravished by the king of *Persia*. Cant.

(C) The name of which is not mentioned by the *Turks*; nor can we find it elsewhere. Cant.

(D) Some *Turkish* chronographers say, that *Soleyman* was told, his sons were come to dethrone him: but that as for his reputation sake, he did not care to stain his hands with his own blood, he commanded them to return home: yet, afterwards, on a fuller discovery, he put *Mostafa* to death, as will appear by the sequel. Cant.

(E) It signifies demonstrative; but turned into a proper name, it denotes something strong, and, as it were, invincible. Such names, once frequent among the *Turks*, are now almost quite disused. Cant.

(F) It may be the city called *Kom*. Cant.

(G) The *Turkish* annals say, that *Tabmasp* having ordered his subjects to retire with their effects into the mountains, the *Turks* were so incensed against the *Mirza*, for being baulked of spoil, that filling his head with apprehensions of danger from *Soleyman*, he fled to one of the princes of *Kaldea* (or *Irâk Arabi*), who having delivered him up to *Tabmasp*, he was put to death by his order.

This

A. D. 1549 { This done, he takes and razes seven of their strongest castles: after which he withdraws to a winter in *Diyârbekr*. Early in the spring he re-enters the country, and, meeting no opposition, reduces above twenty cities; then placing garrisons in the fortresses, and establishing the provinces in the *Soltân's* obedience, he returns to *Constantinople* ^a.

Revolution in Tunis. { We are now called to see what is doing in *Africa*. When *Barbarossa* was sent with a fleet to assist the king of *France*, *Muley Hassan*, king of *Tunis*, fearing that fleet was prepared against him, passed over to *Naples*, with a design to go meet the emperor at *Genoa*, and crave his farther protection. But while he staid there, advice coming that his son *Amîd*, who had been left to defend the coast with the men of war, had usurped the kingdom, he, with 1800 *Italians*, the refuse of jails, headed by one *Giovanni Battista Losfridi*, immediately put to sea; and landing at the *Guletta*, by the persuasion of some traitors, marched to *Tunis*, with his small forces, which, with their leader, were all slain, excepting 500, and *Muley Hassan* taken, whose eyes were put out. *Tonarres*, governor of the *Guletta*, judging the emperor injured, by *Amîd's* seizing the throne without his consent, sent for *Abdo'l Mâlek*, a natural son of *Muley Hassan*, who, reparing to *Tunis* in the absence of *Amîd*, was, by favour of his veil, mistaken for him, and admitted into the castle by the governor. But this new king dying when he had scarce reigned one month, *Mohammed* his son, but twelve years old, was advanced in his room, under the direction of three governors, who ruled at pleasure. Of them *Muley Hassan* obtained leave to retire to the *Guletta*; and thus very luckily escaped the bloody hands of his son *Amîd*; who, soon after, was invited by the citizens, weary of the evil government of the triumvirs; and entering into *Tunis* without opposition, put all his enemies to death with the utmost cruelty.

Dragut's success. { Thus things remained till the year 1550; when *Dragut Rais*, a notable *Turkish* pirate, having surprized the cities of *Africa* and *Mohammedia*, in the kingdom of *Tunis*, from thence much infested the Christians both by sea and land. Of this daily complaints being made to the emperor *Charles*, he sent *Deria*, assisted by the knights of *Mâlta*, with a strong fleet and army, to besiege the city of *Africa*, which they took by storm the 10th of *September*; and having razed it to the ground, ravaged the neighbouring coasts, and returned. *Dragut*, provoked with this loss, excited *Soleyman* to make war on the emperor and king *Ferdinand*, although the five years truce was not yet expired. Accordingly in the following spring, the *Soltân* furnished *Dragut* with 140 sail, commanded in chief by *Sinân Pâshâ*, who suddenly took and sacked the castle of *Augusta* in *Sicily*. They then landed in *Mâlta*; where having battered the castles of *Manet* and *St. Paul* to no purpose, they sailed to the little isle of *Goza*, five miles distant; which they ravaged, and carried off 6,300 people into slavery ^b.

Tripoli taken by the Turks. { This done, they passed over for *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, bestowed also on the knights of *Mâlta* by the emperor; and in *August* closely besieged that city. They carried on their approaches so expeditiously, that they planted a battery within 150 paces of the wall; in which they made a large breach even with the ditch: but the besieged repaired it so well in the night, that there was no assaulting it. At length having, by the direction of a *French* deserter, battered a place which could not well be repaired, the soldiers were so terrified, that they obliged the governor *Vallier* to capitulate; and all that two knights sent for this purpose could obtain from the *Pâshâ*, was a promise of liberty. Upon this the place surrendered on the 15th of the same month, and the castle next day: but *Sinân*, instead of keeping the articles, though he twice swore to them, took from the garrison both their effects and liberty. Nor could *Arramont* the *French* ambassador prevail on him to release more than 230 of the least useful. He also insisted, for a while, on being paid the charges of the war. They dealt barbarously by poor *John de Chabas*, gunner of the castle, who, during the siege, happened to shoot off the hand of the chief clerk of the army; for after cutting off his hands and nose, they set him into a hole up to the middle, and then shooting at him with arrows, at last cut his throat ^c.

Temeswar reduced. { THE affairs of the east being thus settled, *Soleyman* thinks of enlarging his dominions to the west. To this end *Mehemed Pâshâ*, *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm-eli*, is sent with the *European* army to take *Temisbwar* (or *Temeswar*), the strongest city in all *Hungary*. The *Pâshâ* having made himself master of the neighbouring towns *Bachi*, *Buchbergi*, *Katzu*, and *Chenad* (H), lays close siege to the city: but an army coming to its relief superior to his own, he sends to court for a speedy supply. Hereupon the prime *Wazîr*, *Mahmûd Pâshâ*, hastens, with the rest of the *Othmân* forces, to his assistance. Thus strengthened, he routs the enemy; and

^a CANT. p. 207, & seqq.^b RICAUT, in Soleyman.^c Ibid.

(H) Cities, as it seems, lying between the *Danube* and *Saxe*; which country is called by the *Turks*, *Bacha* *Orda*. CANT.

- a then taking the city by storm, annexes to the empire the whole territory of *Temeswar*, almost as large as a *Beglerbeglik*; the custody of which he commits to *Kâsım Pâshâ* (I), with a good garrison ^d. A. D. 1553.

THE Christian historians say that this city was taken by *Abmed* before-mentioned, and *Ali Zolnuk Pâshâ* of *Buda*; and that, contrary to their faith, they put the garrison to the sword. They ^{yielded} tell us also that the same generals took the castle of *Zolnuk*, but failed in their attempt upon *Ersam*; as *Ali* did next year in the siege of *Agria*, having been obliged to raise it, with the aids of 6,000 men: but that *Soleyman*, at the solicitation of *Arramont*, ambassador from *Henry II.* of *France*, in 1553 sent a fleet into the *Tyrrhenian* sea, which did great harm upon the coast of *Italy*, and the islands of the *Mediterranean*. To this let us add, that the same year *Isabella*, not being able to defend herself against the incroachments of the *Turks* in *Transylvania*, surrendered that province to *Ferdinand*, and so retired into *Poland* ^e.

MEAN time the *Othmân* affairs are not so prosperous in *Asia*. *Shâh Ismaël*, son of *Toma-sib* (K), after the departure of the *Musulman* army (L), enters the *Soltân's* dominions, and suddenly takes *Ardish* and *Agdash* (M), putting to the sword all the *Turks* he could find in those cities. Hereupon *Iskander Pâshâ* is sent, with good part of the *Asiatic* forces, to oppose the *Shâh*; but being met by him, is routed, with the slaughter of the greater part of his men. Thus fortune smiled on the *Persians* in lesser battles, only to shew them her sting in greater: for *Soleyman* having ordered the prime *Wazîr Mehemed Pâshâ*, with what army he had ready, to winter about *Tokâd* (N), in *Ramazân* 960, joins him near a place called *Arkileh* (O) with the rest of his forces. Here he receives certain information, that his son *Mostafa* (P), who, on suspicion, had been confined the year before, was engaged in a plot against his life; and, after finding the thing to be true, orders him to be strangled. When he was come to *Hâlep*, *Jehân Ghîr* (Q), another of his sons, departed this life: after which he commanded his eldest son *Selîm* to winter with his forces in *Marâsh* ^f. *The Shâh takes Arjis.* Hejrah, 960.

THE Christian historians speak of this *Mostafâ* as a young prince of great endowments, and ascribe his death to the intrigues of a lady of the seray, or seraglio, whom they call *Roxolana*. They say, that in order to procure the succession for one of her four sons, she first, by artifice, prevailed on the *Soltân* to marry her, and then attempted to make *Mostafa* away by poison: but that, failing in her design, she began to accuse him to *Soleyman* of rebellious practices; shewing letters sent from her creatures, who watched his motions, and among the rest one from the *Pâshâ* who had the government of the prince, and the province of *Amasia*, with intimations of a report, that he was contracted to the king of *Persia's* daughter: that these suspicions being confirmed by the subtlety of the grand *Wazîr Rustân*, *Roxolana's* son-in-law, *Soleyman* at length gave into them; and with an intent to put him to death, sent for him to attend him in the camp: that *Mostafa*, depending on his innocence, went; but on entering his father's tent, was seized by seven mutes, who strangled him, while *Soleyman*, from behind a curtain, with frowns and other threatening signs, urged them to dispatch him. The same authors add, that his dead body being shewed to his brother *Jehân Ghîr*, who was very crooked, that prince, who loved *Mostafa* extremely, after reproaching his father with cruelty, stabbed himself, and died on the spot: that this execution was succeeded by a mutiny of the soldiers who accompanied *Mostafa*, in which 2,000 men were slain: and that the *Janizaries*, when they came to know of his death, with a great noise, and their swords drawn,

^d CANT. p. 209.^e RICAUT, ubi supr.^f CANT. p. 210.

(I) A famous *Turkish* general, afterwards *Wazîr*, who founded, or enlarged, the new colony at *Galata*, where are now the magazines, and called it after his own name. Cant.

(K) It ought to be *Shâh Tomafib* (rather *Tahmâsh*, or *Tahmâshp*, as the *Persians* write and pronounce it), son of *Ismaïl*: for *Tahmâshp* reigned fifty-three years, dying in 1576.

(L) As if the *Persians* were not *Musulmans*, or true believers, on account of their differing from them in a few circumstantial matters.

(M) A town on the borders of *Shîrwân*, in maps corruptly called *Ergish* and *Elata*. Cant. They are rightly called *Arjish* and *Aklat*, or *Khalât*, as written in some maps, and lie above 300 miles from *Shîrwân*, to the north of the lake of *Wân*.

(N) A city of *Anatolia*, not far from *Amasia*; according to some, the ancient *Eudocia*. Cant.

(O) Or *Eregli*, in the road from *Koniya*, or *Ikoniun*, to *Hâlep*.

(P) A fourth son of *Soleyman*, who was said to have excited all his brothers against their father. The *Turks* say, the *Soltân* suffered them to go unpunished for a year, in hopes of their repentance; but perceiving their obstinacy, caused only *Mostafa* to be strangled, as author of the rebellion. *Jehân Ghîr* also, by some, is thought to have been poisoned by his order. After these rebellions, *Soleyman* made a law, that the sons of the emperors should not have any government, but be detained in the royal city; and though since this law some are reported to have had *Sanjâks*, yet it is never so now. Cant.

(Q) That is, *bearer of the world*; so called by his father, as being so humped, that a globe seemed to be placed on his back. Cant.

A. D. 1554. broke into the tent of *Soleymân*, who had much ado to appease them, by depriving *Rustân* of his employments. But to return to the *Persian* war ².

Persia invaded.
Hej. 961.

At length, in the year 961, *Soleymân*, entering *Shîrwân*, sends a herald to the *Shâh* (R), to tell him he is ready for battle, and challenges him into the field. But the *Persian* answering neither by words nor deeds, he besieges *Revân* (S), his regal seat; and, taking it in a few days, destroys the royal gardens, palaces, and country-houses; then sets fire to the city itself, the glory of all *Persia*. After this, he leads his forces to *Nahjivân* (T), and, by the conduct of *Soltân Husseyn* (U), lays waste all the province between *Tibris* and *Marâghé* (X), utterly destroying the cities, towns, and villages, with fire and sword. Having taken this severe revenge of the *Persians*, he, at the approach of winter, sends his forces into quarters about *Amasia*. Next spring *Shâh Kuli Soltân* (Y) comes to him near *Arzerûm* (Z), imploring his protection. From thence he marched to *Baghdâd*, where he received ambassadors from the *Persian* king, humbly suing for peace; which at length is concluded: and in virtue thereof, the cities of *Van*, *Marâsh*, and *Mosul*, are made the boundaries of the *Othmân* empire.

Peace concluded.

A pretender taken.

While *Soleymân* was thus employed in *Asia*, a certain impostor appeared in *Dobrujeh* (A), under the name of *Soltân Mostafa* (B); who, getting together forty dissolute men, had cruelly laid waste not only this, but all the neighbouring provinces. But before this pretender, by reason of the distance, could be restrained by the *Soltân*, *Bâ-yezîd*, his sixth son, by an admirable stratagem, drew him into a snare, and sent him in chains to his father, who was about to dispatch *Mostafa Pashâ* with an army to oppose him (C).

False Mostafa. THE Christian writers give a very different account of this affair. They tell us, that this false *Mostafa* was set up by *Bâ-yezîd* himself, to try his strength against his brother *Selâm*; from whom, by his mother's liking, he wanted to wrest the succession to the empire: that *Portân Pashâ* being sent with forces against the impostor, he was deserted by his followers, and taken with some others; and that, having on the rack confessed the designs of *Bâ-yezîd*, they were all drowned in the sea: but that *Bâ-yezîd* was pardoned by the intreaties of *Roxolana*.

France assisted.

ABOUT this time a war being kindled between the kings of *Spain* and *France*, the latter, much pressed by his enemies, desired the aid of a second fleet, which *Soleymân* sends under the command of *Karli Ali Beg* (D); who, finding no opposition at sea, ravages the coasts of *Spain* (E), and carries off the inhabitants. The *Spaniards*, to put a stop to his progress, recall their troops; by which means the *French*, commanded by *Korban* (F), gain a complete victory, slaying 40,000 of the enemy on the spot.

Ormûz invaded by the Turks.

SOLEYMAN, encouraged by this success, sends another fleet to *Hurmiuz* (G), under the conduct of *Peri Râis*; who, having plundered all the maritime provinces of that kingdom, returns,

2 BUSBEQUIUS'S Embassy, l. 3. RICAUT.

(R) The *Turks* are forbidden by their law to wage war without acquainting the enemy of their coming. If this does not bring them to reason, they think themselves innocent of the blood that may be shed—but they do not always observe this rule. *Cant.*

(S) A famous city of *Persia*, corruptly written in the maps *Erwan*. *Cant.* The author mistakes; *Erwân*, or *Irvân*, is no corruption. It may also be written *Revân*, or *Rivân*, and *Irivân*.

(T) Corruptly in the maps *Nah Schuan*. *Cant.* This is indeed a corruption; but we know of no maps which have it. It is written in maps *Naksivân* and *Nakchuan*. The *Arabs* write *Nakhjowân*.

(U) He seems to have been one of the *Persian* princes who frequently at that time submitted to the *Othmân* dominion. *Cant.*

(X) Corruptly in maps *Marraga*. *Cant.* *Marâgha* is the true name. They are his *Turkish* authors who have made the corruptions: for the *Turks* are not near so correct in writing proper names as the *Arabs* and *Persians*.

(Y) One of the *Persian* revoltors, famous only for music. There are still extant most elegant airs of his. *Cant.*

(Z) That is, *Grecian*, or *European land*: for the *Turks* call whatever lies west of *Arzerûm*, with all *Anadol*, or *Asia Minor*, parts of *Europe*. It is the capital of *Armenia Major*. *Cant.* *Arzerûm* signifies *Grecian*, or rather *Roman land*, not *European*; nor do the *Turks* call the country to the west of that city part of *Europe*, but

part of *Rûm*, or rather the country of *Româns*, whose empire extended in *Asia* as well as *Europe*.

(A) A plain country on this side *Mount Hæmus*, extending along the *Danube* from *Drista* in *Walakhia* to the mouth of that river. The inhabitants, called *Chitaki*, originally *Turks*, entertain travellers with almost unparalleled hospitality. *Cant.*

(B) Doubtless the son of *Soleymân*, lately strangled.

(C) Surely from this and other circumstances, this pretender must have had some thousand men instead of forty.

(D) From the name of *Karli*, he seems to have been some renegade Christian.

(E) The Christian historians say, that the *Turkish* fleet this year did great harm on the coast of *Calabria* and *Sicily*: that the *Venetian* admiral ravaged it in revenge for rifling some of the republic's merchant ships; and, having done them much damage, ransacked *Durazzo*, then in the hands of the *Turks*.

(F) He seems to have been *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*, general of the emperor's army, to whom he revolted from the *French*. But as neither the *German* nor *French* annals mention this battle, I take it to be a fiction of the *French*, to induce *Soleymân* the more easily to assist them; an artifice I have known them use at *Constantinople* in my time. *Cant.*

(G) The name of *Hurmuiz* (rather *Harmiuz*) is by the *Turks* given to the island of *Ormûz* and *Portugal*, with the seas belonging to those countries, because pearls are found there, called by the *Turks* *Hurmiuz*.—I should think

a returns, laden with spoils, to *Constantinople*: but being pursued and attacked by the enemy's fleet, while he negligently sailed along the *Egyptian* sea, his scattered ships were partly sunk, and partly taken, especially those laden with the plunder. Some of the lightest vessels escaped, in one of which was *Seyd Ali Kapudán*, who, gathering his dispersed ships, re-attacks the enemy's fleet sailing back in disorder, and, by a strange turn of fortune, gets the advantage, sinking several of their vessels. At the same time *Toygun Páshá*, *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, with his forces, took three cities (H) from the Christians, and carried away numberless captives. On the other hand, the governor of *Jezayr* (I), *Salib Páshá*, subdued *Bijaneb* (K), and three other castles in *Spain*. A. D. 1555.

FRANCHA PADISHAHÍ, not succeeding against the *Spaniards* according to his wish, desires a third fleet to be sent to his assistance. *Soleyman* rejoicing that he could break one egg with another, without hurting his own hands, readily grants his request, and sends *Kapudan Páshá* (L), with a great fleet to join the *French*, who take *Misina*, *Rija*, and *Marioka* (M), with three lesser neighbouring isles (N); and laying waste all the coasts of *Apulia* (O), returns in autumn with great spoils. France assisted. Hej. 953.

THE *Othmán* empire being thus strengthened on every side, *Soleyman* gives his army respite, and spends almost ten years in regulating civil affairs. His first care was to finish the *Jámi* founded by him three years before; which he does in so beautiful a manner, that, excepting *Sant'a Sophia*, there is not, it is thought, the like in the world, and calls it by his own name *Soleymaniye* (P). After this, perceiving many things to be performed irregularly, as well in the court as out of it, and that the confused degrees of offices begat contention among his officers, he makes new regulations both civil and military (Q), assigning to every one his rank at court, in the city, and in the army. System of laws.

THIS new system of laws prepared the way to greater designs. *Soleyman* had discovered by his former expeditions that the *German* empire was too powerful, and its barriers too strong to be thrown down, without greater preparations, and longer time to effect it. He therefore makes the greatest warlike preparations, and replenishes his exhausted treasures ^a. Great preparations.

THIS is all which the *Turkish* authors, made use of by prince *Cantemir* (R), have given us to fill up the space of ten years in the history of *Soleyman's* reign; during which time, however, there happened, according to the Christian writers, several transactions; some of equal moment with any before related under this *Soltán*. A. D. 1557.

MUCH about the same time that the *Turkish* admiral seized the isles of *Blambis* and *Elba*, as hath been already set forth, *Ali*, *Páshá* of *Buda*, surprised the strong castle of *Buboza*, in *Hungary*: but failing to do the like by *Sigeth*, he sat down before it next year, on the 30th of *June*, with a great army; who, on the 20th, won the out-walls; but, in storming the castle, were repulsed with the loss of 800 men. Then they endeavoured to fill up the marsh and ditch about the town, but to no purpose; yet, *July* the 12th, the *Páshá* made another assault, which continued for five days together, though without success. Hereupon he raised the siege on the 21st; yet returned six days after, and gave another assault as fruitless as the former, having in all lost 2,000 men, and spent 10,000 shot. Nor was he more fortunate the next year in the siege of this place, which he was forced to raise on the approach of *Ferdinand's* Siege of Sigeth raised with loss. A. D. 1555, 1556.

^a CANT. p. 211—215.

think the *Persian* gulf was here meant, if it was not said, that the fleet returned towards *Constantinople*; which could not be done but by sailing all round *Africa*, a thing never yet performed by the *Turks*. Cant. This passage is to be understood of the island *Harmúz*, and perhaps the adjacent country of *Persia* (formerly part of the kingdom of *Harmúz*), rather than the sea of *Harmúz*. As for the fleet being said to return towards *Constantinople*, so it did, in passing up the *Red Sea* to *Suez*, or *Sues*. But pearls are called *Harmúz* from the island, not the island from pearls.

(H) Of these three towns the names do not occur. Cant. Perhaps the passage in the text has reference to the taking of *Buboza* hereafter-mentioned.

(I) Or with the article *Al Jezair* (that is, the island or peninsula), called in maps *Algiers*. Cant.

(K) Perhaps *Nizza*, a castle in *Piedmont*, which the *French*, aided by the *Turkish* forces, took about that time.

(L) A famous *Turkish* high-admiral, whose marketplace and *Jami* still exist in *Constantinople*. Cant.

(M) That is *Messina*, *Regium Julium* (or *Reggio*), in *Calabria*, and *Mazjerka*: the two first are, by a com-

mon mistake of the *Turks*, placed by them in *Spain*. Cant.

(N) Perhaps *Minorca*, *Twica*, and *Formentera* (or *Fromentera*). Cant.

(O) The Christian historians only say, that in the year 1555, the admiral *Páshá* having recovered his strength after the damage received the year before, surprised the isles of *Blambis* and *Elba*, belonging to the duke of *Florence*; but mention nothing of the loss of *Messina*, &c.

(P) This temple stands on a high hill, looking towards the harbour, and built with so much art and elegance, that no structure deserves to be compared to it, as I have heard affirmed, not only by *Turks*, but foreigners of several nations. Cant.

(Q) The book of laws is intitled, *Kanún Námih*; that is, *The book of rules, or regulations*; containing the expences of the *Turkish* government, and may be called *The state of the Othmán empire*.

(R) The *Tarikh al Othmán*, translated by *Gaudier*, under the title of *Annales Sultanorum Oshmanidorum*, ends at the year 1550.

army,

A. D. 1556. army, under *Polcerber* and *Sirini*, who routed his army near *Boboza*. This, with the coming a
 down of new supplies under young *Ferdinand* archduke of *Austria*, the king's son, so terrified
 the *Turks*, that they quitted *Boboza*, *Sammartin*, *San Laurence*, with several other small
 places, and fled to *Five Churches*, not without the loss of many in their retreat; and the go-
 vernor of *Raab* burned the suburbs of *Alba Regalis*, carrying off several thousands of the
 enemy's cattle.

Bâ-yezîd's at- BA-YEZID, the younger of *Soleymân's* two sons who were then alive, having been pardoned
 tempt against Selim. by the intercession of *Roxolana*, as before related, behaved very dutifully so long as his mo-
 A. D. 1557. ther lived. But she dying in 1557, he began to tamper with the soldiery; which the *Soltân*
 being informed of, he sent to put him in mind of his duty: and to place his sons more at a
 distance both from himself and each other, ordered him to remove from *Kutayeh* to *Amasia*, b
 and *Selim* from *Magnesia* to *Ikonium*. But *Bâ-yezîd*, instead of removing, sought delays, and
 petitioned either to remain where he was, or have some province less distant than *Amasia*
 assigned him; especially as his brother was, by a new order, allowed to reside at *Prusa*, where
 he was daily contriving mischief against him. Upon this *Soleymân* sent over two *Pâshâs* to
 see his sons settled in their respective provinces: but *Bâ-yezîd* still declining to obey, his father
 prepared to oblige him by force; and finding the *Janizaries* favoured his party, applied to
 the *Mufti* for his opinion in the case; which was, that both the man (for no person was
 named), and his accomplice, deserved death. This sentence was published, and sent to *Bâ-
 yezîd*; who, in answer, desired his father not to meddle in the quarrel between him and his
 brother; intimating, by the same hand, that if he did, he knew how to destroy the country, c
 and provide for his own safety.

Defeated by him, flies into Persia. FOR all this he set out towards *Amasia*; and being gotten as far as *Ancyra*, *Selim* thought he
 A. D. 1559. might, without danger, repair to *Ikonium*, which opening a passage to *Syria*, *Soleymân* took
 care should not fall into *Bâ-yezîd's* hands. But that prince, having gathered a good
 force, by the resort of vagabonds, and some troops of *Kiurds*, resolving, if possible, to be
 master of that city, marched thither to attack *Selim*, who was then joined by all his father's
 forces. The battle was very fierce; and though after 40,000 had fallen on both sides, *Bâ-
 yezîd* was forced to retreat, yet he did it leisurely, and in good order. This action, wherein
 a handful of men were engaged against a well-disciplined army, supported by great artillery,
 procured *Bâ-yezîd* much reputation, and made *Soleymân*, in June 1559, haste over into *Asia*: d
 however he resolved not to remove far from the coast, fearing the *Janizaries* might revolt.
 Mean time *Bâ-yezîd*, by letters, desired a reconciliation with his father; who, dissembling
 resentment, seemed inclined to pardon him: but at the same time resolved to have him seized;
 and ordered the governors on the borders of *Persia* to prevent his escape. *Bâ-yezîd*, being
 informed of this design by his friends, set out from *Amasia* with twenty followers; and so well
 deceived the governors of *Siwâz* and *Arzerûm*, by setting them upon a false pursuit, that he got
 safely out of *Turky*, and was kindly entertained by *Shâh Tabmasp*, who promised to reconcile
 him, if possible, with his father¹.

Put to death. FOR all this, in some time, the *Shâh*, whether with or without grounds is uncertain, grew
 jealous of him; and having dispersed his men in the villages about *Kasvîn*, clapped him and c
 his three sons up in prison. Of this an account being sent to *Soleymân*, continual messages
 A. D. 1560. passed between him and *Tabmasp* about delivering him up: but finding the *Shâh* could not be
 brought to that condition, he resolved to try if he could get him made away with, by pro-
 posing to pay the charges which *Tabmasp* demanded for maintaining *Bâ-yezîd* and his men.
 To this end *Hassan Aga* and the *Pâshâ* of *Marasb* were sent to *Persia*; where, after they had
 gone to prison to see the prince (whom they found in a miserable plight), that they might
 be sure of their prey, they struck the bargain; upon which, *Hassan* being admitted a second
 time, strangled him, and three of his children, with his own hands. *Mohammed* the youngest, an
 infant, suffered the same fate at *Prusa*.

Zerbi in- waded. THE knights of *Mâlta* having for some years solicited the pope, the *Spaniards*, and other f
 powers, to assist them in recovering *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, taken from them nine years before
 by the *Turks*, they at length obtained the desired succours, and in February 1560 failed for
 the isle of *Zerbi* (or *Ferbi*); and although *Drâgut* governor of *Tripoli* had landed before
 with 800 *Janizaries*, and provided for defence of the city, yet having laid siege to the strongest
 castle in the island with 8,000 men, it was presently surrendered to them. But while *Kara-
 wân*, a poor king of the *Moors*, from whom that isle had been taken, was gravely discouraging
 with the generals about the methods for driving the *Turks* out of *Africa*, advice came that
Piala Pâshâ, the *Turkish* admiral, was at hand with a fleet of eighty five gallies, and was daily
 reinforced from divers parts. Hereupon they obliged the chief of the *Moors* to pay the king
 of *Spain* the same tribute which was paid to *Drâgut*, and began to fortify the castle. But g

¹ RICAUT, ubi supr.

- a the soldiers were so long about it, that the *Turkish* fleet came in *May*, and surprised them before they could get on board. It happened luckily, however, that the greater part of the ships, and fourteen gallies, had set sail the night before; and the grand master had recalled his gallies in *April*. Of the rest ten gallies were immediately taken, as were afterwards some others which ran aground. Only some few escaped: but the viceroy, and the admiral *Giovanni Andrea Doria*, got off the night following, in two small frigates, to *Málta*. A. D. 1560.
Doria de-
feated.

- THE *Turks*, flushed with this success, laid siege to the castle, which, notwithstanding the reinforcements brought by *Drágut*, held out three months; and would have done so much longer but for want of water, there being only one large cistern to supply the garrison; so that many died of thirst. Hereupon Don *Alvares* the governor, with the admirals of the *Neapolitan* and *Sicilian* gallies, endeavoured to escape in the night aboard a vessel which lay under the castle: but being discovered by the *Turks*, they were all taken; on which the soldiers gave up the place, on condition of having their lives (S). Thus ended this unfortunate expedition, in which the Christians, one way or other, lost 18,000 men, besides a great part of their fleet. The following year also they, with their gallies, spoiled several places on the coasts of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Málta*. *Philip II.* king of *Spain* sent indeed a fleet against them; but lost twenty-five of his gallies, with *Mendoza* the admiral, in a dreadful storm, which happened on the 18th of *September* ^k. The castle
taken.
Losses of the
Christians.
A. D. 1561.

- Not long after this, *Ferdinand* (to whom *Charles* his brother had resigned the empire in 1559), having, with much difficulty, obtained a peace of *Soleyman*, he, in a dyet held at *Frankfort*, *November* the 24th 1562, got his son *Maximilian* elected king of the *Romans*. Thither came *Ibrahim Pashá* with presents, and a letter written to the emperor in a haughty stile, containing the conditions of an eight years truce; the most material of which was, that *Ferdinand* should pay to *Soleyman* a yearly tribute of 30,000 ducats for *Hungary*, and the arrears of two years. The truce held till 1564; when that prince dying, and *Maximilian* succeeding to the empire, *Melchior Balas*, the emperor's lieutenant in *Hungary* towards *Transylvania*, first violating it, surprised several towns on those frontiers. This was revenged by the *Waywood* of that country, who took *Sakma*, with the wife and children of *Balas* in it: then being aided by 4,000 *Turks*, and 300 *Moldavians*, he ravaged the emperor's territories, reducing *Haden*, and laying siege to *Ungar*. Hereupon *Maximilian* sends *Lazarus Suendi*, a valiant commander, with 8,000 men, to besiege *Tokay*, which he took in *February* 1565, and then the rich town of *Erden*. Peace con-
cluded.
German's
break it.

- MEAN time *Soleyman*, to facilitate his intended revenge, dispatches an ambassador to the emperor, to put him in mind of the league between them, while the *Pashá* of *Temeswar* besieged *Giula* with 6,000 men, as the *Transilvanians*, in *June*, did *Erden*. *Chernovich*, the emperor's ambassador, returning from *Constantinople* about this time, assured his master, that the *Turks* meant nothing but war, for all their pretences to the contrary. Hereupon he made all necessary preparations for it, although the *Turkish* ambassador was still dissemblingly treating of peace, notwithstanding the archduke *Charles* had cut off 8000 *Turks* at one time, who were ravaging the borders of *Stiria*. In short, *Maximilian* being confirmed on all hands, that *Soleyman* had projected grand designs against him, not only fortified his frontier garrisons, but resolved to call a general dyet of the empire next spring at *Ratisbon*, to provide against the attempts of the common enemy; where we shall at present leave this matter, to relate the proceedings of the *Turks* in the *Mediterranean* against the knights of *Málta* ^l. Prepare for
war.

- THE continual damages done to the subjects of the *Othmán* empire at sea by those knights, determined *Soleyman* to take a severe revenge upon them; to which he was particularly solicited by *Kossum*, son of *Barbarossa* king of *Algiers*, and *Drágut* governor of *Tripoli*. Having fitted out a fleet for that purpose, and exhorted his commanders to destroy the *Máltese* pirates, as he called them, the better to effect it, he gave them a map of the island, with draughts of the several fortifications on it. The grand master of the order, *John Valetté*, otherwise *Parisot*, a *Frenchman*, being informed of these preparations, immediately went to work; and while he laboured for his defence at home (by pulling down the suburbs and trees, which were injurious to the fortified places, strengthened the garrison, and laid in necessaries of all kinds), he sent abroad to the pope and other Christian princes, to demand their aid against the common enemy of the cross. Málta in-
vaded.

^k RICAUT, ubi supr.^l RICAUT, ubi supr.

(S) Among the prisoners the chief were don *Alvares Sandes*, don *John* of *Cordova*, and a son of the duke of *Medina*: the two first were ransomed, but the last was never heard of; being (as was conjectured) made away with by *Piála* the admiral, to disguise his concealment from *Soleyman*, who made great enquiry after him.

A. D. 1565.

The Turkish
forces.

MEAN time the *Turkish* fleet, commanded by *Piâla Pashâ*, set sail, consisting of 142 gal-
lies, 17 galliots, and 22 ships of burden (T), with other small vessels. They had on board
above 30,000 soldiers, among whom were 7,900 *Spahis*, or horsemen, and 4,500 *Janizaries*,
all under the conduct of *Mostafa Pashâ*, a man seventy-five years of age. These forces ar-
riving at *Mâlta* on the 18th of *May*, put into *Porto Maggiore* on the north-west side of the island,
which is about twenty miles long from north-west to south-east, and twelve broad. On the
east side of the isle are two harbours, divided by a high bridge, or tongue of land, which
shoots out north-eastward. That to the north is called *Marza Musbet*; the other to the south

City described.

Port Maggiore. Within this last, on the left hand, are four promontories; on the second
of which, at the very point, on a rough high rock, stands the strong castle of *St.*
Angelo; and adjoining to it the town, by some called the *New City*, separated from it only
by a wall and ditch, and situate in a hollow cut out of the main rock, strengthened also by the
sea and human industry. Upon the third head of land stands a castle called *St. Michael*, with a
town also (U); and at the point of the tongue of land another castle called *St. Elmo*, very
strong both by nature and art.

Forces there.

For the defence of this important place there were in the island about 1,300 *Messinars*,
French, *Spaniards*, and *Italians*; 1,000 seamen of the knights fleet; 500 men in *St. Angelo*
castle; 5,000 country people fled into the fortified places; 500 knights, besides esquires and
priests. In the city of *Mâlta* itself, called the *Old City*, which stood in the middle of the island,
there were 200 soldiers, as many citizens, and 300 country horse^m.

St. Elmo be-
sieged.

THE *Turks* landed 20,000 men at *Marza Siroco*, on the south-east side of the isle (X),
while *Piâla Pashâ*, with 7,000, went to view the castle of *St. Michael*: but at length, having
resolved to besiege that of *St. Elmo*, they cast up a mount (Y), in order to batter it, and
play upon the gallies in the haven, that so they might open a way for their fleet to enter:
but being beaten from that post by the cannon of the castle, they raised another mount
upon higher ground, and ran their trench nearer to *St. Elmo*, from whence they annoyed not
only the harbour, but also the castles of *St. Angelo* and *St. Michael*. At length *Drâgut* ar-
riving with thirteen gallies and 1,600 soldiers, followed by ten galliots with two companies
from *Bona*, the *Turks* of a sudden, on the 3d of *June*, assaulted *St. Elmo*, with an intent to
scale the ramparts which were highest the bulwark; but the besieged, from a strong flanker
made in the ditch of earth and faggots, repulsed them with great loss. However, returning
to the attack, they, by their multitudes, at length gained the flanker; whereby they com-
manded all that part of the ditch towards *Marza Musbet*, and there, with amazing celerity,
so fortified themselves, that the besieged could not hurt them. In the night they filled the ditch
under the bulwark; but lost 800 men in a fresh assault, to forty-five only of the Christians.
However, knowing that the besieged expected supplies every hour, and that, provided *St.*
Elmo was in their hands, they might secure their fleet in *Marza Musbet*, as well as more easily
carry the rest, they battered the castle anew for four days without intermission, and the night
following gave an assault: but the place having been reinforced a little before with 200 knights,
and several other soldiers, when the enemy, with their ladders, had almost gained the top of
the walls, they were beaten down with such violence by the besieged, that they durst not attempt
scaling afterwards till the last attack.

Fiercely as-
saulted.Gallantly de-
fended.

THE *Turks*, more enraged, continued their batteries with greater fury than before, for
eighteen days together, with 13,000 shot. During this time also they made a bridge over
the ditch broad enough for ten men to march a-breast, placed 4,000 musketeers about the
ditch, and brought their fleet to *St. George's Shore*, not far from the castle. When they
began the assault, for which these preparations were made, a body of valiant knights and
soldiers ran to the bridge, and there resolutely encountered the multitude hand to hand. Mean
time some thrust barrels of powder under the bridge, others threw down stones and wild-
fire upon the enemy, while others galled them at a distance with their fire-arms. At
length, the bridge blowing up, 800 *Turks* were destroyed, and many wounded; which
obliged them to retire, after they had lost 2,000 of their best men, and the Christians near
one hundred.

RICAUT. THEVENOT. Trav. part i. ch. 5.

(T) Besides one cast away near *Modon*, wherein were
lost 6,000 barrels of powder, 13,000 cannon-balls, and
400 *Spahis*.

(U) This town is now called *La Sangle*; and by *The-*
venot's account there is no castle there at present.

(X) Others say, at *Mount Pelegrino*, on the west side
of *Porto Maggiore*.

(Y) In the place where the city of *Valetta* (built af-
terwards by the grand master), called also the *New Town*,
now stands.

a THE same day the grand master caused a brigantine to be carried from *Marza Musbet* over land to *Marfia Scala* (Z), which he sent with letters to the viceroy of *Sicily*, requiring the most speedy relief. In the interim, the enemy, after battering the castle for twenty-fours, gave a most dreadful assault on the breaches, which lasted five: but they were at length repulsed, after they had lost a vast number of men, with the famous *Drâgut*, and the besieged two hundred. The grand master, perceiving the *Turks* determined to take *St. Elmo*, and preparing for the last assault, sent three knights to bring off the defendants in pinnaces: but they resolving to maintain the place or perish, on the 13th of *June* the *Turks*, with all their power, both by sea and land, surrounding the castle in the dead of night, set up their ladders, made bridges, worked at their mines, and with their artillery battered down the rest of the walls to the very rock. So that although the besieged did wonders in its defence, yet having already lost 400 men, the *Turks*, about noon, prevailed over the small remainder, and slew every man. Then, beheading the dead knights, and cutting out their hearts, hanged them up by the heels in their red cloaks and red crosses, in sight of the other castles; which so enraged the grand master, that he ordered all the *Turkish* prisoners to be slain, and his men to give no quarter^a.

b UPON this loss, *La Valette* sent again for succours to the viceroy of *Sicily*; who was yet so cold on the matter, that he only let the knights residing there depart with two gallies. Mean while he rejected proposals of surrendry from *Mostafa*, whose designs were discovered by *Philip Leskeris*, a *Greek* of *Patras*, who swam from *St. Michael* to the *Turkish* fleet. At the same time a *Greek*, being by a boy from a window discovered making off to the enemy's camp, was taken and cut in four pieces. The new supplies having in a sally slain 200 *Turks*, *Mostafa* blocked up the harbour of *Marza Musbet* with his chained gallies, and sent to acquaint *Soleyman* that the place was much stronger than he expected; requiring more supplies, in case the siege was to be continued. Presently after he fell to batter the towns and castles of *St. Michael* and *St. Angelo* with the greatest fury.

c WHILE three gallies from *Messina*, with 900 soldiers on board; besides the knights of the order, were obliged to return, as not being able to land in safety, *Kossum* king of *Algiers*, with 2,000 soldiers, seven gallies, and ten galliots, came to reinforce *Mostafa*, who, at his request, permitted him to carry on the siege of *St. Michael*, and joined 2,000 of his own best soldiers to *Kossum's* troops. Hereupon he ordered ninety small vessels to be carried from the port of *Marza Musbet*, over land, to *Aqua Martia*, designing to besiege the castle on that side by water. Of which the grand master being informed by a Christian fugitive, he ordered a chain to be drawn from the castle of *St. Angelo* to the place where the enemy designed to land: but while the *Turks* stood nonplused at this baulk, a deserter undertook with hatchets to cut the chain; which being perceived by the besieged, five or six swam thither with their swords, and having killed two of the workmen, the rest fled. However, *July* the 15th, the king began the siege both by land and water: but during the assault by sea, which lasted three hours, the besieged, with their cannon, slew him 2,000 men, and sunk twelve gallies; while the rest of them, unable to land their men for the chain, were forced to retire. The attack by land endured five hours; wherein many of the enemy were slain, and 200 of the besieged.

d FOR all this the *Turks* battered the castle so violently, that they beat down in the day the repairs which were made by night. On the 20th they threw a bridge over the ditch, and the 28th gave desperate assaults in three places; but being forced to retire, went to work at a mine, which, when just finished, was countermined. *August* 1, the besieged, in a sally, burned the bridge, and next day slew 300 of the enemy; but lost their captain *Rufus*. However the *Turks* filled up the ditch at the castle bulwark; and having by this time made breaches both in the walls of the *New City* and the castle of *St. Michael* wide enough for carts to enter, on the 17th they assaulted both places at once with incredible fury and noise: but being heard by the knights in the city of *Mâlta*, they sallied with their horse, and fell on those at *Aqua Martia* by surprise, with so much vigour, that they fled to their companions; who, being discouraged, gave over the assault, with the loss of more than 1,500 men, to not above 100 of the besieged.

f MOSTAFA PASHA, finding neither this, nor a subsequent attack had any effect, wrote to *St. Angelo* acquaint *Soleyman* with the small hopes there were of subduing the place. At the same time, the viceroy being informed by one *Salazar*, who ventured to *Mâlta* in a boat, as well as by others, how much the *Turkish* forces were diminished, he began to think of going to their relief. Mean while old *Mostafa* continued the siege by battering, mining, filling up the ditch,

^a RICAUT, &c. ubi supr.

(Z) The bottom of all the *Marza*, or *haven*.

A. D. 1565.

New City in danger.

Succours arrive.

The Turks retire.

Take Scio.

A. D. 1566.

Affairs of Hungary.

The empire threatened.

casting up mounds, and the like. But all his attempts being frustrated by the valour and address of the besieged, the admiral *Pâshâ*, at last fearing to be surprised by the Christian fleet, which he heard was preparing against him, ordered 110 galleys to be in readiness, and took his soldiers on board. However, after long expectation, finding no appearance of the enemy's fleet, he landed them a second time. Hereupon the *Turks*, with greater fury than ever, battered the walls, which had been repaired; and having made new breaches, on the 18th of *August* attacked both *St. Angelo* and *St. Michael*, at noon-day with all their power, and, after three repulses, came on again; but were at last glad to retreat to their trenches. The great master did wonders during this cruel fight, which lasted five hours: yet the obstinate *Turks* renewed the assault next day at the same places, as they did the day following no fewer than seven times, but without success. They were repulsed also at the *Spur*, when they attempted to enter *St. Michael's* castle, with great loss, to only 100 of the besieged; but among them many brave knights. For all this, the *Pâshâ* assaulted the same breaches next morning early, with such success, that three or four ensigns broke into the *New Town*. On which the grand master, hastening with all his soldiers and citizens, both men and women, old and young, against the enemy, with much difficulty, and incredible bravery, forced them at sun-set to retire, with the loss of 2,000 men, and only 200 of his own ^o.

THE knights having repaired the breaches, and raised other works for their defence, with great application, *Mostafa* resolved once more, with all his troops, to storm the breach in the wall in *St. Michael's* town, where there ensued a most terrible fight; and though the *Turks* were driven back, their general obliged them to renew it; yet to as little purpose. The besieged also in a sally at night drove them from their mount, and blew up one of their mines, which destroyed threescore men. The enemy was now preparing to make a last effort, when, *September* 7th, the Christian fleet of seventy-two galleys, with 10,000 soldiers, and *Don Garcias* the viceroy of *Sicily*, on board, put into *Mâlta*, and landed the forces. After which the viceroy returned for *Sicily*, to bring over more forces, in order to attend the *Turkish* fleet. On this news the *Turks* hastened on board their ships, which passed out of the haven of *Marza Musbet* on the 11th, in order to be gone. Yet *Mostafa* being informed that the Christian succours did not exceed 3,000 men, he landed 7,000 *Turks* at *Port St. Paul* (seven miles north-west of the city), towards which they marched: but being met by the Christians, they were quickly routed, and pursued to their galleys, with the loss of 1,800 slain, and 400 drowned. During this siege, which lasted five months, they lost in all 24,000 men, with twenty-four great cannon, and the Christians five thousand.

ALTHOUGH the *Turks* were scarcely ever more baffled in any enterprize than this, yet we do not find that *Soleymân* resented it in the commanders, as was customary; but after the return of his fleet, he sent *Piâla Pâshâ* with it to subdue *Scio*; whose governor, being his tributary, had held intelligence with the *Mâltese* during the siege. The admiral, having arrived there in the middle of *April* 1566, possessed himself of the haven, and then sends for the governor, with twelve of the principal citizens, whom he lays in irons. Then seizing the town, he appoints a *Turkish* governor, and leaving a strong garrison in the place, sails for the coast of *Apulia* in *Italy*, where he destroyed many villages, and carried away many into captivity.

IT is time now to return to the affairs of *Hungary*. *Maximilian* having in the dyet called at *Frankfort*, as before-mentioned, obtained aid from the empire, he drew together a great army out of *Germany*, *Italy*, and other countries. These, under the command of *Suendi*, laid siege to the town of *Husth*, on the borders of *Transilvania*; whose *Vayvod* aspiring to be king of *Hungary*, upon the same terms as *John* had been, much inflamed this rupture between the two empires. At the same time the *Pâshâ* of *Buda* attacked *Palotta*, about eight miles from *Raab*, with greater fury than success, having been forced to rise from before it with the loss of some cannon and baggage, by the count of *Hoffenstein*, who also took *Wrisboun*. Soon after count *Salm* reduced *Tatta*, or *Dotis*; and the castles of *Gestes*, *Witba*, *Ischolika*, and *Samboc*, were abandoned by the enemy. Mean time count *Serini*, governor of *Raab*, understanding that *Soleymân* approached, detached 1,500 horse and foot to lie in ambush for the forlorn of the *Turkish* army; who, being met with near *Five Churches*, were routed, and most of them slain or wounded ^p.

IN this place, after a long chasm, the *Turkish* historians coincide with the Christian writers. According to these latter, the *Germans* began the war. But the former speak as if *Soleymân* first entered on it without any provocation, pursuant to a project he had long meditated of overthrowing the *German* empire. They tell us, that when he had made vast preparations, as before-mentioned, he assembled his troops from all parts, in order to execute the

^o RICAUT, &c. ubi supr.^p RICAUT, &c. ubi supr.

a design, in which only *Mohammed Fatih* had gone before him, and which he himself had already attempted in vain. A. D. 1566.

To this end, in the year 974 he leads a mighty army to *Adrianople*; from whence dispatching the prime *Wazir Pertu Pâshâ* with some troops to seize *Giula* (A), he follows more slowly with the rest. Though every thing else was ready, youth was wanting, and old age refused to execute his purposes. Worn out with years, and fatigued with labours, when he came to *Segetwar* (B), he was seized with a slow fever, which, increasing by degrees, turned to a malignant one. Though grievously tortured, and almost past hopes of recovery, yet invincible in mind, he orders the city to be invested and assaulted. But the governor making a brave defence, it increased his illness, and, while he prayed the God of all the worlds to grant that his army of the faithful might conquer the place, he expired on the 13th of *Sefer* (C). Soleyman dies. Rejrah 974. A. D. 1566

THE prime *Wazir* having sent notice to *Selim*, then at *Magnesia*, of his father's death, which he concealed from the soldiers, he, on the 18th of that month, takes the city by a general assault, assisted by an accidental fire (D): and at the same time news came of the reduction of *Giule* ¹.

THUS ended, in the taking of two towns, all *Soleyman's* vast preparations, and vaster design, against the *German* empire, which the *Turkish* historians boast of. Let us now supply their account of the siege of *Sigeth*, or *Ziget*, from the Christian writers. The *Soltân* being come to the *Drave*, ordered a bridge to be made over that river and the morafs beyond it, a mile in length. This proved a work of almost insuperable difficulty, but was at last accomplished; and the army passing over, sat down before *Sigeth*. This city is strongly situated in a marsh, about fifteen miles to the north of the *Drave*, on the frontiers of *Sclavonia*; and was then a bulwark to prevent the *Turks* entering into *Stiria*. It had a garrison of two thousand three hundred men, under the command of the valiant count *Nicholas Serini*. The *Turks*, having raised a great mount, and planted a battery, *August* 8th fired terribly upon the new town from three several places. They next, with incredible labour, cast up a mountain in the midst of the marsh, and from thence so cruelly annoyed the inner castle of the town, that the count thought fit to withdraw the garrison, and set it on fire. On the 10th, they furiously battered the old town in three places, and set all hands at work to make two ways or bridges thither over the marsh, from whence the *Janizaries*, covered with sacks and the like, mightily annoyed the besieged.

AT length on the 19th they entered the town with so much fury and celerity, that many of the garrison were slain before they could recover the castle. Against this next day they planted four batteries; and having also made two plain ways to it over the marsh, they fiercely assaulted the breaches on the 29th; but were beaten back, with the loss of many men, and one of their *Pâshâs*. The *Turks* having, by the 5th of *September*, undermined and blown up the greatest bulwark of the castle, at length took that also near the gate. This made the brave *Serini* retire into the inner castle, which on the 7th was set on fire by them also (E). So that the distressed general, putting on a new suit of cloaths, and encouraging his soldiers to sell their lives as dear as they could, sallied out at the head of them, with his sword and target in hand, into the midst of his enemy, by whom he and his followers were all slain, excepting a few. And taken.

BUT this siege cost the *Turks* very dear; for, by their own confession, they lost 7,000 *Janizaries*, and 28,000 other soldiers, besides volunteers, and three great *Pâshâs*. *Serini's* head was cut off, and set on a pole for the army to gaze at; after which it was sent by the *Wazir* as a present to count *Saim* (F), then at *Raab*. *Goila* (or *Giule*) also was delivered to the *Turks* by the governor *Keretschen*, for a great sum of money, and most of the garrison put to the sword, contrary to articles. But they were not so successful near *Alba Regalis*, where several of them were slain, and the governor of that place taken by *George Thuriger*; for which he received knighthood, with a gold chain ².

¹ CANT. p. 215, & seq.

² RICAUT in Soliman.

(A) So called in the map. Cant. It is a strong city, towards *Transylvania*, and near *Great Waradin*.

(B) By the Christians called *Sigeth*. Cant.

(C) The Christian historians say, that *Soleyman* fell sick towards the end of *August*, when the siege was at the height, being taken with a looseness; and that hereupon he withdrew to *Five Churches* (about twelve miles to the south east), where he died on the 14th of *September*; which, according to their account, was some days after the place was taken.

(D) The *Turks* ascribe intirely to *Soleyman's* prayers this fire, by means of which the city was taken, and not by force of arms. Cant.

(E) It is hard to say whether this or the former was the accidental fire spoken of by the *Turkish* historians.

(F) With this short letter: *In token of my love, I send thee the head of a most resolute and valiant commander, thy friend. His body I have decently buried, as became such a man. Sigeth bids thee farewell for ever.*

A. D. 1566. SOLEYMAN reigned one-and-forty years, and lived seventy-four (G). He had seven sons : a
Age and sons. *Morâd, Abdollab, Mehamed, Mostafa, Selim, Ba-yezîd, and Jêhân Gbîr* ; who all but *Selim* died before their father.

His character. SOLEYMAN was a prince of an heroic and invincible mind ; of great valour and wisdom. He endured the hardships of war with surprising patience. Besides the *Turkish* language he spoke also the *Persian* and *Arabic*. In that kind of poetry by the *Persians* called *Nazm* (H), he excelled all for elegance and wit. His *Persian, Hungarian, and naval* victories, gained him a great name ; but his reformation of the courts of justice, and his excellent laws, by which the *Othmân* empire still flourishes, acquired him greater. On this account the title of *Kanûni* was ascribed to him by the *Turks* *. According to the Christian writers, this *Soltân* was tall, and of a slender make ; his neck long, his face pale and wan, his nose long and hooked ; by nature ambitious and magnificent ; more faithful to his promise than most of his predecessors : in a word, he wanted scarce any thing worthy of a prince. The same authors add, that *Mohammed* the prime *Wazîr*, for fear of the insolence of the *Janizaries*, to conceal his death till *Selim's* arrival, ordered his physicians and apothecaries to be secretly strangled. However, the *Janizaries* beginning to mistrust the matter, he caused the dead body, in the *Soltân's* usual dress, to be brought into his tent, sitting upright in his litter, as if he had been ill of the gout ; which dissipated all their suspicions †.

Death concealed.

* CANT. p. 127.

† RICAUT, ubi supr.

(G) The Christian writers make his age seventy-six years, and his reign forty-six.

(H) A poetical metre often occurring, particularly in the *Korân*, and for that reason accounted more elegant than the rest. *Cant.*

C H A P. XII.

The Reign of Selim II. Surnamed Mest (A).

S E C T. I.

11 Soltân Selim. Hejrah 974. A. D. 1566.

SELIM, upon notice of his father's death, leaves *Magnesia*, in the year 974, and, on the 9th of *Rabio'lawel*, which day the planet *Merikh* (or *Mars*) ruled in the firmament, he entered *Constantinople*, and mounted his father's throne. Next day all the great men of the empire, according to custom, appeared in mourning at court, to adore the new emperor, and comfort him on the occasion with excellent speeches. Three days after he sets out with a few attendants towards *Segetwar* (or *Ziget*). But at *Belgrade* finds *Mehemed Pâshâ*, who had sent the army into winter quarters. As *Soleyman's* demise was still a secret, the soldiers were troubled at *Selim's* unexpected arrival in the camp ; and fearing he might, after the example of his grandfather of the same name, do some injury to his father, ran to their arms : but the long-concealed death (B) being divulged, they paid obedience to him as their sovereign.

Soleyman's funeral.

AFTER this, *Soleyman's* body being laid in a gilt chariot, is conducted by the whole army to *Constantinople*, and deposited in the court of the *Jâmi* built by him ; where all the ecclesiastics of that metropolis were ordered to finish the *Telaveti Korân* (C) forty times a day for forty days, and by their prayers obtain peace for his soul. Moreover *Selim* caused a *Mirab* (D) to be erected before the *Jâmi*, and over his grave a large marble *Turba* (E), which is religiously visited by the *Turks* ; for they are persuaded that he was a great favourite of heaven, because he not only lost his life at the siege of *Segetwar*, and so became a *Shahîd* (or martyr),

(A) That is *drunken*, because he was extremely given to wine ; yet he never omitted the usual prayers. There are other historians (besides *Saadi Effendi*, we suppose he means) who pretend that he was seized with a sort of divine enthusiasm, which, lest people should suspect to be hypocrisy, he declared to be drunkenness. But such colourings are for the vulgar. *Cant.*

(B) In all forty-one days, as both *Turks* and Christians agree. This, to a person ignorant of the *Turkish* customs, may be deemed impossible to be done among so

many thousand soldiers ; but will not be doubted by those who know the more than *Pythagoric* silence of the *Othmân* inner court, where no man speaks, unless ordered, nor dares so much as sneeze or cough. *Cant.*

(C) The reading of the whole *Korân*, which is usually done over the grave of the deceased. *Cant.*

(D) It signifies both an altar and the southern part of a *Jâmi*. *Cant.*

(E) Or monument.

a but was also *Gâzi* (or conqueror), two cities having been taken under the conduct of his relicks. A. D. 1566.

WHEN the funeral ceremonies were over (F), *Selîm*, after being again confirmed in the throne by all orders and degrees of people, celebrates his father's victories with a splendid triumph. Then he distributes to the *Janizaries* and *Spahi* the usual *Bakshish* (G), or donative; and presents the *Ulema* (H), with the rest of the ecclesiastics, who officiated at the funeral, with silk robes and money ^a.

THINGS being thus settled at home, *Selîm* was desirous of peace abroad, particularly in *Hungary*, as *Maximilian* himself, that he might be more at leisure to suppress a dangerous rebellion in *Arabia*, and oppose the *Persians* in case they attacked his dominions, which Peace with Germany. A. D. 1568.
b stood in some danger from that quarter. At last it was agreed on, that if the emperor would send ambassadors with the arrear of tribute-money, they should have a safe conduct, in order to treat of peace. They arrived at *Constantinople* August 22^d, and six days after visited the prime *Wazîr* *Mosâfa Pâshâ*, with *Parteu* and *Terhad Pâshâs*; but could not obtain audience of the *Soltân* himself till September 21st, when they were honourably received, and made rich presents. At length the peace was concluded at *Adrianople*, in January 1568, for eight years, on these conditions; that each prince should hold what he had: that the emperor should pay 30,000 ducats, as a yearly tribute, for *Hungary*: that the subjects on neither side should pay any thing to those of the other prince: and lastly, that the *Vayvod* of *Transilvania* should be included in the treaty ^b.

c MEAN while *Ulian Oglî* (I), the *Arab*, hearing of *Soleyman's* death, throws off the *Othmân* Arab tribe yoke; and persuading his neighbours to join in the rebellion, cruelly lays waste the territories of *Baghdâd*: but they are quickly routed and dispersed by the governor of that city, in conjunction with those of *Bâsrah* (K) and *Shebresul* (L). The same year *Selîm* finished a bridge (M), subdued. Hej. 975. A. D. 1567.
began five years before by his father, not far from *Constantinople*.

A PEACE having been concluded with *Germany*, *Selîm* had now leisure to turn his thoughts towards the *Persians*, who, by their continual incursions into the *Othmân* dominions, had justly given occasion for a war: but he was deterred from this by the difficulty of the passages, which fatigued his troops, as well as rendered the carriage of warlike stores and provisions impracticable; for want of which, numerous armies of his ancestors had miscarried. To Attempt to join the Don and Wolga. Hej. 976. A. D. 1568.
d remove this obstacle, he sends a body of soldiers over the *Euxine Sea* to *Kiese* (or *Kaffa*), and orders the *Khân* of *Krîm*, with labourers hired out of all the tribes of *Tatars*, to encamp near the river *Ezel* (N), in that place where it is but six *Italian* miles distant from the *Teri* (O), and by a canal to join the two rivers. By this means he hoped to penetrate with ease out of the *Euxine*, through *Maille* (P), and those rivers, into the *Caspian Sea*; and, as the *Persians* had no fleet there, so, by transporting an army into *Shîrwân*, without much difficulty, subdue all *Persia*, the *Khân* immediately repaired to the place appointed, by

^a CANTEMIR *Othman Hist.* p. 218, & seq.

^b KNOWLES edit. Ricaut in *Selymis*.

(F) Formerly they used the greatest solemnities, and chose the colours at the emperor's death; but at present they only mourn three days in red, and that not very strictly. *Cant.*

(G) Each *Janizary*, of whom there are 40,000, receives twenty dollars; and every *Spahi*, whose number is 15,000, twenty-five. *Cant.*

(H) This is the name used to denote all those who are distinguished with any ecclesiastical degree. They have very great authority with the people. If they join with the army to oppose any measure, you may be sure it will never be carried into execution. *Cant.*—The *Ulema* may be called the body of the *Turkish* clergy.

(I) Of the tribe of *Bani Omer*, or the sons of *Omer*, who live in the deserts towards *Baghdâd*. They were very powerful; and in *Soltân Mosâfa's* reign were masters of the city of *Basrah* for two years. But *Daltaban Mosâfa Pâshâ* of *Baghdâd* expelled them, and crushed the whole tribe, by killing 30,000 of them. *Cant.*

(K) Corruptly called *Bassora* and *Balsora*. Prince *Cantemir* commits several mistakes about this place. He says, 1. That it was formerly called *Bosra*; whereas *Bosra* stood in *Syria*, to the south of *Damaskus*. 2. That it lies six days journey from the mouth of the *Euphrates*; yet is but one days journey and half from thence. 3. That *Kurma*, the most noted mart in the east, tho' unknown to all the geographers, is situated at the mouth of that river: whereas *M. Otter*, who was at

Basrah in 1743, and mentions all the places from thence to the mouth of the river in the *Persian* gulf, mentions no such place, any more than *Thevenot*, *Tavernier*, and others, who were there before him. Without doubt, by *Kurma* is to be understood *Kurna*, or *Kernâ*, a castle at the confluence of the *Euphrates* with the *Tigris*, two days journey above *Basrah*; but mentioned by many travellers, and a place of no considerable trade.

(L) A city of *Kiurdistân*, towards *Persian Irâk*. Though a *Pâshalik* of three horse-tails, yet the promotion is looked on as a kind of banishment.

(M) Built over the lake *Buyuk Chekmejah*, where it runs into the *Propontis*, at a village of the same name, about two hours distance from *Constantinople*. It is all built of square stones, and 2,000 paces long; a truly imperial work. *Cant.*

(N) Or *Edel*: hence *Edilla* and *Atilla*: so the *Tatars* call the river named by us *Volga*, and the ancients *Rha*.

(O) The *Don*, *Dona*, or *Tana*, the ancient *Tanais*.

(P) This, from the context, must be the *Palus Meotis*; but at present the *Turks* give that name to the gulf of the *Black Sea*, which washes *Ochakowa*, the *Oibiopolis* of the ancients. The *Palus* is now called by the *Turks* *Azak D. nizi* (or *Dengbizi*); that is, the *Sea of Azak* (as they term *Azof*), and its mouth *Ghierch Tama Bogasi*. *Cant.*

A. D. 1568

way of *Aizderkhin* (Q): but scarce one third part of the canal was finished, when the labourers were so infested with continual rains, cold storms, and want of provision, that many perishing, the rest were forced to abandon the work. This expedition was, however, attended with one advantage; namely, the submission of thirty thousand *Nigayan Tatars* (R); who having thrown off the *Russian* yoke to receive the *Othmân*, departed with their families to settle in the *Krim* ^c.

Peace with Persia.

WHILE these matters were in agitation, an ambassador arrives from *Shâh Tâbmasp*, king of *Persia*, to treat of peace. The ambassador was honourably entertained at *Adrianople* but had not been there long, when going to visit *Mohammed* the prime *Wazîr*, a *Jamoglan* shot at him with a musket. Although the ball missed the ambassador, he was very much startled: and the assassin being seized, boldly answered in his presence, before the prime *Wazîr*, that his reason for shooting at the ambassador was, *that he was an heretic, and sent from an heretical king; who, being an enemy to their religion, was not worthy of a peace.* But this zeal for orthodoxy did not save him from punishment; for, after being dragged at a horse's tail through the city, he had first his right hand and then his head cut off. In *December*, *Selîm* allowed the *Persian*, for him and his retinue, five hundred ducats a day; but having delivered his presents, carried on forty-four camels, in *December*, the peace was soon after concluded, and he returned home.

Yamnen revolts. Hejrah, 977. A. D. 1569.

THE *Venetians* renewed their league with *Selîm* this year; but he broke it the next, without any just provocation, as the reader will see presently ^d. About the same time *Muttahir Sharîf*, of the kingdom of *Yamnen*, with some *Arabs* gained to his party, suddenly attacks *Morâd Pâshâ*, *Begler Beg* of that province; and having slain him with his whole army, frees the country from the *Turkish* yoke. But *Sinân Pâshâ*, governor of *Egypt*, in conjunction with *Ozdemîr Oglî* (S), being sent against the rebels, comes on them by surprize, routs, and having dispersed them, reduces the whole country once more to the *Othmân* obedience. But the joy for this success was interrupted next year, by a sudden fire breaking out at *Constantinople*, which raged with such violence for seven days together, that almost the whole city was laid in ashes.

Moors in Spain. Hejrah, 978. A. D. 1570.

IN 978, the remains of the *Spanish Saracens* (T), who had hitherto been ill treated under the dominion of the Christians, rise in arms, seize *Garbia* (U), and make *Mansûr*, of the race of the *Bani Akhmer* (X), their king; then vigorously attacking the *Spaniards*, vanquished them, with great slaughter. But, perceiving themselves too weak to withstand their power long, they send ambassadors to implore *Selîm's* assistance. The *Soltân*, whose thoughts were bent on the conquest of *Cyprus* (Y), promises aid, but not till that island was taken. In the mean time he exhorts them to keep as close as possible, and only stand on the defensive.

Cyprus invaded by the Turks.

SELIM had now sent numerous forces to subdue *Kîbris* (Z), under the conduct of the prime *Wazîr*, while *Kapudân Ali Pâshâ* kept off succours by sea. The *Wazîr* begins with the siege of *Nikosia* (A), and vigorously assaults it: but his attempts being baffled by the strong situation of the place, as well as obstinacy of the garrison, he is obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, and put his soldiers into winter-quarters. However, the following year, *Kapudân Ali Pâshâ*, with a fresh supply of ships, stores, and forces, under the command of *Partu Pâshâ*, arriving in *Cyprus*, renews the siege; and having made breaches in the walls, both by battering and

^c CANT. ubi supr. p. 220, & seqq.^d RICAUT, ubi supr.

(Q) The *Tartarian* kingdom now subject to the *Russians* called *Astrakan*. The name in *Persian* signifies the habitation of dragons, or the lord of dragons, given to the inhabitants for their fierce and wild nature; which is now so tamed, that when they have an opportunity, they do not attempt to recover their liberty. Cant.

(R) These had habitations assigned them with the *Bujâk Tatars* in *Bessarabia* (now *Bujâk*); among whom, even at this day, are reckoned above 18,000 *Tatars* of *Kazan*, exactly resembling their brethren in the *Russian* empire, in language, looks, and manners. Cant.—These are commonly called *Nagay* and *Nogay*.

(S) *Ozdemîr* signifies, all of iron. He was the *Turkish Sampson*; and of so great strength, that they believe he never had or will have his fellow. Cant.

(T) It is scarce possible that the word *Saracens*, which is unknown to the *Orientals*, should be in the original *Turkish* historian. And indeed prince *Cantemir* is not

uniform in giving the proper names, sometimes using the *Turkish*, at other times those of his own fancy.

(U) Or with the article *Al Garbiya*; that is the western coast; a noted kingdom, now subject to the king of *Portugal*, and called by the Christians *Algarva*. Cant.

(X) A descendant of the antient *Saracen* kings, driven out of *Spain* by *Ferdinand* the catholic. Cant.

(Y) The Christian historians tell us, that *Selîm* being about to build a magnificent temple at *Adrianople*, with a monastery, college, and alms-house, but wanting lands wherewith to endow them, some of his courtiers put him upon conquering *Cyprus*; and this they say, was the cause of his breaking the peace.

(Z) That is, *Cyprus*.

(A) Called by the *Turks*, *Kibris*. To which city they seem to have given the name of the whole island: because it was the first which they subdued there. Cant.

a. mining, carries the city by assault. The island seeing itself destitute of relief, *Magnûsa* (B) A. D. 1571. first, and then the rest of the towns, strive to gain the conqueror's clemency by a surrender^c.

We have the less reason to find fault with the *Turkish* historians made use of by prince *Cantemir*, for giving an imperfect account of the Christian victories, since they give such a scanty relation of their own. To make an estimate therefore of the glory due to either side in this important war of *Cyprus*, we must have recourse, as on many occasions before, to the Christian writers. According to them, when this war was proposed by *Selim* in council, *Mohammed Pâshâ*, the prime *Wazîr*, was against it, both on account of the dishonour in violating the peace, and danger of the enterprize: but the arguments of *Mostafa Pâshâ*, and the admiral *Piala Pâshâ* prevailing, preparations were set on foot both by sea and land. These motions b being observed by the *Venetian* merchants, whom now the *Turks* began to obstruct in their trade, *Antonio Barbaro*, ambassador from the republic, complained to the prime *Wazîr* of the injustice they were going to do his nation; and, more to gain time to prepare against the storm, than in hopes to divert it, pressed the sending an ambassador to *Venice*, in order to prevent hostilities by a friendly accommodation.

At length one *Kobad* was sent from the *Porte*, with letters from *Selim*, mentioning several pretended injuries done to his subjects by the *Venetians*; and requiring the surrender of the island of *Cyprus* by way of satisfaction; otherwise he threatened to take it from them by force. The senate answered, that they had always kept their leagues with the *Othmâns*, even when they might have broken them to advantage: that they had put up with many injuries received c from the *Turks*; and that *Selim*, for all he complained, was himself the aggressor. In short, that since the *Othmân* faith was no defence to them, they would by force defend themselves. The ambassador being sent away privately, for fear of the people, the republic made all the necessary preparations for defence of the island: they sent also for succours to the Christian powers; but could obtain none, except from the pope, the king of *Spain*, and some *Italian* princes.

CYPRUS lies at the farther end of the *Mediterranean Sea*, on the coast of *Anatolia* to the north, and that of *Syria* to the east. It is shaped like a spread bat, with its head pointing north-east towards the bay of *Alexandretta*, or *Skanderûn*. It is 150 miles long, and sixty broad. It has undergone many vicissitudes of fortune. It was given or exchanged by *Richard I.* d king of *England*, to *Guy of Lusignan*, king of *Jerusalem*; and continued in his line by many descents till it came to *Janus*. This prince, in 1423, was taken prisoner by *Mâlek Al Asbrâf Barséy-bay*, eighth *Soltân* of the *Cberkassian Mamlûks* in *Egypt*; but was ransomed, on paying a yearly tribute of forty thousand crowns. *John* the son of *Janus* had a natural son called *James*, who during the broils which arose in his weak father's reign, usurped the kingdom; and was therein protected by the *Egyptian Soltân*, against *Lewis* son to the duke of *Savoy*, who had married *Charlotta*, the daughter of *John*, by *Helena*, of the family of the *Paleologi*. Afterwards *James*, to strengthen himself the more, joined in league with the *Venetians*; and having married *Katarina Cornelia*, daughter of a noble *Venetian*, died not long after, in 1470, and left her big with child: but the posthumous son dying soon after he was born, queen e *Katarina* was persuaded by her brother to make a resignation of the kingdom of *Cyprus* to the republic, who held it till it was taken from them in this war by *Turks*^f.

As soon as their ambassador was returned to *Constantinople*, *Selim* confined the *Venetian* ambassador *Barbaro*, and imprisoned all the Christian merchants of the west throughout his dominions. Then having made all things ready for the expedition, to divert the *Venetians* near home, he, in the beginning of *February*, sends a good body of horse and foot to infect the borders of *Dalmatia*; while *Piala Pâshâ* set sail with the fleet, consisting of two hundred gallies, galliots, and small men of war, with many transport ships. In the way he furiously attacked *Tenos*, one of the *Cyclades*; but in vain. At *Rhodes* he took up *Mostafa*, the general, and *Ali Pâshâ*; from whence the former sent a letter, requiring the *Venetians*, with threats, to f give up *Cyprus*: for they reckon their military expeditions unlawful, unless they give notice of their design to the nation whom they intend to attack.

Being arrived at *Cyprus*, they landed their forces; and after considering the country very well, resolved to begin with besieging *Nikofia*, the capital of the island; which had about eight hundred horse and foot in garrison, but most of them natives and raw soldiers. The city stands towards the middle of the island, in an open country, inclosed with a wall eight miles in circumference: but the *Venetians* had latterly fortified it with new walls, thick rampiers, and eleven strong bulwarks. They had likewise raised three great fortresses, for defence of the place, provided with store of cannon, and other necessaries of war.

^c CANT. p. 221, & seqq.

^f RICAUT, in Selymus II.

(B) That is, *Famagusta*.

A. D. 1571.
and assaulted.

MOSTAFA PASHA having, on July 22d, incamped within a mile and half of the city, a planted and played his batteries with such wonderful celerity, that the *Turks* soon ran their trenches to the very brink of the ditch; and then battered the walls so furiously, that in a few days all the curtains between three of the bulwarks were beaten down. At these breaches, however, the besieged made a desperate resistance: but after long fighting, the *Turks* entered the ditch, which had not been well scoured by the besieged, and made two ways to the walls; which they fortified on the sides with waggons and earth. Then they fell to fixing their ladders, to fill the ditch, and undermine two bulwarks: however, the Christians repulled them in the assault with great loss.

The *Turks*
repulsed.

AFTER this, *Mostafa* dividing his army into four parts, attacked four bulwarks of the city with greater fury than ever. For all this, the enemy was bravely forced back, although b the besieged were much diminished by these encounters. Yet, to put the best face on it, a company of *Italians*, contrary to the opinion of *Dandalo*, the governor, made a sally to the very trenches of the unwary *Turks*; but were compelled at last to retire with the loss of many men, and their two commanders. Mean time, *Mostafa* endeavoured to persuade the inhabitants to surrender, by shooting letters into the city, and desiring a conference with one *Constantius*: but finding these methods ineffectual, encouraged his men to another assault. However, the besieged still valiantly endured the storm, in hopes of being relieved by the Christian fleet, which now was approaching to their relief.

The city taken.

AT length, the general knowing in what distress the besieged were, artfully caused the army to retire, in order to amuse them into a security; which succeeded so well, that two hundred of his choicest soldiers secretly mounted the four bulwarks, and slaying the negligent guards, took them. These being seconded on all hands by fresh troops, quickly cleared the walls with great slaughter; whilst the governor, bishop, and better sort of citizens, retired to the town-hall; where the *Turks*, breaking in upon them, put all to the sword. Great barbarity was used by the victors, who slew in all 14,000 people, and took an immense booty (C), with 250 pieces of cannon. This happened on the 9th of September, 1570; and soon after *Gyrina* (D) was delivered up by *Palaccio*, the cowardly governor, on condition that he might march off with his garrison.

FROM *Nikofia*, *Mostafa Pâshâ* went and laid siege to *Famagusta*; but finding winter approach, and the place too strong to be soon reduced, thought fit quickly to raise it, and d leave the work for another year.

The Venetian
fleet takes
several places.

LET us now see what became of the great naval preparations made for the relief of *Cyprus*. Summer was near half spent, when the *Venetian* fleet, which had been infected with the plague, sailed for *Korsû*, in expectation of being joined there by *Doria*, the *Spanish* admiral. He not coming quickly, they sailed to *Kandia*; and on the 12th of August, landed at *Suda*; where, in the end of the month, *Doria* and *Colonna*, the pope's admiral, arrived. The whole fleet, consisting of one hundred and ninety-two galleys, and twelve galleasses, besides victuallers and tenders, about the middle of September, sailed to the relief of *Nikofia*: yet, hearing by the way, that the city was lost, *Doria*, in spite of all the arguments used by the admirals of the pope and *Venice*, would not proceed to succour the rest of the island: but e returned to *Messina*, as the others did to *Korsû*: from whence *Zani*, the *Venetian* admiral, was, by order of the senate, carried prisoner to *Venice*, and *Venieri* appointed in his room.

WHILE the new admiral lay at *Korsû*, the *Venetians*, by the advice and assistance of the rude *Acroceraunian* people, quickly took the strong castle of *Khimera*; and soon after their vice-admiral *Quirini*, landing near the bay of *Mayna*, in the *Morea*, stormed a strong castle built by the *Turks* two years before, and put all the garrison to the sword: then razing it, A. D. 1571. carried twenty-four pieces of cannon to *Zant*. Early next year he reinforced the garrison of *Famagusta*, with seventeen hundred men, besides store of ammunition and provision, after he had gallantly beaten some *Turkish* galleys and run them a-ground. For suffering this supply f to get into that place, the governor of *Scio* lost his head: he of *Rhodes*, who had guard of those seas, was disgraced, and *Parteu Pâshâ* made admiral in room of *Piâla*.

League among
some Christian
powers.

FROM the beginning of this war, the *Venetians*, pope, and king of *Spain*, had been deliberating about a perpetual league against the *Turks*, without coming to any resolution; when an accident happened which quickly brought them to an agreement: for now *Mohammed*, the prime *Wazir*, giving the republic hopes of peace, they sent an ambassador to *Constantinople*, to see to procure one. This coming to the knowledge of the other two powers, so alarmed

z RICAUT, as before.

(C) In the text it is said to have been, by report, twenty hundred thousand millions of ducats. But there must have been some dreadful mistake in casting up the accounts. Perhaps it should be two millions.

(D) It stands on the coast, to the north-west of *Nikofia*.

them,

- a them, that they immediately agreed to conclude the perpetual league; and the *Venetians*, ^{A. D. 1571.} inclining rather to them than to the *Turk*, sent for their ambassador to return, under pretence of furthering the peace, which had been very far advanced. The treaty was signed *May* the 24th, 1571, wherein it was stipulated, that the sea and land forces should consist of two hundred gallies, one hundred ships, fifty thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, to be ready every year in *March* or *April* at farthest. Of this expence, the king of *Spain* was to discharge one half; the *Venetians* two-thirds of the other half, and the pope the remainder. Don *John* of *Austria*, the king's natural brother, was to have the chief command. *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and *Algiers*, if subdued, were to remain to *Spain*; but all other conquests were to be divided among the confederates. These were the chief articles of the league. Mean time
- b the *Venetians* sent *Vincenzo Alessandro*, one of their secretaries, by way of the *Euxine Sea* and *Sinope*, to *Kasbin*, in *Persia*, to excite *Shâb Tâbmâsp* to make war on the *Turks*. The *Shâb*, after long sollicitation, answered, that he would for two years wait the success of the Christians league, and then resolve on peace or war, as he saw occasion: but this imprudent resolution he afterwards repented of ^b.

To return to the war in *Cyprus*. *Mostafa Pâshâ* having reinforced his army to near two hundred thousand men, in *April* this year, renewed the siege of *Famagusta*. The city is situated on the east side of the island, in a low ground, between two promontories. It was then ^{Famagusta besieged, and furiously assaulted.} two miles in compass, and of a square figure; but the east side more long and winding than the rest. Almost one half of it lay open to the sea; the remainder was defended by a ditch

c not above fifteen feet wide, and a stone wall, strengthened with some bulwarks and parapets. The harbour, whose entrance is narrow, was shut up with a chain; and near it stood an old castle with four towers. It had one strong bulwark, of a modern fortification; and its garrison consisted of two thousand five hundred *Italians*, two hundred *Albanian* horse, and two thousand five hundred *Cypriots*, all determined men. These forces were commanded by *Baleoneus*, and *Bragadino* was governor of the city.

- Mostafa having battered the walls and town severely with his cannon and mortars, made several successive assaults; but was always so effectually repulsed, that in a few days he lost thirty thousand men; which made the *Turkish* commanders not only admire the bravery of the besieged, but begin to despair of success. However, the *Pâshâ* having ordered mounts
- d to be cast up higher than the parapets of the city, and walls raised of the broken stones on each side, to save his men from the flanking shot of the besieged; they renewed the assault, which was maintained daily on the breach for six hours together, and also kept them in a continual alarm by night. Finding all this prevailed not, they tried to possess themselves of *Limosin* gate, by setting fire to a great quantity of wood heaped near it for that purpose; in hopes its intolerable offensive smell (E) would have obliged those who defended it to abandon that post: but they endured it with patience for twenty-four hours.

- While the senate of *Venice* wrote to the citizens to hold out, promising them speedy relief, the *Turks* fell to sinking mines in four several places. One of these blowing up great part ^{The garrison weakened.} of the wall near the tower on the haven, they presently mounted, and began a most terrible
- e fight, in which they lost four thousand men and fourteen colours; whereas of the besieged were slain not above one hundred. For all this, the enemy played their batteries so furiously, that on the eighth of *June*, no fewer than eight thousand cannon-balls were shot into the city; which having so shattered one of the bulwarks that it was ready to fall, the besieged themselves blew it up, and with it above six hundred *Turks*, who came to assault the place. However, the enemy still obstinately continuing their batteries and assaults, whereby at length the fortifications were greatly ruined, and the garrison reduced to three hundred sound men; the powder likewise being consumed to no more than seven barrels, and other wants increasing upon them, the citizens prevailed on the governor to capitulate.

- Accordingly the place was to be delivered up, on condition that the inhabitants should
- f enjoy their lives, liberty, and goods, with the free exercise of their religion; and that the governor and remainder of the garrison might march out with bag and baggage, five pieces of cannon, three horses, and be safely conducted to *Kandia*. Hereupon *Bragadino*, attended by some others of quality, having leave to wait on *Mostafa Pâshâ* in his camp, the perfidious general had them all secured; and next day the brave but unfortunate *Bragadino* was brought out to be gazed at, with his ears cut off: after this he was tortured with the most exquisite cruelty, and made to endure the greatest indignities; among which, one was to carry on his back baskets full of earth, to repair the rampiers. At last, being flay'd alive, his head was cut off, and his skin stuffed with straw, hung at the yard-arm of a galley. Two days

^a RICAUT, ubi sup.

(E) This wood grows plentifully in the isle. It is much of the nature of fir, easy to be set on fire, and very difficult to be quenched.

after,

A. D. 1571 after, they hanged count *Theupolus* : but the famous commander *Martinengo* had the good fortune to be hidden by one of the *Pâshâ's* eunuchs, and by the help of a fisherman, got safe to *Leptis*. The loss of *Famagusta* was followed by that of the whole island of *Cyprus*¹.

Tunis taken. THUS far the Christian historians. Let us now return for a while to the *Turkish*. About the same time that the conquest of *Cyprus* was going forward, *Kilij Ali Pâshâ* (F), governor of *Jezayr*, (or *Algiers*), takes *Tunez* (G) from the *Arabs*, and annexes it to the *Othmân* empire ; while *Deulet Gbieray*, *Khân* of the *Krîm Tatars*, assembling all his hords, enters *Russia*, and penetrates to the metropolis (H), ravages the country, and slays or carries off all who could not save themselves by flight.

Great naval overthrow. THESE victories were followed by the greatest blow which the *Othmâns* ever received since the defeat of *Ildcrim Bâ-yezîd* : by which fortune shewed, that no empire, though ever so extensive, and firmly established, is out of her reach. *Ali Pâshâ*, having taken *Cyprus*, left the flower of the army to garrison the towns, and dismissed the *European* forces, fatigued with twelve months toil : but as he was returning with the rest of the forces by sea, he was suddenly attacked by the enemy's fleet (I), strengthened, as some say, by the assistance of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*. The admiral, scorning to fly, bravely engages with the few (K) forces he had, and renders the success of the battle for many hours doubtful : at last, after repelling the enemy several times, he is slain, whilst discharging the part sometimes of a general, sometimes of a common soldier. Upon his death, the *Othmân* ships immediately take to flight, when the enemy pursuing, sink and take almost the whole fleet^k (L).

Dulcigno taken. ALTHOUGH this is a full confession of the *Turkish* loss, yet as other matters are extenuated, and so great an engagement deserves a more explicit account, we shall relate in brief what the Christian historians have written about it. While *Mostafa* was engaged in the siege of *Famagusta*, the *Pâshâs Parteu* and *Ali*, joined by *Kilij Ali* (M), viceroy of *Algiers*, with the *Turkish* fleet, June 13th, landed twelve thousand men at *Suda*, in the bay of *Kandia* ; where, after ravaging the country, they were set upon by *Justiniano*, who slew a great number of them, and forced the rest to their gallies. From thence, sailing by *Cytherea*, *Zant*, and *Cefalonia*, from which islands they carried off six thousand people, they put into *Dulcigno*, in *Dalmatia* ; which having been but a little before besieged by a body of *Turks* by land, was quickly surrendered to them, as were also the towns of *Antivari* and *Budua*. But the town of *Katbaro* bravely withstood their attacks.

Remarkable exploit. MEAN time *Kilij Ali*, and *Kârakoja*, a famous pirate, departing with sixty gallies, for ten days, to ravage the *Venetian* isles, came to that of *Karzola*, about eighty miles to the east of *Ragusa* ; and assaulting the town of the same name, *Contareni*, the governor, and the inhabitants fled out by night, leaving behind about twenty men and eighty women. These all unanimously, with arms in their hands, resolved to die, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy : but while, with stones, fire, and other weapons, they bravely opposed the assailants, these latter were so incommoded by a violent storm, which came suddenly from the north, that they gave over the assault, and went to other places.

Turkish ravages. HAPPENING at length to take a ship bound from *Messina* to *Korfû*, they found on board letters to the governor of that place, giving him an account of the above-mentioned league concluded between the Christian princes against the *Turks*. These letters were immediately sent to *Selîm* ; who thereupon having ordered his admirals to commit all manner of hostilities in the dominions of the confederate princes, they ravaged not only the coasts of *Dalmatia* and *Istria*, but that of *Italy*, in such a manner as made the *Venetians* fortify their capital, and other places, with the utmost diligence, for fear of an attack. At length the whole fleet, leaving the *Adriatic*, sailed for the gulf of *Lepanto* ; and by the way, paid an unwelcome visit to *Korfû*^l.

¹ RICAUT, *ibid*.^k CANT. p. 222, & seqq.^l RICAUT in *Selimus*.

(F) He is reckoned among the *Turks* next to *Khai-ro'ddîn*, or *Barbarossa*, in sea-affairs. He built a large *Jâmi* in the suburbs of *Top Khaneh*, that is, the arsenal, on the *Bosphorus* ; the foundations of which, as high as the lower windows, they say, were run up in the night, without any signs of preparation, by the galley-slaves ; which at first passed for some miraculous work. Cant.

(G) That is, *Tunis* ; not *Tremisen*, as is in the margin of the translation of prince *Cantemir's* history.

(H) The *Turks* seem to mean *Moskow* : but the *Russian* annals say, they penetrated no farther than *Tula*, 190 Italian miles short of that city : and that, being overtaken near *Kurska*, by the *Russian* army, they were

almost all put to the sword, and the spoils recovered. Cant.

(I) At *Lepanto*.

(K) It is the usual way with the *Turks*, to ascribe their ill-success, not to the bravery of the enemy, or their own inactivity, but to some accident, or the general's imprudence. Cant.

(L) Both *Turks* and Christians vary in their account of the number of the *Turkish* ships : some say they had 270 ; others, at least 170 : but all agree, that no more than 28 escaped. Cant.

(M) Written by the Christian writers, *Pluz ales* ; which seems to be a corruption of *Kilij ali*, governor of *Algiers*, above-mentioned.

a WHILE these things are doing by the *Turks*, the Christian preparations are going on but slowly. At last, after a long expectation, Don *John* of *Austria*, natural son of the emperor *Charles V.* about twenty-four years of age, with admiral *Doria*, and the *Spanish* fleet under his command, consisting of eighty-one gallies, whereof three were from *Malta*, arrived at *Messina*. There he found the *Venetian* fleet of one hundred and eight gallies, six galleasses, two tall ships, and a great many small galliots, under admiral *Venieri*; likewise twelve of the pope's gallies, commanded by admiral *Colonna*, his kinsman. On board this fleet, besides seamen, were reckoned twenty thousand good soldiers, and among them several persons of great quality, who went as volunteers in this expedition; particularly *Alessandro Farnese*, prince of *Parma*, who afterwards became the greatest general of the age; *Francisco Maria*, prince of *Urbino*,
 b and *Paolo Jordano Ursino* of *Rome*. A. D. 1571.
The Christian fleet puts to sea;

WHEN it came to be debated in council, whether they should give the enemy battle, or besiege some town, *Requisenex*, great commander of *Castile*, the vice-admiral and director of all Don *John's* affairs, advised besieging *Durazzo*, or some other maritime city, rather than fighting: but it being carried in behalf of the latter measure, the fleet set sail from *Messina*. At *Paxo* the whole expedition had like to have miscarried by discord: for Don *John*, finding the *Venetian* gallies but ill manned, put on board them four thousand *Spaniards*, and one thousand *Italians*. Of the former, *Tortona*, a captain, beginning a mutiny without cause, and likely to do mischief, the *Venetian* admiral caused him to be hanged at the yard-arm. This his countrymen, and chiefly Don *John*, took so ill, as thinking it intrenched upon his authority, that all the arguments used by admiral *Colonna*, could scarce appease him; nor would he afterwards impart his councils to *Venieri*, but *Barbadico* the proveditor-general.

BEING informed at *Cefalonia* where the enemy lay, they sailed directly for *Lepanto*. On their approach, the *Turks*, whose fleet consisted of three hundred and thirty-five sail, consulted whether they had best fight the confederates, or lie secure in their harbour. *Mohammed Beg*, otherwise named *Chiroche*, or *Sirok*, a person of great years and experience, was against a battle; urging among other things, that there was no necessity for it. *Parteu*, the admiral *Pâshâ*, seemed indifferent in the matter: but *Ali Pâsha*, who was of a fiery temper, and the great champion of the *Turks*, was for engaging without delay. In this opinion he was not a little encouraged by the report of *Kârakoja*; who, viewing the Christian fleet in a swift galliot, by some means mistook the number: so that their advice prevailed, contrary to the information given by two other fly-boats of the great strength of the confederates. On comes to Lepanto.

A BATTLE being thus agreed on, *Parteu Pâshâ* took on board twelve thousand *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, drawn out of the neighbouring garrisons; besides four thousand other soldiers. Then putting out of the gulf, the fleet steered their course for the isle of *Corzulates*, of old *Echinates*, half-way between *Lepanto* and *Patras*. Their line of battle was thus: *Parteu* and *Ali Pâshâs* commanded the center; *Mohammed Beg* with fifty-six gallies was in the right wing; and *Kilij Ali* with ninety-five gallies in the left; while *Morâd Dragut* with thirty gallies, and several other small vessels, brought up the rear. Mean time, the Christians moving towards them, both fleets came in sight, *October* the 7th, afternoon. Hereupon Don *John*, having ordered the great ensign of the confederates, which was the signal for engaging, to be hoisted, clad in armour, went in his long boat to encourage the several squadrons of the center under his command; while *Doria* did the like in the right wing, and *Barbadico*, the *Venetian* proveditor-general, in the left. The two fleets meet.

THE day was now well spent, when both fleets were ready for the battle, which was one of the most considerable that ever happened at sea. The signal was no sooner given, than the *Turks*, with a hideous cry, fell on six galleasses which lay at anchor near a mile a-head of the confederate fleet: but those ships fired so briskly on them, first from their fore-castles, and then as they passed by so galled their gallies with whole broadsides, that several of them were sunk, which made the rest bear farther off. The wind likewise chopped about to the west, and incommoded the *Turks* with the smoke. However, they soon made good their disordered squadrons, and came on with surprising resolution. *Ali Pâshâ*, observing the admiral's galley, ran upon her with such violence, that both their beaks were broken off, and fell into the sea. Hereupon ensued a most terrible fight between these two great commanders, and the other ships which seconded them: but as there were in Don *John's* galley four hundred men picked out of the whole army, and consisting mostly of officers, they entered the enemy's gallies three times to the very main-mast, yet were as often repulsed. The fight begins with great obliquity.

VENIERI seeing how things went, hastened to the general's relief; but on his way was encountered by *Parteu Pâshâ* with his gallies. Here the *Turks* behaved so bravely, that notwithstanding the example and amazing courage of that admiral, now seventy years old, they entered the prow of his galley, and must have taken it, had not the sudden coming of two brave *Venetian* captains to his relief turned the scale a little, though with the loss of their own lives. At length *Venieri's* ship took two of the *Turkish* gallies, while *Parteu Pâshâ* fled out

A. D. 1571. of the danger in a long boat. Not far from thence *Colonna*, the pope's admiral, being furiously engaged, made great slaughter of the enemy, and took one galley. *Ligni*, the Genoese admiral, did the like; on board of whom the prince of *Parma*, with other volunteers, gained immortal honour.

Death of Farbadico and Mohammed Beg.

AT the same time *Mohammed Beg* falling on the galleasses with the right wing, and being sorely damaged by them; to avoid this inconvenience, as also a shelf lying between him and the shore, he sent *Ali*, a Genoese renegado, with great part of his gallees, round about on the right, to fall on the rear of *Barbadico*, who presently tacked about to receive him. But as he had no fewer than five gallees at a time upon his own, he in this terrible fight grappling with the enemy, and shunning no danger, was struck in at the left eye and almost through the brain with an arrow; of which wound he died three days after. This encouraged the *Turks* so much, that the galley must needs have been lost, had not she been speedily relieved by *Nani* and *Portia*. These presently cleared her of her boarders, among whom they made a great slaughter: but were themselves dangerously wounded, and had been lost, if more gallees had not come to their assistance; with which reinforcement they took one of the principal gallees of the enemy. Not far from thence, the noble *Giovanni Contareni* had a terrible engagement with *Mohammed Beg*; whose galley at length being taken, and all the men either slain or forced over-board, he was found half dead and dispatched out of the way^m.

Ali Pâshâ slain.

DON *John*, who had been three hours engaged with *Ali Pâshâ*, finding himself in much danger, notwithstanding the assistance from *Bacianono* in the rear; on a sudden called forth his four hundred select men, before-mentioned, from under the hatches, by whose valour that admiral's galley was soon taken. The *Pâshâ* himself being mortally wounded, and all over bloody, was slain outright; and his head being cut off, held aloft on the point of a spear by Don *John*, as a trophy of his victory. This sight, with the cry of victory thro' the Christian fleet, so discouraged the rest of the gallees which were still valiantly fighting, that they fled towards the shore, about a mile distant: but several of them were taken by *Canalis*, who commanded the gallees of *Kandia*. Among the slain was *Kârakoja*, the famous renegado pirate; while *Ahmed* and *Mohammed*, the two sons of *Ali Pâshâ*, and nephews of *Soltân Selîm*, were both taken aboard their galley.

Kilij Ali Pâshâ put to flight.

FOR all this good success, the fortune of the day was still doubtful in the right wing, where *Doria* was engaged with *Kilij Ali*, a valiant and expert commander. The Spanish admiral at first seemed to keep off, while the Turkish extended his wing as if to hem him in: yet offered not battle, expecting some advantage. This he soon obtained, by inclosing twelve of the Venetian gallees, separated from the rest, which he boarded and took: only *Superantio*, a nobleman, rather than fall into the enemy's hand, blew himself and his galley up. Mean time the noise of the firing in this part of the fleet brought *Pietro Justiniani*, admiral of *Mâlta*, to *Doria's* assistance: but coming up singly, he was presently attacked by six Turkish gallees, which plied him so close, that he was on the very brink of being lost. But two of the other *Mâltese* gallees, which were engaged with three of the enemy's, seeing the danger their admiral was in, came presently and rescued him. *Kilij Ali* by this time understanding that the center and right wing of the fleet was overthrown, thought it best to make his escape; which with some difficulty he effected, with twenty-five gallees and ten galliots, into the gulf of *Lepanto*.

Loss of the Turks.

THE number of *Turks* slain in this famous naval fight could not with certainty be known. An author, who wrote an account of this war, makes their number thirty-two thousand, besides prisoners, who were about three thousand five hundred. The gallees taken from them amounted to one hundred and sixty-one. Forty more were sunk or burnt; and of galliots, with other small vessels, about sixty were taken. The Turkish admiral's galley was exceedingly rich and beautiful. In it was found *Ali Pâshâ's* casket, with six thousand ducats in it. This, with a yearly pension of three hundred ducats, was given in reward to a Greek of *Macedonia*, who slew that admiral. He was likewise knighted for that exploit by Don *John*; and had the barrel of the Turkish standard (N) bestowed on him. This barrel, on his return to *Venice*, he sold to a goldsmith; and the senate bought it of the goldsmith, paying a ducat for every ounce, to reposit it among the other trophies of that victory.

Korân divination.

THE news of this great defeat being carried to *Venice*, it was celebrated with the utmost joy (O). All prisoners were set at liberty, and *Justina's* day, on which it was gained, was made

^m RICAUT, ubi sup.

(N) It was all of massy silver, gilt, and engraven round with Turkish letters. On one side the inscription was, *God condueth and adorns the faithful in worthy enterprises: God favours Mohammed*. On the other side. *There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet, or messenger*.

(O) One of the chief Turkish prisoners, hearing this victory compared with the loss of *Cyprus*, no less ingeniously than truly said, *that the loss of the fleet was to Selim, as if a man should shave his beard, which would soon grow again: whereas the loss of Cyprus was to the republic as the loss of an arm, which once cut off could never*

- a made a festival for ever : a great quantity of money also was coined, with *Justina* upon it, and an impression of the battle^a. But while *Venice* was filled with gladness on this occasion, we may conceive the deepest melancholy reigned at *Constantinople*. The emperor *Selîm*, otherwise of an invincible mind, was so struck with the news of this great loss, that, for three days (P), he neither eat nor drank, nor suffered any body to approach him (Q) ; praying night and day, that the God and protector of the *Musulmans* would have compassion on his people, and remove the dishonour brought on them by this defeat. On the fourth day, he takes up the *Korân*, and accidentally opens at this passage (R) : *In the name of God, clement and merciful ! I grieve for the victory which the Europeans obtained over the inhabitants of the earth : gladness shall not be given them any more for victory hereafter.* *Selîm*, admonished by this oracle, that the overthrow of his fleet had not happened without the finger of God, returned him thanks for his fatherly correction, and recovered his spirits, almost quite sunk with sorrow. This calamity seemed to be foretold, according to the interpretation of the wise men, by the fall of the wooden roof (S) of the temple at *Mekka* ; which *Selîm* ordered to be rebuilt with brick, that it might be a more stable emblem of the empire.

- b THE *Venetians*, still grieved for the loss of *Cyprus*, were not content with destroying the *Turkish* fleet ; but repairing their navy with thirty gallies, wherein were embarked six thousand soldiers, they won the castle of *Margarita*, in *Epirus* ; and recovered the town of *Suppoto*, which the *Turks* had taken from them the summer before. Besides this, the gallies of *Kandia*, under *Canalis*, intercepted many of the *Turkish* vessels, laden with the prisoners and spoils of *Famagusta*. *Martinengo* likewise, who besieged *Castel Novo*, had taken the suburbs, and reduced the town to great extremity ; but was obliged to withdraw on the approach of the *Beglerbeg* of *Greece*, with a considerable power to relieve it. In short, the *Venetian* successes this year were crowned with the relief of *Cattaro* ; besieged by the *Turks* both by sea and land, presently after the reduction of *Cyprus*, as hath been before observed. The enemy, to distress the place, having built a strong fort on the bay leading to it, *Superantio*, who commanded then as admiral at *Korfu*, sailed thither with twenty gallies ; and coming by night before the mouth of the bay, left one half of his fleet at anchor before the fort, while with the other he bravely entered farther into the bay. This he did with small opposition : so that battering the fort and landing his men on both sides at once, it was presently taken by assault, and all the garrison put to the sword. They found there seventeen pieces of great cannon, much armour, and abundance of victuals, besides seven galliots which lay at anchor under the fort.

- c NEXT year *Kiliç Ali Pâshâ*, a man of great valour, and an excellent seaman, who had succeeded as *Kapudân Pâshâ*, or high admiral, repaired the fleet with such expedition, that the following summer he had ready two hundred and fifty gallies : with which setting sail, he infested the coasts of Christendom where-ever he arrived. At length, the enemy's fleet appearing near *Evarin* (T), the *Pâshâ*, desirous to wipe out the late disgrace, vigorously attacks it ; but night coming on, retires to *Koron*. Four days after, the Christian admirals thought to surprise him, by lying concealed with their ships behind the high rocks which surrounded that port : but being informed by his scouts of their intention, he sails out of the harbour ; and, when they thought him still at anchor, find him ready to receive them. However, they advance, as if they intended to fall on him : but perceiving they were likely to meet with a rough reception, tack about, and suffer the fleet, laden with spoil, to return to *Constantinople*.

d THE *Turkish* historians are both defective and partial in their account of this enterprise ; which is related by the Christian writers as follows. *Superantio*, having relieved *Cattaro*, as before related, returned to *Korfu* ; where *Tuscarini* (now admiral of the *Venetian* fleet, in the room of *Venieri*, removed to please Don *John*) had lain for some time waiting for the con-

^a RICAUT, *ibid*.^c CANT. p. 225, & seqq.

never be recovered.—Prince *Cantemir*, in a note, p. 224, relates words to this effect, as spoken by the grand *Wazîr* to the *Venetian* ambassador, detained at *Constantinople* ; who, on occasion of this victory, had desired an audience of that minister, and went to it with the greatest parade.

(P) After his example, *Abmed III.* when he sent his *Wazîr Abmed Pâshâ* against the *Russians*, into *Moldavia*, prayed, it is said, forty days and nights, and eat nothing till sun-set : neither did he give over fasting till news came of his *Wazîr's* good success. *Cant.*

(Q) Some Christian writers say, he suffered none to speak to him the day on which he received the news ; and resolved to massacre all the Christians in his dominions, for fear of a general revolt on that occasion : but was diverted from that cruel design by *Mohammed Pâshâ*. Others write, that he made slight of the loss ;

saying, that it seemed from thence that God had allotted to the Christians the dominion of the sea, and to him that of the land.

(R) The *Turks* hold the *Korân* divination to be infallible. They first read a *Sura* or two, and then opening the book, read the first line of the first page. They either persist in their design, or drop it, according as the passage turns out. *Cant.*

(S) It is only a sort of roof, with the opening in the middle. It runs up from the angles of the walls ; and was of timber, before *Selîm* ordered it to be rebuilt with stone. *Cant.*—It is said to be of brick in the text.

(T) This must be *Navarin*, because there is no other port in the *Morea* which answers to that name. But the *Turks* are very negligent in marking the names of men and places, as hath been observed before. *Cant.*

federates,

A. D. 1572. federates, who were to have joined him in *April*. The admiral, impatient at their delay, sent a *Superantio*, with twenty-five gallies to *Messina*, to hasten their coming: but after many excuses made by Don *John*, particularly the apprehensions of a *French* invasion of *Spain* from *Rochelle*, all that could be at length obtained from him were twenty-two gallies, under the command of *Lilly* of *Andrada*; with whom went *Colonna*, the pope's admiral.

Their naval
force:

ON their arrival at *Korsû*, *Fuscarini*, though it was now the month of *August*, failed to fight the enemy. The whole fleet consisted of 155 gallies, six galeasses, and twenty tall ships. In the right wing was *Superantio*; in the left, *Kanalis*; and in the center, *Colonna*, *Fuscarini*, and *Lilly*; *Quirini* bringing up the rear. In this order, having sailed beyond *Cerigo*, they discovered the *Turkish* fleet, consisting of 160 gallies, sixty galliots, and four great ships; who did all they could to decline fighting: for although *Kilij Ali* made a shew as if he intended to engage, yet, on the approach of night, he ordered all his artillery, charged with powder only, to be fired off, and retreated under cover of the smoke towards *Cape Metapan*; leaving boats behind with lights in them, to make a shew as if the fleet had still been there.

They meet and
fight the
Turks:

THREE days after, the confederates coming up with them, the *Turks* put out to sea, with their fleet divided into three squadrons: the left extended a great way into the sea, the right kept near the shore; and *Kilij Ali*, who commanded in the middle, advanced swiftly, ordering both his wings to fetch a compass on the right and left, aloof from the galeasses, which he was much afraid of, and so attack the wings of the Christians either on the sides or behind. But the confederates, perceiving his design on their wings, tacked about also, drawing up in form of a half-moon, their main body still facing that of the *Turks*; whose wings being thus separated from the rest, seemed to offer great advantage to the Christians. Hereupon, *Fuscarini*, without staying for the heavy ships and galeasses, proposed attacking the enemy's main body; which must have been overthrown before the wings could join them. This, however, both *Colonna* and *Lilly* refused to do, but for what reason is uncertain.

THE wings of the confederates having been a little disordered in tacking, the *Turks* with fifteen gallies moved to fall on their straggling ships. But *Superantio*, to prevent them, made up with four gallies; and after a sharp fight, was seasonably relieved by twenty gallies and two galeasses, which so galled and tore eighteen of the *Turkish* vessels, that they were glad to sheer off. Hereupon, both fleets falling into order again, without any further action, the *Turks* sailed away to *Koron*, while the confederates retired to the island of *Cerigo*. Here they received notice from Don *John* forthwith to meet him at *Zant*; which order *Fuscarini* much opposed, resolving first, if possible, to fight the enemy. Mean time the *Turkish* fleet appearing in the *Fret* of *Cerigo*, it was agreed to pass by them, in such order as if they offered them battle: but finding that the enemy lay still, more inclined to defend themselves than to fight, they made the best of their way to *Korsû*; where Don *John* was then arrived with fifty-three gallies, and eighteen ships of war.

Retire to
Navarin:

THE whole fleet at length being come together, consisting of 200 gallies, nine galeasses, and thirty-six tall ships, it was agreed to set forward once more against the enemy, then at *Navarino*: but failing to surprise them, for want of timing matters, they at length got into the harbour of *Modon*, whither the confederates followed them. Being come to the mouth of the bay, the *Venetian* admiral endeavoured to prevail on Don *John* to enter with the whole fleet, and there destroy at once all the naval strength of the enemy; which he represented as a thing very easy to perform; but Don *John* urging many reasons to the contrary, refused, and returned with his fleet to *Navarino*.

Attack
Modon and
Navarin in
vain.

HERE they held a council to consider what enterprize they had best go upon; and concluding at last, after much consultation, to besiege the castle of *Modon*, they sailed thither again, and landed 7000 of their best soldiers to attack the place by land, while the galeasses were to batter it by sea. To do this the more conveniently, they fastened two of the greatest gallies together with masts and ropes: then boarding them clear over, made a floor or platform, on which they placed their gabions filled with earth all a-front, and planted great guns between them. But this engine proved quite ineffectual, and the castle being reinforced with some horse, they gave over the siege.

HOWEVER, resolving to do something before the season was quite spent, they agreed to besiege the castle of *Navarino*, the antient *Pylos*, and birth-place of *Nestor*. This business was intrusted to the care of the prince of *Parma*; who landing 2000 *Italians*, 1000 *Spaniards*, and 500 *Germans*, began to batter the place with twelve great pieces of cannon, and must soon have carried it: but, neglecting to secure the passes through a thick forest, the enemy, while the besieged made a sally, threw in a great number both of horse and foot on that side; whereupon the confederate forces forthwith raised the siege.

Venetians
make peace
with the
Turks.

FOR all these repulses, they might have succeeded tolerably well, had they continued to block up the harbour by sea, since the *Turkish* fleet, which was still in the bay, now consisted of no more than 100 gallies and 40 galliots. These were likewise so weak, and slenderly manned,

a manned, by reason of the plague and famine among the crews, that their largest gallies had scarce 120 men left in them, all so meagre and faint, as scarce to be able to hold up their arms: but after many consultations and debates, the *Spaniards* would return home, contrary to the intreaties of the *Venetian* admiral; who thereupon steered his course for *Venice*, where he was honourably received. Mean time the senate, made sensible how little they could depend on their confederates, began to think of preserving their state, by suing to the enemy for peace; which at length was, in *February* 1574, concluded on these conditions: that they should pay *Selim* 300,000 ducats; one third down, and the rest in two years: that the merchants goods should be restored on both sides; and that such places as the *Turks* had taken from the *Venetians* should remain in their possession: but that those which the republic had taken from them, should be forthwith restored^p. Thus far the Christian historians.

LET us now return to the *Turkish*. The *Germans*, imagining all the *Othmân* forces to have been destroyed in the last year's defeat at sea, and that they might without difficulty recover what they had lost, lay siege to *Nova*, a city of *Bosnia*: but the governors of that and the neighbouring countries, hastening with united forces, surprise the enemy, intent on the leaguer, and put them to the rout. The damages sustained by the late defeat being thus amply retaliated, *Selim* repairs the injuries done by time to the temple of *Sancta Sophia*, erects four *Minâreh*, or towers, of different shapes, at the four corners; and demolishing some private houses near it, founds two *Madresch*, or academies, of excellent workmanship.

c THE same year *Selim*, to keep his word with the *Musulmans* of *Spain*, and curb the boldness of the *Spaniards*, in revenge for the blow given him by their fleet at *Lepanto*; sends his *Wazîr* and high admiral, *Piala Pâshâ* (U), with a fleet against them. Being arrived at *Messina*, they destroyed the adjacent country with fire and sword; and as no army appeared to relieve that city, they doubtless would have taken it, had not the sudden tempestuousness of the sea obliged them to retire. The fleet returning home thus ineffectual, the king of *Spain*, with the forces he had designed for the relief of *Messina*, sails to *Africa*, and surprises *Tunis*; where having killed and made prisoners all the *Musulmans*, he strengthens the city with new fortifications, and leaves a good garrison^q.

d WE must learn from the Christian writers what the motives were which induced the king of *Spain* to undertake this expedition, as well as the particulars of it. When *Amîd*, king of *Tunis*, before-mentioned (who, after being driven out of his kingdom by the *Turks*, had retired to *Tavares*, the *Spanish* governor at *Guletta*), heard of the good success of the Christians at *Lepanto*, he sent ambassadors to crave assistance of *Don John*, then in *Sicily*, for recovery of his dominions; promising to defray the whole charge of the war, and to be for ever tributary to *Spain*. This proposal having been accepted of, the king, in *October*, 1573, sent *Don John*, with 105 gallies and 40 ships, to *Guletta*; where he was joined by admiral *Doria*, with nineteen gallies, by *Colonna*, the pope's admiral, with fourteen more, and by the gallies of *Malta*. *Don John*, immediately landing his men, found the city and castle of *Tunis* desolate, the inhabitants having fled, some to *Kairwân*, and some to *Biserta*. But the *Turks*, who went to this last place, being denied entrance, they fell to ravage the country: of which *Don John* being informed, he sent *Tavares*, with part of his army, who routed them, and had the city peaceably delivered to him.

e THE kingdom of *Tunis* being thus reduced without opposition, *Don John* was so far from bestowing it on *Amîd*, who remained at *Guletta*, that finding he had already held intelligence with the *Turks*, and procured the death of some Christians, in hatred to their religion, he sentenced him not only to be deposed, but also deprived of sight, in detestation of his unnatural proceedings against his father and brethren. Then, pursuant to the king of *Spain*'s order, his elder brother *Mohammed* was constituted king of *Tunis*, and his vassal. Hereupon, 40,000 *Moors*, who had before abandoned the city, were, on their supplication, permitted by *Don John* to return. The general, after this, ordered a strong castle to be built between *Tunis* and *Guletta*, leaving 2000 *Italians*, and as many *Spaniards*, to perform the work. This done, he departed for *Sicily*, carrying with him *Amîd* and his two sons prisoners^r.

f MEAN time, *Selim* having made peace with the *Venetians*, turned his arms against *John*, the *Vayvod* of *Moldavia*. This *John*, who was the natural son of the *Vayvod Stephen*, lived as a merchant among the *Turks*; and having embraced their religion, was at length by his intrigues made *Vayvod* in the room of *Bogdân*, who for his amity with the *Poles* was deposed. *John*, soon after his advancement, renouncing *Mohammedism*, and the *Vayvod* of *Lesser*

^p LEUNCL. & RICAUT, in *Selimis*.^q CANT. p. 226.^r RICAUT, in *Selim*.(U) Different from him in *Soleyman*'s time.

A. D. 1574. *Walakbia* (X) applying to the *Porte* in behalf of his brother *Peter*; *Selîm* sent to him, either to pay an unreasonable sum of money, which he demanded, or give place to another. The nobles having opposed this tyranny, *John* told the messenger, that the people would not pay the money, and then endeavoured to make a league with the king of *Poland* against the *Turks*: but failing in that point, he took a body of *Polish Kofaks*, under the command of *Sujercevius*, into his service.

The Vayvod's
success and
cruelty:

THE *Soltân* having received *John's* answer, dispatched 30,000 *Turks*, and 2000 *Hungarians*, to the *Palatine* of *Lesser Walakbia*, to secure *John*, and make his own brother *Peter Vayvod*. The *Palatine*, on this encouragement, with these forces joined to his own, amounting in all to above 100,000 men, swam over the river *Moldaw*; and through confidence of success, kept no discipline in his army. Hereupon, *John*, with *Sujercevius*, comes on them so unexpectedly, that not having had time either to recover their horses, grazing in the meadow, or their arms, few or none of that great multitude escaped the slaughter, excepting the *Palatine* and his brother, who swam over the river to the castle of *Brabilow*. The victor followed, and having ravaged the country without sparing either age or sex, summoned the governor of the castle to deliver up the fugitives: but a rough answer being returned by four messengers, the cruel *Vayvod* caused first their lips, noses, and ears to be cut off; then their feet to be nailed to a long piece of timber, and so, with their heads downwards, to be exposed to the view of the citizens. Presently after, he attacked and took the city, with such horrible slaughter, that not so much as the very dogs were spared. Then giving the spoil, which was exceeding rich, to his soldiers, he razed the place to the ground.

He is betrayed
by his general.

IN the interim, news being brought that 15,000 *Turks* advanced to relieve the castle, he dispatched *Sujercevius* and his *Kofaks*, with 8000 light *Moldavians*; who slew near 14,000 of the enemy, while the rest fled to the castle of *Teina*, whose town the *Vayvod* presently besieged; and having taken it, left not one soul alive. *Selîm*, on advice of these proceedings, was so much afraid of being dispossessed of *Walakbia*, that he ordered public prayers to be made for his better success. Mean time, *John* being minded for a while to break up his army, left part of it with his old friend *Jeremiah Czarnievice*, general of the horse, to defend the passes over the *Danube*: but this old friend, suffering himself to be corrupted with a present of 30,000 *Hungarian* ducats, withdrew his troops, under pretence of forage, and gave the *Pâshâ*, who was on the other side, liberty to cross the river with an army of 200,000 men. Then, posting himself with this news to the *Vayvod*, pretended he wanted force to oppose the enemy: but said they were not numerous, and might be easily overthrown, if he advanced with speed against them.

Czarnie-
viech defeated
and taken.

HEREUPON *John* raising the siege of *Teina*, marched forwards, and being come within three miles of their camp, sent *Sujercevius* and the faithless *Jeremiah*, with forces, to view it. The *Kofaks*, who had long before suspected the latter, judging the enemy's army to be very large by the great number of their scouts, at their return advised the *Vayvod* not to trust him too much: but *John*, giving no way to suspicion, advanced with all his power against the *Turks*. He divided his horse, amounting to 30,000, into thirty troops; before each of which he placed some field pieces. His foot, which were numerous, and very faithful, though a rude people, and but indifferently armed, he posted by themselves. Being arrived at a hill, from whence he could discern the huge army of the enemy, he sent for *Czarnievice*, whose treachery he now suspected: but the traitor excusing himself, because of the nearness of the enemy, sent word that he should soon see him in the field as forward as any against him. *John* believed so, when upon the signal of battle he saw him advance with 13,000 of the best troops: but as soon as he drew near the enemy, he caused his colours to be lowered, and his men, with their caps on the points of their swords and spears, to bow their bodies in token of submission. The *Turks*, with their lances lifted up, joyfully received them: but observing these revolvers, as men pricked in conscience, to shrink back in the battle, they forced them on to blunt their countrymen's swords; slaying such as did not go forward.

THE traitors being by these means almost all destroyed, the *Turks* maintained a most obstinate fight for a while, and then retreated, with a view to draw the *Moldavians* into an ambush: but their design being suspected, they came on afresh with greater fury than before, and after a most terrible conflict, at length prevailed by numbers over the *Moldavians*; most of whom were slain, and of the *Kofaks* only 250 left. However, the *Vayvod*, who had still 20,000 foot, and some horse remaining, retreated to the ruins of a town, which he had razed but a little before: and there fortified himself the best he could. Next day, which was the 11th of *June*, the *Turks* having fired briskly into his camp to no purpose, sent to advise him to

(X) Called also *Walakbia Transalpina*; being one of the two parts into which *Walakbia* was formerly divided, *Moldavia* being the other.

a yield before they came to extremities. Hereupon it was agreed, that the *Kofaks* should have leave to return home; and that the *Vayvod* should receive no manner of violence, but be sent to *Selîm* to answer for himself: as for the *Moldavians*, it was represented as needless to make any terms for them, since any injury done to them would hurt the *Soltân*, and the *Vayvod* whom he should appoint. A. D. 1574.

THESE articles having been sworn to seven times by the *Turkish* officers, the *Vayvod* divided what money and jewels he had among his men, and then went in manner of a suppliant to the *Turkish* camp; where he talked for above four hours with the chief commanders of the army. At last, the *Kâpuji Pâshâ*, either offended with his words, or unmindful of his oath, struck him first on the face and then on the belly with his scymitar. On this the *Janizaries* b smiting off his head, held it up for every body to see it; and with the like perfidy fell upon the *Moldavians*, whom they slaughtered like cattle. The *Kofaks*, expecting no better usage, rushed into the thickest of their enemies, and valiantly fighting, were all slain; excepting the brave *Sujercevius*, and a few other officers reserved for ransom. The *Turks* after this over-ran all the country of *Moldavia*, put all the nobility to the sword, and carried away great numbers of the people for settling remote colonies. Thus was the whole province subjected, and by that means a passage opened into *Podolia* *. It may be observed, that this remarkable war is omitted by the *Turkish* historians come to our hands, to whom and the affairs of *Tunis* it is time to return. Perfidiously slain.

As the blame for the loss of that kingdom fell on *Piâla Pâshâ*, because he returned in too great security, without leaving part of the fleet to guard the *African* coasts, he is dismissed; and *Sinân Pâshâ*, the former *Wazîr*, being put in his room, is sent, in the year 982, to recover *Tunis*. The *Wazîr* having landed his troops, instantly orders the city and a neighbouring fortress, called *Khalkulvadi* (Y), to be attacked: both which, after several assaults, he takes; and sacrifices the garrison to the ghosts of the *Musulmans* slain there by the Christians the year before. Then he razes the fortress to the ground; and repairing the walls of *Tunis*, leaves there a sufficient garrison †. Turks African expedition.

THE Christian historians tell us, that *Selîm* made vast preparations, both by sea and land, for recovering of this country. The fleet, consisting of 300 gallies, under the command of three *Pâshâs*, *Sinân*, *Piâla*, and *Kilij Ali*, arrived before *Guletta* on the 13th of July; where d they were joined by more ships from *Alexandria*, *Algiers*, and other places. The first laid siege to the water-town, which was bravely defended by a garrison of 800 men, till most of them being slain, the governor ordered the rest to retire to the castle, and leave it to the *Turks*, who lost 3000 men before it. Hereupon they turned their arms against the castle; and after many furious assaults became masters of the chanel of the lake of *Tunis*, which proved of great service to them. Mean time, some companies of *Spaniards* sent from the new castle, having gotten into *Guletta*, the besieged made a sally, August the 20th, and repulsed the *Turks* with a very great slaughter; yet as they never ceased bringing on fresh men, the 23d, after continuing a most terrible fight the whole day, they at length, two hours after sun-set, took the castle, and put all therein to the sword. They take Guletta: A. D. 1574.

e THE *Guletta* being thus reduced, the *Turks* next day laid siege to the new castle, which was garrisoned by 4000 choice soldiers, under command of the valiant commanders *Serbellio* and *Salazar*: yet this too, after many most terrible and desperate assaults, was taken by them on the 13th of September. In the attack, which held that day for six hours together, most of the besieged were slain. The brave *Serbellio*, being shot with two musket balls, and choosing rather to die than fall into the enemy's hands, rushed into the midst of them, there to have perished; but by the hasty coming in of *Piâla Pâshâ*, both he and *Salazar* were taken alive. The *Pâshâ*, in his rage, struck old *Serbellio*, and the more to afflict him, caused his son to be slain before his face, with the rest of the garrison. But these conquests cost the *Turks* dear: for it was computed that they lost 30,000 men in less than three months time. After this, f they easily possessed themselves of *Tunis*, where *Mohammed* the new king was taken prisoner. Then having settled matters in that city, and at the *Guletta*, the *Pâshâs* departed with a fleet of 400 sail. On the 4th of October, they appeared in sight of *Malta*; but understanding that the knights were ready for them, and remembering their former disgrace there, they bore away for *Constantinople* †. The new castle: and recover Tunis.

WHILE the expedition to *Tunis* was going forward, 1500 *Hungarians* assembling with a design to surprise *Seghetwar* (or *Sigetb*), *Jaffer Pâshâ*, governor of *Gbiula*, who was informed of it, lies in ambush for them with 500 *Janizaries*, or more; and attacking them as they marched carelessly along, routs and takes many of them prisoners. Towards the end of this Hungarians defeated.

* RICAUT, ubi supr.

† CANT. p. 227.

‡ RICAUT, in *Selimus*.(Y) This seems to be the new castle, mentioned lower down, rather than that of *Guletta*, as prince *Cantemir* supposes it.

A. D. 1574.
Selim dies.

year, the *Soltân* builds a large and most elegant bath, in that part of the palace which looks a to the east. Whilst the mortar yet exhaled virulent steams, the emperor first enters the bath ; and, if some writers are to be credited, drinks a large dose of wine to expel the noxious vapours. This was followed by a slight head-ach, then a giddiness, and at length a sort of apoplexy ; which, on the 11th day of his distemper, and 28th of *Shâban* (Z) carried him out of the world.

Reign and
character.

SOLTAN *Selim* lived fifty-two years (A), and reigned eight years, five months, and nineteen days. He was a prince of great valour (B), but not always successful ; of an invincible mind in all circumstances ; in councils ready and secret ; a lover of justice, and a good man : liberal, and so merciful, that nature seemed to have endued him with a gentler disposition than his predecessors. He was familiar and facetious in talk with his domestics ; extremely fond of the learned, and of mimicks : very constant in his devotions. However, some historians, who either had a better opportunity of knowing what passed in the inner seray, or sought to please their readers with novelties, say, that under pretence of devotion, he gave himself up intirely to wine and lust (C) in the secret apartments of his palace. It is certain, that he put on a great appearance of religion in public ; and if at any time his actions seemed to deviate from reason, it was ascribed rather to divine inspiration than the vice of drunkenness *. As to his person, the Christians say, he was of a middle stature, and of a heavy disposition : that his face was rather swollen than fat, and much resembled that of a drunkard †.

* CANT. p. 227, & seqq.

† RICAUT, in *Selim*.

(Z) The Christian historians say, he died the 9th of December, 1574, consumed with wine and women.

(A) The same writers make his reign fifty-two years.

(B) The Christian authors say, he had less valour

than any of his predecessors, and therefore was least regarded.

(C) These agree with the Christian historians, who say, that he died consumed with wine and women, and that he was wholly given to sensual pleasures.

C H A P. XIII.

The Reign of Morâd III.

12 Soltân
Morad III.
Hej. 983.
A. D. 1575.

Strangles his
brothers :

SELIM being dead, his son *Morâd*, the beginning of *Ramazân*, in the year 983 of the *Hejrah*, and thirty-first of his age, comes to *Constantinople* ; where he is immediately saluted emperor by all the great men, who testify their grief for his father's death in elegant orations : after which, *Soltân Selim* is buried in a *Turbeb* (or turret), near *Sancta Sophia* *.

WE are informed by the Christian historians, that his first care was to appease the *Janizaries*, who, besides the usual largesses, required an augmentation of their pay, and the privilege that their sons, as soon as they arrived at the age of twenty, should be enrolled among the younger *Janizaries*, and enjoy their immunities. After this, to comply with a political custom, rather than from inclination to cruelty, he caused his five brothers *Mostafa*, *Soleymân*, *Abdo'llah*, *Ozmân*, and *Jebângbîr*, to be strangled in his presence. This execution so much affected the mother of *Soleymân*, that she stabbed herself to the heart ; at which tragical sight, it is said, *Morâd* let fall some tears.

Invades
Poland :

THE *Soltân's* next care was to enact wholesome laws, alter the coin, and make the poor sensible of his bounty. Then, in prosecution of the wars which his father had begun, he sent the *Krîm Tatars* to invade *Podolia* ; which they entered in *October*, 1575, and committed great ravages : but while they were dividing the spoil with *Peter*, the new *Vayvod* of *Walakhia* before-mentioned, the *Polish Kosaks* broke into their country, in order to make reprisals. Mean time *Morâd*, understanding that the *Poles*, on the desertion of *Henry de Valois*, duke of *Anjou*, were about to chuse a new king, and that even the emperor *Maximilian* and great duke of *Moskovy* were candidates ; yet he by letter recommended to them *Stephen Battori*, f *Vayvod* of *Transilvania*. To this they paid so great regard, that they actually elected the prince's *Ann* of the *Jagellonian* family to be their queen, on condition that she should marry the *Vayvod* ; which was accordingly done. So that *Morâd* would often boast, that he had given a king to *Poland* ; and soon after he found the benefit of it, since *Stephen* entered into a league with him, whereby he became secure on that side, while he prosecuted his designs against *Persia* ; which were favoured by the distractions that arose on the death of king *Tabmâsp*, in *May*, 1576 †.

makes Stephen
king :

* CANT. p. 227, 229.

† MINADOI's wars between the Turks and Persians. RICAUT, in *Morâd III*.

MORAD

- a MORAD, after spending three years in settling the public affairs, and making military preparations, resolves, in 986, to undertake the *Persian* expedition. To this end he sends *Mostafa Pâshâ*, who commanded in the *Cyprian* war, with the troops of *Arzerûm* and *Diyârbekr* (D), to attack their frontiers. That general first repairs the castles on the borders, and fortifies the city of *Kârs*, almost demolished by several sieges; where he builds magazines for laying up store of corn, that the want of grain might not obstruct his enterprise, as it had done all the former. After this he goes and closely besieges *Khaldirân* (E), a strong town of *Persia*; which he takes after several assaults. Then sending part of his forces, under the *Pâshâs* of *Arzerûm* and *Diyârbekr*, against *Tokmak Khân* (F), who was coming with a considerable army (G) to relieve that place, they surprise that general, and put his forces to flight (H).
 b The reward of this victory was *Tiflis*, a noted city of *Armenia* (I); which being taken immediately after was destroyed. From thence *Mostafa* marches towards *Shamakhiya*; but, being stopped by the rains, he leaves *Ozdemâr* (K), *Othmân Pâshâ*, and the *Beglerbeg* of *Erzenûr-rûmi* (L), to guard the subdued places, and returns to *Europe*.

- THE Christian historians are more particular on this occasion. The general having passed the mountains of *Teflis*, an ambassador came from a *Georgian* prince, called *Skânder*, or *Alexander*, with offers of obedience; and, after twelve days march, having reached the neighbourhood of *Shîrwân*, received the submission of the city of *Sekhi*. The soldiers being here much distressed for want of subsistence, they were told by some captives, that three days march thence there were fields of rice and corn, with cattle sufficient for the whole army. Hereupon 10,000 men were detached to bring that provision away: but, being come to the place, they were set on by *Tokmak*, *Khân* of *Rivân*, the *Persian* general, who had rallied his scattered troops, and almost all cut off. The *Persians* suffered in their turn; for, staying too long to divide the spoil, they gave *Mostafa* an opportunity to inclose them in a peninsula made by the rivers *Arâs* and *Kanak* (M); where they were all slain or drowned, excepting *Tokmak*, with *Amîr Khân*, and a few others, who escaped by swimming their horses over the *Kanak*.
 c *MOSTAFA*, on this occasion, having one hundred men to one against the enemy, lost not above 3000 soldiers: but next day in passing the *Kanak*, with part of his army, to enter *Shîrwân*, 8000 more were drowned. The rest of his troops, who murmured much before, would now probably have mutinied, had they not found a ford by which they crossed the river. At length arriving at *Eres* (or *Arâs*) the principal city on that side, but deserted as well as other places by the *Persians*, they refreshed for twenty-one days; in which time *Mostafa* erected a fortress, and furnished both it and the city with cannon, and a garrison of 5000 men. Then leaving *Ozmân Pâshâ*, who had taken *Shamakhiya*, to govern the province, with a charge to open a passage, if practicable, to *Derbend*, and give the *Tatars* notice of his arrival, he set out on his return homewards.

- BEING come to the *Kanak*, he ordered a bridge to be made over it; which having crossed, *Sabamal*, a *Georgian* prince, came and submitted to *Morâd*. At length he entered the country of *Alexander*; and being come to *Zaghen*, that prince sent him abundance of refreshments, but did not wait on him on account of his infirmities. From thence he marched to *Teflis*; after which, in passing over rough and woody mountains, he encountered with infinite difficulties, and lost many men cut off by the *Georgians*. At length he arrived at *Altûnkâla*, the palace of prince *Dedefmit*'s widow; who made her feigned submission, and delivered him her elder son *Alexander*, whom, with his brother *Manujeber* (N), *Mostafa* sent to *Constantinople* as soon as he got to *Arzerum*, where he disbanded his army.^c

ACCORDING

^c MINADOI, ubi sup. l. iii. RICAUT, ibid.

(D) The Christian historians say that in spring he assembled an army of 201,000 men from all parts of the empire at *Arzerûm*. See *Ricaut* in *Amurat* 3d.

(E) As we know of no such town in *Persia*, we chuse to follow the Christian historians; who only say, *Mostafa* encamped in the plains, at the foot of the mountains of *Khaldir*, in the way from *Kârs* to *Teflis*.

(F) *Tokmak* signifies a mallet, pestle, or rammer. A surname, doubtless given to denote some quality of the owner. *Cont.*

(G) The Christian writers say he had not above 20,000 men, which were all that could then be raised in *Persia*. *Ricaut*.

(H) The *Persians* lost 8000 men, 5000 slain, and 3000 taken, yet put to death, and all their heads piled up in a heap. But the *Turks*, by the battle and sickness that followed, lost 40,000. *Ricaut*.

(I) *Tiflis*, or *Teflis*, is the capital of *Georgia*, or *Gurmod*. HIST. VOL. V.

jestân, and far from the borders of *Armenia*. The Christian writers say the *Turks* found it deserted by the garrison.

(K) Different from him mentioned before, p. 295. and so called from the fortitude of his mind, not of his body. *Cont.*

(L) Rather *Arzeno'rrûmi*. Prince *Cantemir* says, he cannot tell what city or province is meant by this name; but that it seems to be recovered from the *Turks*, since there is no such *Pâshâlik* now in the whole empire. Whereas it is no other than the *Pâshâlik* of *Arzerûm*, mentioned by him twice before within a few lines, only altered a little by being written more at length; and signifies *Arze*, or *Arzen*, of the *Romans*.

(M) Called also *Tori*. This junction happens about twenty-two leagues to the north-west of *Shamakhiya*, the capital of *Shîrwân*.

(N) *Minadoi*, from whom the account of these wars

A. D. 1576.

Turks slaughtered.

ACCORDING to the *Turkish* historians, *Manujeh* (or, as prince *Cantemir* writes it, *Munev-jebr*), who had till then been subject to the *Persians*, came to *Mostafa* while he was at *Tiflis*, and delivered him the keys of the towns under his command. Some time after he turned *Mohammedan*; for which he was rewarded with the *Sanjak* of *Akbiska*, in *Anatolia*, and made *Beglerbeg* of *Tiflis* itself. As the winter became so severe, that the *Othmân* soldiers, not used to the cold, daily perished in the camp, *Ozdemir Oglu*, *Othmân Pâshâ*, sent his forces into winter-quarters, at some distance from one another; because there was no city in those desert and ravaged parts capable of receiving the whole army: but this coming to the knowledge of *Euris Khân*, the *Persian* general, he unexpectedly falls on the *Turks*, thus dispersed, and makes a great slaughter.

Persians routed.

OTHMAN PASHA, otherwise an able general, troubled lest this misfortune should be imputed to negligence, assembles his army in the midst of winter, and, with doubtful fortune, fights the *Persians* above twenty times in different places. At last 30,000 of them, under the conduct of *Imam Euli* (O), furiously attack him: but at the end of four days, during which the battle continued, are repulsed and almost all slain. *Ozdemir Oglu*, after this, repairing the walls of *Shamakhiya*, retires with part of his weakened forces into *Europe*^d.

Soon after *Mostafa Pâshâ*'s departure from *Eres*, *Ares* (or *Eures*) *Khân*, who had fled from *Shamakhiya* for fear of the *Turks*, resolved, with the other governors of *Eres* and *Sekhi*, to return into their country: but when he was near that capital, and understood by intercepted letters from the *Tatars*, who were newly arrived, to *Ozmân Pâshâ*, how strong they were, he retired towards the *Kanak*. There *Abdo'l Gheray*, the *Tatar* general, and brother of the *Khân*, surprising him, defeated his army; and taking him prisoner, he was hanged at *Samakhiya* by *Ozmân*'s order, before one of the apartments of his late palace. After this the *Tatars* went and sacked *Gânjeh*.

Shirwân recovered.

MEAN time *Amir Hâmzeb Mirza*, the king of *Persia*'s eldest son, with 12,000 new-raised troops, arrives in *Shirwân*, and recovers *Eres* from the *Turks*, with all the booty taken by them, after a fierce battle with *Kaytas Pâshâ* the governor, who was there slain, and all his followers. Then, marching towards *Shamakhiya*, he surprised the *Tatars* negligently encamped, made a great slaughter of them, and took many prisoners, with their general. Being come before that city, he summoned *Ozmân Pâshâ* to surrender, on condition of having his

Ozmân Pâshâ flies to Dârbend.

life and effects. The *Pâshâ* agreed to the proposal, and desired three days to get things ready to march out: but, fearing to trust his enemy, he, in the night, escaped with his effects to *Dârbend*. Next morning the *Persian* prince entering the city, took vengeance on the inhabitants for their want of fidelity; and razing the old walls, built new ones. He likewise severely punished those of *Eres* and *Sekhi*: after which he returned victoriously to *Kasbin*, with *Abdo'l Gheray*; who being young and handsome, the queen of *Persia* fell in love with him. The court-lords, offended at this amour, which was carried with too little reserve, but more at king *Mohammed*'s intention to marry his daughter to that general, with a view to gain the *Tatars* over to his interest, one morning entered his apartment, and slew him. It is thought they likewise made away with the queen; for she never after appeared in public.

OZMAN PASHA having gotten safe to *Dârbend*, which was now the only place in *Shirwân* possessed by the *Turks*, with a view to secure that country to the *Soltân*, married the daughter of *Sabamal*, a *Georgian* lord: but finding soon after by his wife, who cooed on him, that her father was underhand engaged with the king of *Persia* to ruin him, *Ozmân* invited him to a banquet, and there slew him, with his attendants. Thus ended the war for this year, in which the *Turks* lost 70,000 men^e.

Krim Tatars rebel.

THE greater part of the *Turkish* army being thus detained in *Persia*, the *Khân* of the *Krim Tatars* attempts to throw off the *Othmân* yoke. Hereupon *Mostafa Pâshâ*, being ordered to extinguish this flame in its birth, that general marched over *Mount Caucasus*, by the straits of *Demur Kapi* (P); and crossing the *Don*, or *Tanais*, in boats, surprised the *Khân*, who feared nothing from a quarter never before traversed by man; and cutting off his head, sends it to the *Porte*^f.

Affairs of Georgia.

MORAD thinking it best, in making conquests, to secure his own borders first, and then encroach by degrees upon his neighbours, ordered *Mostafa* to prepare materials for building forts on the roads leading from *Arzerûm* to *Georgia*. For this purpose, the *Pâshâ* prepared great forces, with 20,000 pioneers. Nor were the *Persians* idle on their side to oppose the encroaching enemy. *Imâm Kûli Khân*, governor of *Gânjeh*, on this occasion offered to defend

^d CANT. p. 231.^e MINADOI, ubi sup. c. 3.^f CANT. p. 231.

is taken, writes *Manuckhar* (which, according to the *English* orthography, should be written *Manukhar*); for want perhaps of the *English* *ch*, or *j* consonant.

(O) Doubtless a mistake for *Imâm Kûli*.

(P) *Demur*, or *Temur*, *Kapi*, signifies the iron gate. So the *Turks* call *Dârbend*, or *Derbent*; which in *Persian* signifies the shut gate.

a *Shîrwân*, and hinder *Osmân Pâshâ* from either making conquests, or building forts in that province. At the same time, *Simon*, a valiant *Georgian* prince, thinking this a proper opportunity to recover his territories usurped by his younger brother *David*, or *Dawd Khân*, undertook to secure against the *Turks* that part of *Georgia* where *Teflis* stood. Hereupon the king made him *Khân* of the whole country, and sent *Ali Kûli Khân* with 5000 men to support his design. A. D. 1579.

On the approach of spring, *Mostafa* marched from *Arzerûm* in twelve days to *Khârs*; and having, in twenty more, fortified the place by the hands of the unwilling soldiery, detached about 19,000 men to *Teflis*, under the command of *Hassan Pâshâ*, son of the grand *Wazîr* *Mohammed*, a very brave officer. Being come to the famous straits of *Tomanis*, he was, in his passage through the woods, attacked by *Ali Kûli Khân* and *Simon*; where he lost a great many men. But as soon as he was clear of the forests, he made a halt; which the *Persians* mistaking as done out of fear to advance, attacked him a second time, and fell into an ambush laid for them; where most of them were slain, and *Ali Kûli Khân* made prisoner. *Hassan* after this relieved *Teflis*, but in his return was way-laid a second time at *Tomanis*. From this danger, however, he was freed by the advice of *Ali Kûli Khân*, on promise of liberty for that piece of service; yet he broke his word, under pretence that it was not in his power to perform it. *Simon* fretted much at this disappointment: but still pursued him so eagerly, that he destroyed the rear of his army, and took all his treasure from him. *Hassan*, in eight days march, got to *Khârs*, whither *Mostafa* returning not long after with his army, much weakened and discontented; there disbanded them, and finished this year's campaign. A. D. 1579.

To favour the expedition, and open an easier passage into *Georgia* than that by land, *Morâd* had sent *Kilij Ali*, with a great fleet into the *Euxine Sea*, to erect some forts in *Mingrelia*; which were presently after his departure demolished by the inhabitants. *Hassan* was nobly rewarded by the *Soltân* for his services: but *Mostafa* was disgraced, and *Sinân Pâshâ*, his enemy, made general. He was likewise soon after advanced to the *Wazîrship*, on the death of *Mohammed*; who was stabbed in the open *Divân*, by a soldier, whom he had deprived of his pay.^e Mingrelia curbed.

MORAD, intent on carrying on the war, the prime *Wazîr* is sent, in the year 988, with a great army against the *Persians*; who, seeing their whole nation threatened with destruction, sue for peace. For that purpose they send *Ibrâhîm Khân*, a man of great subtilty, who, by his speeches and presents, so moves the *Wazîr*, then entered within the *Persian* borders, that the army was immediately ordered to march back, and the ambassador sent with commendatory letters to the *Porte*. But *Morâd* thinking it too early to grant peace till the enemy was exhausted, as well as dishonourable for his arms to be diverted by deceitful proposals, refuses *Ibrâhîm's* petition, and deprives *Sinân Pâshâ* of his post, advancing *Ferbâd Pâshâ* in his room.^h Persian embassy unsuccessful. Hej. 988. A. D. 1580.

THE Christian historians say, there were two ambassadors sent from *Persia*; *Maxud*, or *Masûd*, *Khân*, in 1580, and *Ibrâhîm Khân*, the year following, both unsuccessful in their negotiations: that the first year *Sinân Pâshâ* did nothing but supply *Teflis* with necessaries; was hindered by rains from building a fort at *Tomanis*; and lost 9000 men in two attempts to carry off cattle, by the forces of *Tokmak* and *Simon*, who watched his motion: that *Sinân* having sent to the king of *Persia* about peace, first *Hayder*, an *Aga*, and then *Ibrâhîm Khân*, arrived; who being dispatched forward to *Constantinople*, *Sinân* got leave to go to court, in order to advise what articles were most proper to be insisted upon: that after all, this ambassador not agreeing to their terms, he was first affronted, and then closely confined, with so much rigour, that though 100 of his domestics died of the plague, yet he could not obtain the favour to be removed to some other place, till at length he was sent prisoner to *Arzerûm*.

SINAN PASHA was now made grand *Wazîr*; and *Mohammed Pâshâ*, nephew to *Mostafa*, the late general, sent to relieve *Teflis*, against the *Wazîr's* advice. Having gathered 25,000 men at *Arzerûm*, he was joined by *Hassan*, *Pâshâ* of *Kâra Amîd*, or *Diyârbekr*, and *Manujekér*, the *Georgian* prince, now turned *Mohammedan*, and called *Mostafa*. When they were advanced as far as *Gori*, within thirty miles of *Teflis*, they discovered a great army of *Georgians*, mixed with *Persians* in *Georgian* habits, because the peace was then depending. Next day, the *Turks* having crossed a river which parted the two armies, the *Georgians*, with great fury, fell on them before they could draw up in order, made a great slaughter of them, and took the military chest, with most of their provision: so that when the *Pâshâ*, with the rest who fled, got to *Teflis*, he was forced to raise 40,000 ducats among the officers to pay the garrison, and sent to *Zaghen* for provisions. Affairs of Georgia.

^e MINADOL, l. iv.^h CANT. p. 231, & seq.

A. D. 1580.
Manujeher's
history.

MOMAMMED, having staid only two days at *Teflis*, marched back by the way of *Tomanis*; and being come to *Altunkala*, the castle of *Mostafa* the Georgian, he invited that prince to a council of war, with a design to cut him off. *Mostafa*, who had notice of this plot, with fifty choice men, went to the general's tent, where a sham mandate from the emperor was read. This *Mostafa* promised to obey: but when he was about to take his leave, the *Hapiji Basbi* came up; and, pulling him by the sleeve, would have forced him to sit down. At the same instant, the Georgian prince crying out, with his sword killed the general's lieutenant, cut off the *Pâshâ* of *Kâra Amîd*'s ear, and desperately wounded *Mohammed* himself in several places. This affair caused great confusion in the army; while *Mostafa* immediately gave the *Soltân* notice of the conspiracy against him, and was honoured with a vest¹.

Turkish anti-
fice.

MORAD laid all the fault of these misfortunes on the prime *Wazîr*, for not staying in the east to command the army; while *Sinân* retorted the blame on the emperor himself for employing *Mohammed* against his advice. He added, that they ought not to proceed in the war by erecting forts, since there was not money enough in the treasury to support the garrisons; and that if the *Soltân* expected a good issue of things, he ought to go to the war in person. But this advice was so disliked by the effeminate emperor, that he banished *Sinân Pâshâ*, and made

A. D. 1582.

Schaus Pâshâ, his brother-in law, *Wazîr*. At the same time, being resolved to carry on the war, he appointed *Ferbâd*, a man of great courage and experience, general of the forces; proposing at first to employ him no farther than to secure the passage to *Teflis*, and destroy the country of *Mostafa* the Georgian: but when he heard of the troubles arising in *Persia* between the king and his youngest son *Abbâs Mirza*, he ordered *Ferbâd* to build a fortress at *Rivân*, and secure the passage from *Khârs* thither, so to open the way to *Tauris*. As for *Mostafa* the Georgian, he directed the general to dissemble with him for the present, and make use of him to convey succours to *Teflis*².

Persian near
removed.

H. J. 991.

A. D. 1583.

THE new *Wazîr*, in 991, with numerous forces, enters the *Persian* borders, and repairs the walls of *Rivân*; but either through cowardice or corruption did nothing else worthy memory. What is worse, he lost *Tibrîs*; and, after some defeats, returns towards winter with his army.

Manujeher
revolts.

THE *Turkish* historians afford us no more than this short account of *Ferbâd*'s performances; but the Christian writers relate them more at large, and to his advantage. According to them, *Ferbâd*, having gotten his army ready, marched to *Rivân*; where seizing on the houses and gardens of *Tokmâk*, he, in fifteen days, erects a strong fortress, 750 yards in compass, without opposition from that lord; who could procure no aid for the purpose. Then leaving *Sinân Pâshâ*, a renegade *Genoese*, with 8000 men to garrison the place, he marched to *Khârs*. There he received news of the revolt of *Mostafa* the Georgian: for being on the way to *Teflis*, with 30,000 ducats, accompanied by two *Kapiji* and a *Chausb*, he met with his cousin *Stephen*, who persuaded him to renounce *Mohammedism*; after which, killing the *Turks*, they divided the treasure between them. However, the general had the good fortune to relieve *Teflis*, by means of *Hassan Pâshâ*; while *Resuan Pâshâ* ravaged *Mostafa*'s country: this done, he returned to winter at *Arzerûm*.

Simon defect-
ed.

THE king of *Persia* understanding that *Ferbâd* would next year invade *Naksivân*, or *Nakchûn*, with a mighty army, marched with all his forces to *Tauris*. Hereupon *Ferbâd* encouraged the report of his going to the first place, while he advanced to the castle of *Lori*, within two stages of *Teflis*, and strongly fortified it. After this he built a strong fort in the strait of *Tomanis*, and then sent 20,000 men, under *Resuan* and *Karâ Amîd*, *Pâshâs*, to put succours into *Teflis*. But *Simon*, the Georgian, seeing *Resuan* encamped with only 6000 men at the foot of a hill, believing that to be his whole force, charged him boldly with 4000 men; but was presently hemmed in by the *Turks*, who came from the other side of the hill. Here there ensued a terrible battle, in which *Simon* had his horse slain under him, and had like to have been taken, at such time as there appeared in view 10,000 men sent to reinforce *Rusuan*: but he taking them for *Persians*, was put to such a stand, that it gave the brave Georgian, and his surviving troops, an opportunity to escape.

Janizaries
mutiny.

AFTER this *Ferbâd* resolved to go and ravage the country of *Manujeher*; but the year being far spent, when they came to *Arkbelek*, the soldiers tumultuously rose, and abusing the general, would have him return to *Arzerûm*. At length, he pacified them: but being come to *Ghiska*, and proposing to build a fort there, they flew to their arms, and in a trice overturned the tents of all the commanders; telling the general, with threats and ill language, that they were neither masons nor bricklayers. *Ferbâd* perceiving there was no other remedy, marched to *Ardekhân*; and there disbanding the army, returned to *Arzerûm*, hated by every-body³.

¹ MINADOL, l. iv & v.

² Ibid. l. vi.

³ MINADOL, l. vi. RICAUT, in Morad III.

^a NEITHER was *Morád* himself pleased with his conduct, among other things, for letting *Ali Kúli Khán* escape; whom he took for his guide in the expedition. At the same time ^{A. D. 1583. Revolution in Krim.} having conceived a great opinion of *Ozmán Páshá*, then in *Sbírzan*, he sent for him, in order to make him general. But *Shaus*, the grand *Wazír*, being jealous of that *Páshá*'s abilities, wrote to *Mohammed Khán* at *Káffa* to way-lay him. The *Khán*, fearing *Ozmán* would complain of his not having sent the promised succours, detached 12,000 *Tatars*; who surprised *Ozmán* with only 4000 choice men, on the shores of the *Euxine Sea*: but yet were defeated by him with great slaughter. *Morád*, being informed of this affair, sent *Kilij Ali*, his admiral, with a fleet to assist *Ozmán*; who, sailing to *Káffa*, put the *Khán* to death, and set up his brother *Islán* in his room ^m.

^b THIS summer *Morád*, to divert himself with his mutes mounted on heavy horses, rode himself about them on a nimble nag, striking sometimes the horse, sometimes the man, at pleasure: but in the midst of his gaiety, being taken with a fit of his old distemper, the falling-sickness, he fell off his horse, and was taken up for dead. The *Janizaries* believing him to be so, according to custom, raised a tumult; which ended, as usual, in strangling some of them. *Morád* recovering, to quash the rumour, rode from his palace to *Sancta Sophia* (Q). The same year an accident happened, which had like to have caused a war between the *Turks* and *Venetians*. The widow of *Ramadán Páshá*, late governor of *Tripoli*, being bound thither with three gallies, and driven by a storm into the *Adriatic*, *Pietro Emo*, a *Venetian* senator, who ^{Emo's barbarity.} then commanded in the gulph, took them, and committed horrid barbarities. He slew 250 of the men, and *Ramadán*'s son in his mother's lap: then caused the women to be ravished, their breasts to be cut off, and afterwards thrown into the sea, not sparing even the Christians. Among the rest there was a beautiful virgin, whom *Emo*'s brother first deflowered, and then, notwithstanding all her intreaties, drowned. This news so enraged the *Turks* at *Constantinople*, that they had much ado to refrain killing the *Venetian Baillo*, or *resident*, there. However, on *Morád*'s demanding satisfaction, the senate begged pardon, and not only put *Emo* to death, but also restored the gallies with the goods ⁿ.

ABOUT this time both *Syria* and *Egypt* were embroiled in troubles. *Hassan*, the eunuch, ^{The Durzi invaded.} *Páshá* of *Kayro*, having by his exactions greatly oppressed the people, they petition to remove him. *Morád* on this sends thither *Ibráhim Páshá*, whom he had before designed to gratify with that employment, as he designed him for his son-in-law. But the new governor more greedy than the old, taking more unjust methods to amass treasure, was in a short time recalled to accomplish the intended marriage with the *Soltân*'s daughter. He was ordered to return through the country of the *Drusi* (R), to settle matters among them. They were at this time governed by five *Amírs*, or *commanders*; three of them, *Ebn Frek*, *Ali Ebn Karfus*, and *Mohammed Ebn Mansúr*, having been always friends, came and submitted themselves to *Ibráhim*; who, in July 1585, arrived at *Damaskus* with 20,000 horse. *Sbarífo'ddín*, the fourth *Amír*, who was poor, thought fit likewise to tender himself with presents to the *Páshá*, by whom he was imprisoned.

^c BUT *Ebn Mán*, called by the *Turks* *Mán Oglí*, the fifth, excused himself by letter for not waiting on him, on account of his enemies. Hereupon *Ibráhim* ravaged his country, burning ^{cruelty,} twenty-four towns, and then encamped on *Mount Libanus*. However, the *Drusi* defeated 1500 of his rear, under *Wéis Páshá*, killing 500, and taking their camp. *Ibráhim* finding the artifices and presents he made use of ineffectual to insnare *Mán Oglí*, who was warned by his father's fate not to trust to fair words, he ravaged the remainder of that *Amír*'s country, and burned *Andrea*, the place of his residence, seated on the hill, with nineteen other towns. After this he inticed the *Makadem*, or *agent*, of *Mán Oglí* at *Andrea*, with 350 soldiers under his command, to come to him, by a promise to make him a *Sanják*. But as soon as *Ibráhim* had him in his power, he ordered *Ebn Frek* to put the men to the sword, and the covetous *Makadem* to be flayed alive; which cruel punishment he bore with great bravery, reviling the *Páshá* for his perfidy.

^f NOT content with these barbarities, *Ibráhim* ordered 100 of *Sbarífo'ddín*'s followers to be ^{and rapacious-} slain; and, with 4000 men from his gallies at *Sidon*, ravaged all the coasts as far as *Cesarea* ^{ness.} of *Palestine*, whither *Mán Oglí*'s territories extended; destroying a multitude of people of all ages and sexes, together with towns and castles, and carrying away 3000 persons into slavery. When he had done this, he appointed *Ebn Karfus Páshá* of the *Drusians* country, after getting

^m MINADOI, &c. ubi sup.ⁿ LEUCL.(Q) *Leunclavius*, who saw him, observed that he looked very wan.(R) Rather *Durzi*, a people not descended from the *Druids*, the *Truski*, or from the *Franks*, in the time of the *Crusade*, as hath been idly asserted by the Christian historians; but are the native inhabitants, who take their

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

name from one *Durzi*, the author of their religion, under *Hakim*, 3d *Fatemite Khalifay* of *Egypt*, in 1020, whom he taught to be God incarnate. Their sacred books, in four volumes 4^{to}, are in the king of *France*'s library, and were translated by M. *Petit de la Croix*, interpreter to *Lewis XIV.*

A. D. 1583. what he could out of him and others ; carried off *Ebn Mansûr* prisoner, contrary to his faith ; and then sailed for *Constantinople*, with so vast a treasure, that, according to *Minadoi*, he presented the *Soltân* with a million of gold, over and above the revenue of *Egypt*, amounting to 600,000 ducats, and other rich presents both to him and the court ladies ; which last, as *Leunclavius* writes, were valued at 20,000 *Soltânîns* ^o.

Affairs of
Persia.

Hej. 993.
A. D. 1585.

To return to the affairs of *Persia*. *Ozmân Pâshâ* being arrived at *Constantinople*, *Morâd* made him prime *Wazîr*, in the room of *Sbaus*, and likewise general of his army against the *Persians*. The new general, to be the earlier in the field, winters his forces in *Kastamoni*, and in spring, 993, recovers *Tibris* : to secure which more effectually, he builds a castle on a neighbouring hill, which commanded the city ; and with such dispatch, that, on the 30th day, the walls were in a condition to withstand assaults. Mean while some of the *Janizaries* being slain in a fray with certain inhabitants, who had affronted them, *Ozmân Pâshâ* ordered all, except the women and children, to be put to the sword, and their goods distributed among the soldiers. After this, peopling the city with new colonies, he places *Jâffer Pâshâ* (S) over it with the title of *Wazîr* ^p.

The Turks
defeated.

WITH this account of the *Turkish* authors the Christian writers for the general agree ; but add many particulars, and are more circumstantial. *Ozmân Pâshâ*, who set out for *Arzerûm* in *August*, being come to the plain of *Kalderan*, or *Khladeran*, famous for the battle between *Selîm* and *Ismaïl*, he reviewed his army, consisting of 180,000 men, and then marched towards *Tauris*. The van-guard being arrived near the city, to discover the enemy, at the *Bridge of Salt Water*, where they halted to refresh, they were suddenly set upon by *Amîr Hâmzeb*, at the head of 10,000 men, with such fury, that he quickly broke them, and slew 7000, besides the prisoners, horses, and standards, which he carried to his blind father *Shâh Mohammed*, who lay twelve miles off with 50,000 men. As soon as *Ozmân* was informed of this defeat, he detached 14,000 troops to pursue the prince ; who, facing about, engaged them for two hours till night parted them, slaying 6000 men.

Tauris taken.

NEXT morning the *Turks* encamped within two miles of *Tauris*, where *Ali Kûli Khân* commanded : but having a garrison of no more than 4000 *Persians*, after he had made two notable sallies, he retired to the king's camp. The citizens, although thus left to shift for themselves, yet gallantly defended their gates, and killed multitudes of the enemy, who attempted to force them : yet at length, being obliged to give way to numbers, the *Turks* broke in and made great slaughter ; which the general on notice put a stop to. Then pitching on a garden, on the south side of the city, for its delightfulness called *Sekes Jenet*, or the *eighth paradise*, he set his men to build a fort ; which in thirty-six days was finished. Mean time *Ozmân* fell sick ; and eight *Janizaries*, with some *Spahis*, having been found strangled in a bath, he gave the city up to the soldiers, who for several days committed the greatest rapines and barbarities. *Amîr Hâmzeb* was so incensed at this, that he ordered his army to march, and sent 500 horse before to provoke the *Turks* : who thinking the whole *Persian* force was coming on them, to the number of 40,000, under the command of *Sikala Pâshâ*, and *Mohammed, Pâshâ* of *Kâra Amîd*, advanced to fight them ; and were drawn forward, by skirmishing, about eight miles, to the place where *Hâmzeb*, with 20,000 forces, met them. Here was fought one of the fiercest battles that ever happened. The *Pâshâ* of *Kâra Amîd* was soon put to flight, while *Sikala* still bore up against the enemy ; but at last he was forced to follow his colleague, after 8000 of his men had been slain.

Cruel slaughter.

The Turks
routed.

THE *Persian* prince, flushed with this success, marched to attack the whole *Turkish* army ; and, coming up with them, fell on with incredible fury. Then entering into the thickest of the enemy, hewing down all before him, he singled out the *Pâshâ* of *Kâra Amîd*, who commanded instead of the sick general ; and, striking off his head, gave it to be carried at the end of a lance : the *Turks* were so confounded at this sight, that they were quickly routed. They lost on this occasion 20,000 men, with the *Pâshâs* of *Trapezond*, the *Sanjak* of *Prusa*, and five more, besides *Morâd, Pâshâ* of *Karamânia*, who was taken prisoner ^q.

Ozmân at-
tacked.

OZMAN PASHA, having nothing more to do in these countries, set forward on his return, with the greater part of the forces : but at *Sofyân* (T), he is met by *Hâmzeb Mirza*, the bravest general the *Persians* then had ; who with a great army attacked him. Both sides fought obstinately from sun-rise till midnight. *Hâmzeb Mirza* ran up and down the army ; one while he charged in front, another while rallied his disordered troops in the rear, and both by words and actions performed the duty of a good general. On the contrary, *Ozmân Pâshâ*,

^o MINADOI, l. vii.

^p CANT. p. 232.

^q MINADOI, l. viii. RICAUT.

(S) *Minadoi* says, he was *Pâshâ* of *Tripoli* ; and that 12,000 men were left in garrison.

(T) At *Sankasan*, seven miles from *Tauris*, so says

Minadoi, in a letter from a *Turkish* officer inserted by that author.

a being sick, rode on a mule, encouraging his men by his voice. At length the *Persians* were obliged to give ground; and the night after, *Ozmân*, exhausted with the labour of the foregoing day, breathed his last; and so crowned with martyrdom a life which he had rendered illustrious by his exploits[†]. A. D. 1585.

With regard to this battle, *Minadoi* informs us, that the *Turks*, being about to encamp at *Hâmzeh Mir-Sankasan*, perceived in the rear a confused noise, by which they judged the enemy to be approaching: but, while several troops drew that way to oppose them, the prince of *Persia*, with 28,000 men, without any signal of battle, attacked them on the other side. He first seized 18,000 camels and mules loaden with provisions, besides the plunder of the town; then fell on with a bravery and fury which astonished the *Turks*. They would have penetrated to the very tent of the sick general himself, if the cannon had not been brought to bear upon them; which yet, in that mixture of both armies, destroyed more *Turks* than *Persians*, who lost but few men in this gallant action, while their enemies had 20,000 slain. Among the rest *Ozmân* died here, not by the sword, but of an ague and the flux[‡]. Hâmzeh Mirza's bravery.

UPON his death, the army chose *Sinân Pâshâ* (U) for general, and pursue their march. But *Hâmzeh Mirza* follows them close; and though unable, by reason of his late loss, to attack the *Othmâns* in the field, yet he harrasses them with continual skirmishes, lies in ambush at narrow passes, and does them more damage than if he had defeated them. Having thus weakened their army, and assembled more forces, he at length attacks them at *Salmâs* (X), and furiously assaults their camp. But whilst he is bravely leading on his men, he falls among the foremost, and by his death frees the *Othmâns* from great danger: for the *Persians*, struck with the loss of their general, immediately retire, and give the *Musulmâns* an open passage to *Wân*[§]. The Turks pursued.

THE *Turkish* historian seems to have anticipated the death of prince *Hâmzeh*, as appears not only from *Minadoi*'s history of these wars, but also from a letter inserted by that author, written by the *Sanjâk* of *Hamâh*, in *Syria*, to *Ali*, *Pâshâ* of *Halep*; who, in his account of the retreat to *Wân*, mentions nothing of the prince's death; and as the *Turks* are mistaken in the time, so it is likely they are in the manner of his death, which is differently related by the Christians. According to *Minadoi*, prince *Hâmzeh*, being informed of *Ozmân*'s death, followed the *Turks* in their retreat, then commanded by *Sikûlâ Pâshâ*, and bravely attacked them again, though not with such success as before. His design was to have decoyed them into a deep marsh, by feigning to retire: but this being discovered by the rebels, *Masûd* and *Dawd Khân*, the *Pâshâ* caused a great wing to be formed, in order to charge the enemy. The prince, perceiving by this that his intentions were traversed, resolved to retire in earnest, as he did; but not without the loss of 3000 men. After this, the *Turks* met with no interruption in their march, by *Salmâs*, to *Wân*; where, after a general review, in which 85,000 men were found wanting, they were disbanded: only succours were first sent to *Tefsîs*, under the conduct of *Dawd Khân*; who for that service was made *Pâshâ* of *Marâsh*, as *Masûd* was of *Halep*[¶]. Retire to Wân.

THE *Othmân* forces being thus obliged, through weakness, to quit their conquests, the *Persians* next year besiege *Tibrîs*: but as *Ferbâd Pâshâ* was sent with numerous forces to its relief, he compels the enemy to raise the siege, and builds a new castle between that city and *Rivân*; about which places, as strong bulwarks, he keeps his army four whole years. In summer he fights the *Persians*, and, that he might be nearer their borders, passes the winter at *Arzerûm*^{*}.

LET us hear from *Minadoi* a more particular account of this expedition. The *Persians*, unable to bear the thoughts of the fortress built at *Tauris*, the king engaged 10,000 *Turk-mâns* in his service; but they, to revenge the death of their commander *Amîr Khân*, desired *Tabmâsp*, the *Shâh*'s youngest son, for their leader; with design to embroil the state by setting him up for king. Their request being granted, they undertook the siege of the castle; but when they had carried their trenches to the very ditch, so that all things were ready for the assault, they suddenly marched away in the night for *Kasbîn*, giving young *Tabmâsp* the title of king, and reviling his father as well as brother. Prince *Hâmzeh*, boiling with indignation at this atrocious affront, with 12,000 men, and the king's usual guards, followed the rebels; and having overtaken them, a day's march from *Kasbîn*, quickly routed them: for the greater part of them, disliking the conspiracy, would not fight. So that prince *Tabmâsp*, Persians defeated. Hej. 994. A. D. 1586. The Turk-mâns revolt.

† CANT. p. 232, & seqq. p. 233.

‡ MINADOI, l. viii.

§ CANT. p. 233.

¶ MINADOI, l. viii.

* CANT.

(U) *Minadoi* says they chose *Sikâlâ*, or *Sigela*, *Pâshâ*.

(X) Prince *Cantemir* says, this city was unknown both to him and the maps; but believes it was dependent on *Sofyân*. What map our author used we know not:

but *Salmâs* is to be found in most of the maps on this side of *Europe*, being situate on the lake of *Marâgab*, or of the *Shâh*, about 85 miles to the south-west of *Sofyân*.

A. D. 1586. with *Mohammed Khán*, their general, and *Soltán Khalifah*, being taken, the two latter were beheaded on the spot.

Salmás taken. JAFFER PASHA, governor of *Tauris*, fearing prince *Hámzeb* would return to renew the siege, sent for aid to *Sigála Páshá*; who presently set forward with his troops: but understanding in the way by some *Persians*, that their king was on his march with an army towards *Sankazán*, he, through fear, retired to *Wán*. For all this *Jaffer* had the good fortune to be supplied by the succeeding general, before the *Persians*, engaged in their domestic broils, could come to attack him: for it was July 1586, before prince *Hámzeb* could bring an army to besiege *Tauris*; nor did he stay long there: but understanding that *Zeniel*, *Páshá* of *Salmás*, who had deserted the *Persian* interest, lay encamped before that city, he marched thither suddenly with twelve thousand men, and, routing him, took *Salmás*; which was miserably sacked. He likewise defeated the *Páshá* of *Riván* near that city, and then retired to his father's camp, where the rest of the army, to the number of forty thousand men, were assembled.

Hámzeh Mirzah treacherously slain. MEAN time *Ferbád Páshá*, the *Turkish* general, having passed *Wán*, the prince detached *Ali Kúli Khán*, with his eight thousand soldiers, from *Heri*, or *Herát*, and part of the *Turkmáns*, under *Imám Kúli Khán*, to infect the enemy at all the advantageous passages in their way to *Tauris*; but the latter being wholly influenced by the former, and he a traitor, they were so far from executing their orders, that the *Turks* relieved that city without any impediment. Disappointment having broken the prince's measures, and being now informed of *Ali Kúli Khán's* conspiracy, with other lords, to betray him into the hands of the *Turks*, he was obliged to abandon his enterprizes against the foreign enemy, in order to secure himself against the domestic traitors. These at length he chased out of the parts about *Tauris*, and then marched in haste to *Ganjeb*, with design to intercept the succours which the *Turks* intended for *Teflis*. As he had always found *Imám Kúli Khán* faithful to him, he here communicated to him his resolution: but while this gallant prince wasted the proper time for putting the same in execution, he was murdered in his sleep by one of his eunuchs: but on what occasion, or by whom set on, could not with any certainty be known^y.

Affairs of Hungary. BUT to leave the affairs of *Asia* for a while, let us see what the *Turks* have been doing in *Europe*. Notwithstanding the league between the emperor *Rodolphus II.* and *Morád*, many sharp rencounters happened between the *Turks* and Christians on the frontiers, particularly in December 1586, when the former, making an inroad into *Kroatia*, were defeated, and the *Páshá* of *Bosnia*, with his brother, slain. The *Hungarians* also, in February following, provoked by the frequent ravages of the *Othmáns*, surprised the castle of *Koppán*, near the lake of *Balaton*, and got a considerable booty. The *Turks*, waiting an opportunity to revenge the injury, in August destroyed seventeen villages about *Limbach*, and carried off all the country people with their effects: but *George* count *Serini*, governor of *Kanisia*, being informed of this, he speedily assembled some troops, and being joined by the counts *Nadafti*, *Bashiani*, and others, seized the passes between the *Drave* and *Móra*, through which the *Turks* were to march, and made a horrible slaughter of them. Among them fell the *Sanják* of *Five Churches*; and he of *Mohatz*, sticking fast in a marsh as he fled, was shot through the head. The *Sanják* of *Koppán* was some time after taken also, with thirteen hundred soldiers, and fifteen hundred horses; besides two thousand men slain, and all the prisoners, with the spoil, recovered.

The Turks worsted. THIS service was performed with no more than fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse, of whom there were only eleven slain, but most of the rest wounded. When *Morád* heard of these things, he ordered *Ali*, *Páshá* of *Buda*, to be strangled for violating the league, and *Sinán Páshá* to take his post. Yet this *Páshá*, in September, broke into the Christian territories, and burned *Saxo*. But *Claudius Russel*, general in those quarters, defeated and slew two thousand five hundred of the *Turks*, besides two hundred drowned in the river *Schayo*. The Christians soon after, in their turn, took some forts from the enemy in *Upper Hungary*: but *Sinán* was at length displaced for what he did, and *Ferbád*, the general in the *Persian* expedition, put into his post^z: to whom now it is time to return.

Georgia over-run. THIS *Páshá*, having acted on the frontiers of *Persia*, as before has been related, at length penetrates into *Ghyurjestán*, or *Georgia*, and subduing the castles of that province, builds two towns *Luri* and *Ghiunje* (Y). After this, joining battle with *Káradághí Mehemed Khán*, gene-

^y MINADOT, lib. ix.

^z RICAUT, in Amurath III.

(Y) This must be the same with *Ganjeb*, a fine city near the river *Kór*, and of great antiquity, as well as *Luri*, or *Lori*: so that the *Turks* rather repaired than built them.—The Christian writers say, that the inha-

bitants deserted *Ganjeb* on the approach of the *Turks*, but afterwards returned, and agreed to pay 5000 ducats yearly tribute. *Ricaut*.

a ral of the *Persians*, he puts him to flight, and so effectually disperses his army, that the forces of the *Kezilbâsh*, or *Red Heads*, dared not from that time to appear in the field (Z). A. D. 1587.

THE *Shâh*, discouraged by so many defeats, and the loss of the provinces of *Rivân*, *Ghiunje*, and *Hârâbig* (+), began to think in earnest of suing for peace. But as *Morâd* did not seem very forward to grant it, he promised to relinquish claim to all the countries subdued by the *Othmâns*, and send his brother *Hayderjân* to the *Porte*, as a pledge that no *Persian* army should ever enter the *Othmân* dominions, or make any private or open attempt against that empire. On these conditions, sworn to on both sides, a peace is at last concluded (A), and an end put to a long and bloody war. Hej. 995.
A. D. 1587.

b BUT the troops who had reduced the foreign enemies of the empire soon became its intestine foes. For the *Janizaries*, being stirred up by the enemies of the *Defterdâr*, or high treasurer, whom they accused with debasing the coin, and paying them with it (B), flock together, and threaten to kill him in his palace. That officer, informed of the danger, flies to the imperial throne, and begs *Morâd*'s protection. The rebels, hearing this, surround the palace, and insolently demand the treasurer. On the emperor's refusal to deliver him they grow more insolent; and, guarding the avenues, threaten death to the *Soltân* and all his court. The Janizaries mutiny.
Hej. 997.
A. D. 1589.

IN this distress, *Morâd*, thinking it proper to proceed to extremities, left the imperial majesty should fall into contempt, first arms all his chamberlains and *Baltâji* (C), then orders the gates to be opened, and the *Janizaries* to be attacked, as infidels and disobedient. His orders are vigorously executed: for his domestics rushing like lions on the disorderly mutineers, killed one hundred and seventeen at the first onset, before they could come together, and dispersed the rest (D). Of these *Morâd* intended to make examples: but, by the intercession of *Sinân Pâshâ*, the prime *Wazîr*, he pardoned all but the ringleaders; who, by his command, were thrown into the sea.^a Are quelled and pardoned.

THE same year the *Polish Kossâks*, according to custom, made an inroad into the dominions of the *Turks* and *Tatars*, surprised *Kessan*, and did much mischief. The *Tatars*, by way of reprisal, breaking into *Podolia*, with forty thousand men, committed great ravages; which had like to have embroiled the *Poles* with the *Turks*: but matters were accommodated by the mediation of *Elizabeth*, queen of *England*, and the league renewed^b. As we meet with nothing in the *Turkish* historians for the next four years, although many considerable actions happened in *Europe*, we shall supply that chasm out of the Christian writers.

MORAD, being now at peace with all the world, his *Pâshâs* endeavour to excite him to a new war; but were much divided in their opinions, with regard to the nation against whom they were to employ their arms. Some were for breaking the peace with the *Persians*, in order to confirm their late conquest, by making more. Others were for subduing *Morokko*, in order to extend their footing in *Africa*, as well as commerce. A third sort were for invading *Malta*, to revenge their daily injuries and former disgraces received from the corsairs of that island. Many were for attacking the *Spaniards*, whose power was a bar to the *Othmâns* attaining universal monarchy; and, as they were then embroiled in the *Low Countries*, this counsel had like to have prevailed. Some again were for turning their forces against the *Venetians* and *Italy*; while others proposed carrying the war into *Poland*. War declared against the emperor.
A. D. 1591.

BUT at length it was resolved to fall upon the emperor of *Germany*, to which *Morâd* was most of all inclined, by the persuasion of *Ozmân*, the grand *Wazîr*, and *Hassan*, *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia*. These, under pretence that the *Ukokki* (E), and other of the archduke's subjects, infested the *Turkish* territories, as well by sea as land, got leave to make incursions into *Kroatia*, and seize the trading ships of *Venice*. Hereupon both the emperor and the republic complain by their ambassadors at the *Porte*, and demand redress. But although *Morâd* made profession of keeping the eight years truce with *Rodolph II.* yet he ordered the *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia* to enter A. D. 1592.

^a CANT. p. 233, & seqq.

^b RICAUT, ubi sup.

(Z) The Christian historians mention nothing of this; but say, that when *Ferbâd* would have advanced farther into the enemy's country, and that part of his army was cut off by the way, the soldiers mutinied, and wounding, forced him to return. *Ricaut*.

(+) Or *Kârâbâgh*.

(A) This peace, according to the Christian historians, was made for ten years, in the year 1588, so memorable for the defeat of the mighty *Armada* of *Spain* by the *English* fleet. On which occasion *Morâd*, by letter, congratulated *Elizabeth*, that glorious queen, in very obliging terms.

(B) It is said also, that they were offended with a new sort of tax; so that next night a fire happening, they

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

refused to quench it, and even hindered the people from doing it; whereby seven mosks, five great *Khâns*, or inns, 15,000 houses, besides warehouses and shops, were consumed. *Ricaut*.

(C) The *Baltâji*, for this service, are called to this day in the imperial palace, *Khâskuller*, pure and faithful servants. *Cant*.

(D) The Christian writers mention nothing of this. On the contrary, they say, that when *Morâd* saw all men were against the tax, he sacrificed the *Beglerbeg* of *Greece*, and *Passî*, the *Jew*, who were the contrivers of it, to the rage of the people. *Ricaut*.

(E) A sort of banditti, who had formed a kind of state towards the *Venetian* frontiers.

A. D. 1592. *Kroatia* with an army of fifty thousand men; who, laying siege to *Wibitz*, the capital of that country, took it upon articles ^c.

Successes in
Kroatia and
in Hungary.

WHILE the emperor was soliciting the princes and states of *Germany*, the *Turkish* army daily increased in *Kroatia*; where they hemmed in six thousand foot and five hundred horse, most of whom were slain. The island of *Turopolis*, in the *Kulp*, was destroyed also with fire and sword, by *Hassan Pâshâ*; who, being encamped between that river and the *Save*, passed over to it in the dead of the night. After this, seven thousand troops, sent by the emperor to oppose the incursions of the enemy, having been misinformed by the scouts sent to discover their strength, were by the *Turks* suddenly surrounded in their camp, where they lay negligently secure, and were almost all slain, after a most gallant resistance which they made, altho' they were deserted by their officers. These afterwards paid for their cowardice with the loss of their heads: but the soldiers sold their lives very dear, having slain the *Turks* twelve thousand men in that desperate action. The night following the *Othmân* forces surprised the castle of *St. George*, and slew all, except one hundred and fifty persons, without respect to age or sex. They likewise took a great many prisoners about *Siseg*, besides three hundred waggons, with provisions for the relief of the garrisons.

WHILE these things were doing in *Kroatia*, they, in *September*, suddenly attacked the castle of *Tokay*, and the *Lesser Komorn*, or *Sbut*, in *Hungary*: but failing in those attempts, the *Pâshâ* of *Ziget* also pitched his tents between that city and *Rodesto*. The *Turkish* army, now reported to be about one hundred and sixty thousand strong, committed great ravages, and carried off a multitude of people. This news made the Christians hasten their preparations; while the *Turks*, being informed that they had thrown a strong bridge over the *Drave*, withdrew into their own territories; and the rather, as the plague, which raged at *Constantinople*, had now reached their army.

Farther ad-
vantages.

A. D. 1593.

BUT in the beginning of the next year the enemy renewed their incursions. The garrison of *Petrina*, a fort newly built by the *Turks*, contrary to the peace, on the *Kulp*, entering into the isle of *Turopolis*, burnt the town and castle of *Bech-Vocobinam*; and, having made a great slaughter, carried away four hundred prisoners. The same garrison took also the town of *Martenize*, and another castle near the *Kulp*. The castles of *St. Hedwig* and *Isna* fell likewise into the hands of the enemy: but they failed in *Hungary*, where three thousand of them thought to have surprised *Nubusel*.

The Pâshâ of
Bosnia out-
witted and
slain.

THE emperor *Rodolph*, being convinced of *Morâd's* resolution for war, as well by these hostilities as the strict confinement of his ambassador at *Constantinople*, wrote both to the *Soltân* and *Sinân Pâshâ*, the prime *Wazîr*, upon the occasion, and was answered by the latter nothing to the purpose. Mean time summer approaching, the *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia* resolved to be revenged on the governor or abbot of *Siseg*, who had affronted him in the following manner. The *Pâshâ* having the year before sent a *Cbaus*, or messenger, to require him to surrender the castle, the abbot, after he had civilly entertained him, coming to understand that his steward had plotted to betray the castle, threw both him and the messenger out at a window into the *Save*. The *Pâshâ* sending to know why the *Cbaus* did not come back, was answered, that he had been dismissed some days before; adding, that if the *Pâshâ* would, to save his credit, send some men of quality to receive the monastery, he was ready to yield it up.

THREE days after, certain troops of horse, with the noblemen, arrived: but as soon as the latter, and five hundred others were admitted, the port-culices were let down, and the *Turks* cut to pieces. Their companions having fled with this ill news to the *Pâshâ*, he wrote to acquaint the abbot, that he would raze his monastery, and pull his skin over his ears. In order to perform his promise, after he had taken *Trenschin*, he with an army of thirty thousand men, in *June*, sat down before *Siseg*; and, after beating down the new tower, continued to batter the town for ten days without intermission. On this advice the bishop of *Zagrabia*, with *Eygenberg*, the imperial general, joined by count *Aversberg*, governor of *Carolstadt*, marched to *Gradisca*, with four thousand troops, there to wait for count *Serini*: but receiving notice from the besieged of their great distress, they were prevailed on by count *Aversberg* to proceed to their relief. When they were arrived within a mile of the enemy's camp, and the *Turks* had brought all their forces over the *Kulp*, the *Kroats* and *Hussârs*, who were posted in the van, began the charge: but, being overpowered by numbers, they, after a long conflict, began to retreat; when *Aversberg* coming on, restored the battle, and put the *Pâshâ* to flight. Then getting to the new bridge before the *Turks*, he cut off their passage; so that they were all, to the number of eighteen thousand, either slain, or drowned in the *Kulp* or *Oder*; among whom was the general. Hereupon those who remained at the siege, setting fire to their powder and provision, fled; leaving their tents, artillery, and much spoil behind them ^d.

^c RICAUT, in Amurath III.

^d Ibid.

^a FOR all this success, the Christians failed to take *Petrina* : nor could the emperor procure a peace from *Morád*, who at length denounced war against him, and gave the command of his army, consisting of forty thousand men, of whom five thousand six hundred were *Janizaries*, to *Sinán Páshá*. While this general marched towards *Buda*, in *Hungary*, the *Beglerbeg* of *Greece*, with a greater force, enters *Kroatia*, and lays siege to *Sifeg*; which was exceedingly well defended till *September*, when it was taken by storm, and all the garrison put to the sword. A. D. 1593.
Sifeg taken.

MEAN time *Sinán Páshá*, being come before *Weisbrun*, invested that city : but the garrison, perceiving that it could not long be defended against so great a power, placed barrels of powder in mines under the walls, with trains to them, and so in the night endeavoured to escape; but being discovered, most of them were slain. However, the *Turks* greedily entering the city, many of them were blown up by the mines, and the place much defaced by the explosions. After this the castle of *Palotta* was surrendered to the *Páshá*, on condition that the garrison might depart with bag and baggage : but they were all slain, contrary to his oath, excepting the commander and two more. The consequence of this success was, that all the adjacent country near the lake of *Baleton* was easily subdued. Weisbrun reduced.

^b THE Christians having at last drawn together eighteen thousand men, count *Hardeck*, governor of *Raab*, about the end of *October*, laid siege to *Alba Regalis*; and, after some sharp assaults, raised it again, the beginning of *November*. But being informed by a spy, that twenty thousand men, under the *Páshá* of *Buda*, were at hand, he advanced towards them; and, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, bravely mounted the hill where the enemy were posted, fought and routed them, killing about eight thousand, and taking all their cannon, waggons, and provision, with many standards. After this he burned the suburbs of *Alba Regalis*, and returned to *Raab*. The Turks slaughtered.


^c Soon after count *Teffenbach*, with twenty four thousand men, laid siege to *Sabatza*, in *Upper Hungary*; which he took the 19th of *November*, and put all the garrison to the sword. From thence he marched to attack *Filek*; which the *Páshá* of *Temeswaer* came to relieve, with an army of eighteen thousand men. Hereupon the general, taking with him seven thousand choice soldiers, suddenly fell upon the *Turks* in their tents, routed them, and slew six thousand; then, taking all their cannon and baggage, returned to the camp before *Filek*: where, being joined by six thousand men under count *Palfy*, they renewed the siege with such vigour, that they took and burnt the city on the 24th of the same month. In two days more they forced the castle, maugre the obstinate resistance of the enemy, and put all to the sword, excepting eight hundred; who, having retired to the most inward part thereof, capitulated for their lives. Filek taken.

^d UPON these successes the *Turks* abandoned the castles of *Diistein* and *Somoske*, with the towns of *Setschine*, *Blavenstein*, and *Sallek*; while the severity of the season hindered the general from prosecuting his advantages. However, the enemy still continued to forsake other territories and places; as *Ainacke*, *Sollock*, *Westhe*, &c. The *Sanjâk* of *Palotto* also was defeated by *Peter the Hussâr*; and five thousand *Turks* more from *Petrina* were routed by count *Graswin*, and most of them drowned or slain. Castles abandoned.

^e HOSTILITIES began early next year, notwithstanding the severity of the season : but two thousand *Turks*, having made an inroad in the middle of *January* into the country about *Filek*, were set upon by count *Teffenbach*, and fifteen hundred slain or taken prisoners. The archduke *Matthias*, whom the emperor had appointed general of his forces, being informed by a *Turkish* soldier that *Novograde* had only eight hundred men in garrison, he used such diligence, that by the eighth of *March* he came before it with his whole army; after the castle, which was strongly fortified both by art and nature, had been battered with much fury, but not being attended with success, the battery was renewed; and the principal gunner, a renegade *German*, happening to be slain, the *Turks* were so discouraged, that they agreed to surrender, on condition of departing with their cloaths and scymitars only. This loss was resented so much, that the *Sanjâk* who delivered up the place was hanged on a tree near the gate of *Buda*, by order of the *Páshá* of that city. Novograde surrendered.
A. D. 1594.

^f ABOUT the same time count *Serini* possessed himself of the castles of *Bresenza*, *Sigest*, and *Babostche*, which were abandoned by the *Turks*, and left a passage open to *Sigetb*. In *Upper Hungary* count *Teffenbach*, the archduke's lieutenant-general, with an army of twenty thousand men, in *April*, laid siege to *Hatwan*, a strong town, six miles from *Buda*; whose *Páshá* marched with thirteen thousand choice men, to pass the *Sagijwa* at *Jasprin*, where there is a bridge and ford, in order to fall on the rear of the besiegers. But the count perceiving his design, crossed the river with much difficulty, and coming up with the *Páshá*, first disordered his rear with his cannon, and then fell furiously on their whole body. The *Turks* for a long time

^c RICAUT, in Amurath III.

A. D. 1594.  sustained the charge with wonderful resolution : but being at length routed, fled, and were a pursued almost as far as *Buda*. In this action they lost two thousand five hundred men ; for no quarter was given to prisoners ; also thirteen field-pieces, and twenty-four colours. They at the same time deserted *Jasprin*, and the fort of *Zabola*. After which the count renewed the siege of *Hatwan*.

Gran invest-
ed.

MEAN time the archduke, with an army of forty-four thousand men, on the sixth of *May*, sat down before *Gran*, for some time the metropolis of *Hungary* ; and with wild-fire burned *St. Adelbert's* tower, the church, and great part of the town. Next day the besiegers, having made a breach in the castle wall, made a fierce assault, but could not carry it. However the *Rascians* in the old town offered to the general to deliver him that city, provided he would assault the new town, in order to draw the *Turks* thither ; which was accordingly performed. After b this the battery was carried on fiercely, especially against the castle, and the assault renewed ; but with greater courage than success. However, the besiegers took a hill, which somewhat commanded the castle, and had been fortified by the *Turks*, putting all they found to the sword, and turning the cannon upon the castle. Some companies also in the night attacked the lower town, and with much ado got over the wall ; but meeting with a strong counter-mure, were so dismayed and put to it to get back over the ditch, where many stuck fast, that they lost in this attempt one thousand men.

The siege rais-
ed.

THE 4th of *June* five hundred *Turks* made a shift to get into the town, which made the besieged more obstinate than before ; so that in five assaults the Christians lost five thousand men. Yet the 14th the archduke ordered the town to be assaulted in three different places ; c but after six hours fierce conflict, the besiegers retired. At the same time count *Palfy* erected a fort, which barred the besieged from receiving succours by the river, and took another in an island on the farther side. From these places the castle and lower town being severely battered, the *Turks* made two desperate sallies upon the new fort, seconded by the admiral of their gal- lies on the river ; but without success. At length, advice arriving of *Sinân Pâshâ*, with a great army, to relieve the place, the general raised the siege, towards the end of *October*, after he had fired the old town and razed *St. Nicholas* fort. Mean time the siege of *Hatwan* was carried on with great vigour, and count *Teffenbach* slew five thousand men, brought by the *Pâshâ* of *Buda* to relieve it : yet the *Turks* proved so obstinate in defence of the place, and the count was so weakened by his losses, that he also thought proper to give over his enter- d prise.

Rascians their
exploits.

WHILE the two places above-mentioned were besieging, the *Rascians*, a poor oppressed people, who dwelt on both sides of the *Danube*, being weary of the *Turkish* thralldom, first took thirteen of their vessels upon that river ; and then drawing together a body of fifteen thousand men between *Buda* and *Belgrade*, twice defeated the *Pâshâ* of *Temeswaer* with a body of fourteen thousand *Turks*. After this they took *Baczkerék*, four miles from *Belgrade*, and the castle of *Ottadt* : then laying siege to that of *Beche*, on the *Theyssa*, the old *Pâshâ* of *Temeswaer* marched to relieve it with eleven thousand men : but the *Rascians* encountering them, slew near ten thousand, and took eighteen pieces of cannon. The consequence of this victory was the taking *Wersetza* and *Lutz*. Then, sending to the archduke for aid and gunners, they e offered to put themselves and their country under the emperor's protection^f.

AFFAIRS were in this troubled state in *Hungary*, when *Sinân Pâshâ* approached with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men ; forty thousand of them *Tatars*, who, with much ado, had made their escape thro' *Podolia* and *Upper Hungary* from the *Kossaks*, after they had lost thirty thousand of their first number. The *Pâshâ*, having passed the *Gran*, came, on the 21st of *July*, to *Dotis*, or *Totis*, which was surrendered in three days. He likewise took the castle of *St. Martin*, not far off, and then marched to *Raab*, or *Javarin*, a city about fifty miles from *Vienna*, and reckoned the chief bulwark of it ; whose governor was the valiant count *Hardeck*, and the garrison five thousand strong.

Sinân Pâshâ
besieges Raab.

SINAN began to batter this place on the 2d of *August*, and ran his trenches within musket- f shot of the walls ; while four thousand *Tatars* and six thousand *Turks*, crossing the river, took a fort from the Christians, and turned the cannon thereof upon the archduke's camp, which lay a little beyond ; but they were forced back again thro' the river, and most of those who escaped the sword were drowned. They were defeated on a second and third passage, with great slaughter. Eight thousand *Tatars* likewise were slain by the *Hussârs*, in two attempts to take an island in the river ; and lost two thousand more, in assisting the *Turks* to attack the Christian camp. At the same time their army was diminished also by the flux and want of provisions : yet *Sinân* the general could not be advised to raise the siege ; while the *Imperialists* were so

^f RICAUT, ubi sup.

a successful as to take *Castrowitz*, *Petrina*, *Siseg*, and *Gara*, whereby the whole country of *Kro-* A. D. 1594.
atia was secured.

At the end of *August* twenty thousand Christians, passing over out of the island, and joining with the besieged, fell on the *Turkish* camp, and penetrated so far as to nail some of their cannon; yet were beaten off, with considerable loss on both sides: but the besieged, sallying a second time, slew two thousand of the enemy, with the loss only of four hundred on their own side; and took seventeen colours. No day passed without some action, when on the ninth of *September*, ten thousand *Turks*, having landed in the isle of *Schut*, or *Sclut*, suddenly fell upon the too secure Christians, and slew two thousand of them; while the archduke *Matbias* narrowly escaped with the rest, leaving all their artillery, money, and baggage behind them: so that, reckoning the waggons, boats, and gallies, that were also lost, the damage was computed at five hundred thousand ducats.


THE *Pâshâ*, encouraged with this success, on the 23d, gave a general assault upon the city, which was continued from morning to night, and renewed the two following days with all the desperate resolution imaginable. In these actions twelve thousand *Turks* were slain: but a few days after, the ditch being almost filled with the ruins of one of the bulwarks, they with all their force attempted thrice in one day to enter the breach, but were repulsed. In short, they repeated their batteries and assaults so often, that at length they gained two of the bulwarks. Upon this count *Hardeck*, having gotten an instrument under the hands of the principal officers to certify the impossibility of defending the place any longer, he surrendered that strong and well-provided fortress to the enemy, for which afterwards he had his right hand cut off, and was then beheaded.

SINAN PASHA, flushed with this good fortune, laid siege to the strong city of *Komorra*, in the isle of *Schut*, both by land and water. For some time the place was vigorously attacked, and as vigorously defended: but the archduke having in the interim drawn together a considerable body of men, encamped at *Nitria*, within five miles of the city; and the *Tatars* having quitted the *Turkish* camp, in order to return home, the *Pâshâ* immediately raised the siege; and, passing the *Danube*, returned to *Dotis*, from whence his army was sent into winter quarters. When the *Tatars* were gotten as far as the borders of *Transilvania* and *Moldavia*, several of them were cut off by count *Palsy*; and the rest finding the passages beset by prince *Sigismund*, *Vayvod* of *Walakbia*, they fell to burning the towns and villages about *Tokay*: then crossing the *Danube* at *Gran*, wintered at *Weisburn Palotta*, and other places near *Raab*, living on the spoil of the inhabitants on the frontiers of *Austria*, as far as *Minesdorf*.

THESE *Tatars*, when they first came to aid *Sinân Pâshâ*, not only did prodigious mischief in *Transilvania*, but conspired with some of the principal lords to seize and depose the prince, who was become suspected at the *Porte*. The design of the traitors was to get *Balthazar Batori*, the *Vayvod*'s near relation, advanced in his room: but *Sigismund*, eluding all their designs, managed matters so well, that he secured and executed all the conspirators at *Clausenburg*. After this, entering into strict alliance with the emperor *Rodolph* against the *Othmâns*, he prevailed on *Mikbael*, *Vayvod* of *Walakbia*, to revolt from them; and had no small influence over *Aaron*, *Palatine* of *Moldavia*, to do the like. *Mikbael* having, with consent of the states, joined the emperor, with two thousand choice *Hungarians*, first slew one thousand *Janizaries*, who had, without his leave, settled in the country; and then the rest of the *Turks*, with the *Jews* who were found there. After which he took and burnt *Dziurdzowa*, a great town on the *Danube*, belonging to the *Turks*.

As he all this while seemed still to retain his obedience to *Morâd*, the *Turks*, who sought to be revenged on him, sent a *Kâzilâsker* with a proper force to *Bukhorest*, with a design to surprise him. That officer, who knew the *Vayvod* lay in his palace near the monastery, without the city, upon the *Dembowiz*, went thither with one thousand men, under pretence of paying him a visit: but the prince, suspecting the matter, repaired to his camp of *Hungarian* mercenaries. The *Kâzilâsker*, disappointed of his prey, sent to know why he entertained so many *Hungarians* in time of peace; and promised, in case he disbanded them, to lend him a ton of gold to pay them off. This *Sigismund* seemed thankfully to accept of, yet commanded the *Hungarians* to be ready, while drawing together some other troops in a valley, he suddenly surrounded the *Turks* in their lodgings, which were fired; and, notwithstanding the bold resistance they made, they were all either burnt or slain, not excepting the *Kâzilâsker*, who offered vast ransoms for himself and some others.

THE *Vayvod*, encouraged with this beginning, not long after surprised and sacked *Pblokh*, a very large open town beyond the *Danube*, slaying all the inhabitants. Not long after, crossing that river, then frozen, to surprise *Hersowa*, a walled city, but one stage from *Brailowa*, he by the way defeated a great body of *Turks* on the ice, and then took that rich city; which he

A. D. 1594.  rifled and burnt : but the castle was too strong to be reduced. Six days after he crossed the *Danube* again; and having in a great battle routed the *Turkish* garrisons, took *Silistria*, a great city of *Bulgaria*, which he plundered; and slaying most of the inhabitants, burnt it to the ground ^a.

Hungary
invaded.

Hej. 1002.

THE *Turkish* historians made use of by prince *Cantemir* sum up the four years transactions in *Hungary* in a few lines; or rather connecting the mutiny of the *Janizaries*, before related, with the transactions of the last year. They only tell us that, to remove all occasions of such-like disturbances for the future, *Morâd* sent the *Wazîr Sinân Pâshâ*, in the year 1002, with a great army into *Hungary*, where some towns were taken : that at the approach of winter he ordered the troops to be quartered in *Rum-ili*, and next spring *Yanîk* (F) to be invested; which was taken, after a siege of eighteen days. ^b

Morâd dies.

MORAD died on *Friday* the 6th day of *Jemaziolawel* (G), after he had lived fifty years, and reigned twenty, and eight months. He had twenty sons, who were all strangled by the eldest, his successor.

His character.

PRINCE *Cantemir* observes, that all the *Turkish* historians whom he had seen strangely pass over in silence the character and manners of this emperor, contrary to their constant custom ^h. But this silence cannot be owing to any thing very odious in the manners of *Morâd*, since the Christian authors speak much in his commendation. According to them, he was of a manly stature and corpulent, but of a pale complexion, wearing his beard long and thin. He had not the fierce aspect of the *Othmân* monarchs, and was of a peaceful disposition; a lover of justice, and very zealous in his religion. He reformed the riot and excess of his father's reign, by his own temperance, and the severe punishment of notorious drunkards; though some say he would drink plentifully himself of wormwood wine. He was rather too penurious, and gave more way to the counsels of his mother, wife, and sister, than of his great *Pâshâs*; which many imputed to simplicity ⁱ.

^a RICAUT. ubi sup.

^h CANT. p. 235.

ⁱ RICAUT, in Amurath III.

(F) So the *Turks* name *Yavarin*, or *Yarinum*; called by the *Germans*, *Raab*. CANT.

(G) According to the Christian writers, on the 18th of *January*, 1596, after he had lived 51 or 52 years, as

others say, and reigned 19. They add, that his death was attended with so sudden and terrible a storm at *Constantinople*, that many thought the world was at an end.

C H A P. XIV.

The Reign of Mohammed III.

13 Soltân
Mohammed
III.

THE first thing *Mohammed* did on his arrival at *Constantinople*, was to secure himself in the throne by the slaughter of his nineteen brethren. The Christian historians say, that he invited them all to a feast, where, for their entertainment, they were strangled : that he was reported also to have caused ten of his father's wives and concubines, by whom any issue was to be feared, to be drowned in the sea : that a mutiny, raised hereupon by the *Janizaries*, being appeased, there was a tent set up before *Sancta Sophia*, in which was placed the body of *Morâd*, with those of his murdered sons beside him : that after this there was another tumult of the *Janizaries*, which might have cost the new proclaimed emperor and all his court their lives, had not the prime *Wazîr*, by his prudence and gravity, appeased them.

Confederacy
against him.

MEAN time the emperor *Rodolph II.* having entered into a confederacy with the princes of *Transilvania*, *Walakhia*, and *Moldavia*, as has been before related, made divers successful incursions into the *Turkish* dominions. The *Imperialists* recovered *Weitze*; defeated four thousand *Turks* near *Raab*, or *Javarin* : the *Walakhians* seized upon all the treasures of *Sinân Pâshâ*; in conjunction with the *Transilvanians*, took from them *Pondefia*, *Nikopolis*, *Killa*, and *Rebnikki*, routed twelve thousand *Tatars*, and afterwards slew eight thousand of them, as they were on their march to join *Bogdân*, who was sent from the *Porte* to dispossess the old *Vayvod*. As for *Aaron*, *Vayvod* of *Moldavia*, he defeated the *Tatars* in three battles; slew twelve thousand of them, and drove the rest out of his country. Soon after this he took *Bender*, *Schinitz*, *Tigna*, *Mekhnis*, and other places, with the country of *Bobraga*, from the *Turks*; and slew eight thousand of them under *Janikula*, the son of *Bogdân*. ^e

a THE *Porte* used all their artifices to break this confederacy among the Christian princes, at the same time that they made great preparations for war. At this juncture most places in Hungary possessed by the *Turks* laboured under a grievous famine, infomuch that the *Tatar* women who followed the camp were forced to eat their own children. This famine was attended by a terrible plague, of which daily great numbers died : so that of eighty-five thousand *Tatars*, who the year before came into *Hungary*, scarce eight thousand were left alive. As an addition to these calamities, the *Turks* continually received new damages from the confederates. *Mikhael*, *Vayvod* of *Walakbia*, entering their frontiers, surprised *Schimele*, with its castle, the port of *Orofiga*, where were the *Turkish* magazines full of provisions, *Kilek*, *Galempe*, with the strong castle of *St. George*, and then besieged *Laganok*. A. D. 1594.
Calamities in
Turkey.

b WHILE the emperor endeavoured to gain the *Poles* on his side, two *Turkish* ambassadors, sent to cross his designs, were slain in *Walakbia*, without the privity of the *Vayvod*. *Rodolph* at length, with the assistance of several other princes, brought into the field an army of seventy thousand five hundred men, fifteen thousand five hundred whereof were cavalry, under the command of the archduke *Matbias*, and many other brave generals. At the same time a great body of *Turks*, commanded by the *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, was overthrown near *Temeswaer*. *Ferbâd* *Pâshâ*, entering *Walakbia* with another body, was routed (H), by the lord *Nadafti*, and eight thousand slain. In the interim *Sigismond*, prince of *Transilvania*, having, by intercepted letters and otherwise, just grounds to suspect that the *Vayvod* of *Moldavia* not only held intelligence with the *Poles*, and cardinal *Bathori*, his rival, but also went about clandestinely to make a peace with *Mohammed*, caused him to be seized with his wife and son, whom he sent prisoners to *Prague*, placing in his room *Stephen Rozwan*. The emperor's
forces.

c DURING these troubles, three *Chausb* arrived in *Transilvania*, as ambassadors to *Sigismond* ; exhorting him to return under the protection of the *Porte*, and give the *Turkish* forces a passage through his country into *Hungary*. On these conditions the *Soltân* promised to forgive all past injuries, and that the *Vayvod* should enjoy the three principalities of *Transilvania*, *Walakbia*, and *Moldavia*, as his own inheritance, free from tribute : but his future behaviour shewed that the offers were not accepted. The *Turks* were for the general so discontented with this war, that it is said *Wafwode Giezi*, one of the old *Janizaries*, had the boldness to tell the *Soltân*, that his ministers had imposed on him, and made him dishonourably violate the peace : that the conquest of Christendom was so far from following the taking of *Raab*, which *Sinân* *Pâshâ* had bought, he said, with money, not reduced by force, that *Transilvania*, *Walakbia*, and *Moldavia*, the granaries of the *Othmân* empire, were shut up ; so that no provisions could come as usual either from the east or west by the *Danube*, while his mighty army would perish in *Hungary* for want of bread *. Sigismond's
fidelity.

d BUT to return to the war. The first of *July* count *Mansfield*, by making a feint to besiege *Dotis*, came suddenly and encamped with his army under the walls of *Gran*, before the garrison knew any thing of his march. Hereupon the *Turks* burnt the suburbs, and *St. Thomas's* fort under the hill, which the count repaired ; besieging the city so straitly, that the *Pâshâ* of *Buda* failed in three attempts to throw in supplies. On the other hand, the *Germans* were repulsed several times at the breaches. However, the count having built a fort on *St. Thomas's* hill, greatly annoyed the upper town from thence ; while count *Palfy* took *Gokaza*, on the *Danube*, opposite to *Gran*, after a stout resistance. The prince of *Transilvania* had for some time prevented the *Pâshâ* of *Temeswaer* from going to its relief, by making a shew of besieging that city : but, on the 2d of *August*, came the *Pâshâ* of *Buda* with 20,000 men, and encamped within four miles of the Christians. Gran invested.

e THE *Turks*, encouraged by some small advantages in skirmishing, resolved to force their way into the city, while the Christians, drawing up in order of battle, gave them leave to advance to their very trenches. Mean time *Palfy*, with his *Hungarian* horse, and *Swertzenburg*, with his men, fetching a compass, so inclosed the *Turks* behind, that they could not retreat without danger. Hereupon a fierce battle began, in which, though it lasted but half an hour, several thousand *Turks* were slain ; and the rest flying, were almost all cut off by *Palfy* and *Swertzenburg* : so that they lost fourteen thousand men in this action, and twenty-seven colours, with great riches, besides great stores in their camp. The *Pâshâ* himself had much ado to escape to *Buda*. The Turks
defeated.

f AFTER this, the batteries being renewed, the lower town was, on the 13th of *August*, taken by assault, and all put to the sword, except *Ali Beg*, the governor, and some others. This lord, while the *Hungarians* fell to plunder, got into the upper town and castle, against which the *Turks* were now directed.

* RICAUT, in *Amurath III.*

(H) An ensign taken on this occasion, set with precious stones, was valued at 30,000 dollars.

A. D. 1594.

Other suc-
cesses.Sinân Pâshâ
defeated.Kroatia in-
vaded.Sinân re-
treats.Tergovista
stormed.Bukhoreft
abandoned.Moldavia re-
duced.Affairs of
Asia.

besiegers turned their batteries; and the archduke coming to the siege, on the death of count ^a *Mansfield* at *Komorra*, several assaults were given, but not with success. However, the old governor being slain, and the *Pâshâ* of *Buda* defeated a second time by a detachment of eight thousand men, the *Pâshâ* of *Anatolia* capitulated for the garrison to march out with their swords, and as much goods as they could carry on their backs.

In *September* following *Vicegrade* was taken by eighteen thousand forces. Neither was the prince of *Transylvania* idle all this while: for the prince of *Alba Julia*, or *Weisenburg*, being to be married to *Maria Cbristina*, daughter of the late archduke *Charles*, the *Turks* drew thirty thousand men together, with a design to be forbidden guests at this wedding. *Sigismund*, who was aware of this, having made due provision for their reception, fell upon and flew most of them; then taking *Fagiat*, he put all to the sword. About the same time the *Transylvanians* ^b routed ten thousand *Turks*, who were marching to relieve that place; and so pursued the victory, that the *Pâshâ* with five hundred men only had much ado to escape. *Lippa* also fell into their hands: while the *Turks* and *Tatars* were baffled in their design upon *Batoska*, and defeated in battle.

SOLTAN Mohammed, vexed at these successes of his enemies, put *Ferbâd Pâshâ* to death, and sent old *Sinân* to reduce the three revolted countries; who, passing the *Danube* with a puissant army, was immediately attacked. The *Transylvanians* were obliged thrice to retire: but being reinforced, maintained the battle from morning till night; when the *Turks* retreated, after the loss of many thousands, besides the spoil; *Sinân* himself escaping with great difficulty. About the same time the *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia*, with twenty thousand men, invading *Kroatia*, was ^c overthrown, and most of them slain by the *Imperialists*; who, pursuing the chase, took fifteen villages and the castle of *Varvivar*. After this, their forces increasing, they returned; and on the 15th of *September* besieged *Petrina*, or *Petrowina*: but met with such loss and opposition in the assault, that they resolved to return to *Siseg*. In the interim a horseman, flying from the enemy to the camp, informed the Christians, that *Rustan Beg*, the governor, was dead of his wound, and the garrison so discouraged, that, in case they returned, the *Turks* would on sight of them abandon the town: which accordingly proved true ¹.

LUCKILY about this time the *Zakulians*, or antient *Sikuli*, who dwell to the north-east of *Transylvania*, throwing off the *Turkish* yoke, put themselves under the protection of *Sigismund*; obliging themselves to bring into the field forty thousand men in their own pay. The ^d young prince, now eighty thousand strong, advanced to oppose *Sinân Pâshâ*; who having passed the *Danube* over a bridge of boats, with seventy thousand choice soldiers, marched to *Tergovista*, in *Walakhia*. The *Turks* were so discouraged at his approach, that leaving their tents, ordnance, and baggage behind, they fled to *Bukhoreft* (F). *Sigismund* hereupon, storming the place, took it, with the castle, and put the garrison of four thousand men to the sword, excepting *Hassan Pâshâ*, the governor. After this four thousand *Turks* more coming thither in expectation of finding *Sinân* with his army, were cut to pieces.

FROM hence the prince marching to *Bukhoreft*, found it abandoned by the enemy; who, endeavouring in haste to repass the *Danube*, were slain and drowned in vast numbers. Then laying siege to *Zorga*, he took it, with the loss of about two hundred and fifty Christians; ^e whereas of the *Turks* and *Tatars*, between the 18th and last of *October*, there perished above twenty-six thousand: after which the prince returned to *Alba Julia*. At the same time that *Sinân* was sent to attack *Transylvania*, the *Khân* of *Krîm Tartary* was ordered to invade *Moldavia*, and make one *Sudriak Vayvod*: but, being come to the frontiers with 70,000 troops, his passage was opposed by *Zamofski*, the great chancellor of *Poland*; who after the *Khân*, by agreement with him, was returned home, out of envy to *Sigismund*'s good fortune, entering *Moldavia*, quickly possessed himself of the whole country, expelled the *Vayvod Stephen*, and placed one *Jeremy*, under the protection of *Poland*, in his room. However he at the same time sent a messenger to *Sinân Pâshâ*, then at *Tergovista*, promising that *Moldavia* should still remain tri- ^f butary to the *Soltân*, and the arrears be paid by the new *Vayvod*; who immediately opening three ways for the *Tatars* into *Transylvania*, *Sigismund* sent the late *Vayvod Stephen*, with some forces, to drive out the *Poles*: but he was overthrown by them in a bloody battle; and being taken prisoner, was afterwards said to have been put to death.

BESIDES the events already related, many other actions of a lesser nature happened this year between the *Turks* and confederates, almost every-where to the disadvantage of the former. To augment their uneasiness in *Asia* the *Georgians* took up arms against them; and the old king of *Persia* being dead, they were not a little apprehensive of the resentment of his son and successor, on account of past injuries.

¹ RICAUT, ubi sup.(F) Capital of *Walakhia*.

^a IN the beginning of the year 1596, while the prince of *Transilvania* was at *Prague*, in *Bohemia*, to confer with the emperor about the management of the war; the *Zakulians*, or *Siculi*, whose privileges had been infringed in an assembly of the states, which met in *December*, took up arms in defence of their rights: but, several of the ringleaders being taken and put to death, the rest were obliged to submit. About the same time, 10,000 *Rascians*, revolting from the *Turks*, put themselves into the service of *Sigismund*. A. D. 1595.
The Zakulians revolt.

MEAN while, the plague and famine beginning to cease at *Constantinople*, *Mohammed* ordered war to be proclaimed there for three days successively against the emperor and prince of *Transilvania*; declaring that he would march in person with his army into *Hungary*. But before he got thither, many actions passed between the *Turks* and *Imperialists*. *Lippa* was besieged by 40,000 *Turks* and *Tatars*: but 6000 *Hungarians* from *Lugos*, sent out to plunder, having set fire to the suburbs of *Temeswaer*, in the absence of the *Pâshâ*, who commanded at the siege; the flame, being seen in the camp before *Lippa*, so terrified the *Turks*, that they presently raised the siege, leaving all their bag and baggage behind them. However, they had the luck to recover *Kliffa*, in *Dalmatia*, through the negligence of the Christians; who but a little before had taken it from them. On the other hand, the *Heydûks* took *Plenia*, a little town not far from *Nyssa*; and count *Palfi* the castle of *Sambok*, between *Buda* and *Alba Regalis*. War proclaimed.
Lippa besieged.

^b By this time, the prince of *Transilvania*, having raised a good army, laid siege to *Temeswaer*: but on the approach of 40,000 *Turks* and *Tatars* to its relief, he rose and met them with his forces, whence ensued a terrible battle, for a long while doubtful: but at length the *Othmâns* were routed, and 5000 of them slain against 1500 Christians. Yet, coming to relieve the place a second time with a greater force, the siege was raised. Temeswaer besieged.

^c AT length the imperial army, 60,000 strong, being come to *Komorra*, on the 24th of *July* advanced towards *Vakbia*, which the *Turks* abandoned; and on the arrival of *Maximilian* of *Austria*, the captain-general, in the camp, laid siege to *Hatwan*, in *Upper Hungary* (G), the middle of *August*. They were much incommoded by the vigorous sallies of the garrison: but at length, having attacked the town at five several breaches, they, after three hours sharp conflict, entered by force, and slew all they met for four hours together, amounting to 4000 *Turks*, while the Christians lost only 300. The *Walloons* were so barbarous as to rip children out of their mothers wombs, and slay people of both sexes alive, to make thongs of their skins.^m Hatwan taken.

^d THE *Turkish* historians before us omit all the foregoing transactions of *Mohammed's* reign, passing at once from the slaughter of his nineteen brothers to the siege of *Egra*, or *Agria*, which presents itself next to our view. They tell us, that as soon as the *Soltân* had established his empire by that fratricide, he turned his thoughts to finish the war in *Hungary* begun by his father; with a view to give himself up to repose, of which he was very fond. Accordingly, next year, he marches with a great army into *Hungary*, and besieges *Egra*, in vain attempted by his predecessors; and so harrasses the garrison with frequent assaults, that, despairing of relief, they at length surrender the town; from whence he got the name of *Egra*. Soltân Mohammed besieges and takes Egra.
Hejr. 1003.

^e THE Christian writers more particularly inform us, that *Mohammed* arrived early in *September* at *Buda*, with an army of about 200,000 men, and 300 field-pieces. The garrison of *Hatwan*, lately taken, were so terrified at the number of the enemy, that they deserted the place: nay, they were not without apprehensions of *Vienna* being in danger, and therefore employed all hands in fortifying it. But *Agria*, called also *Erlau*, being the city which *Mohammed* had his eye upon, after detaching 40,000 men to *Temeswaer*, he sat down before it on the 21st of the same month; and, presently raising five mounts, battered it with great fury. The besieged finding after six days assault, that they could keep the town no longer, set it on fire, and retired with their effects into the castle. This had a strong bulwark adjoining to it; which the *Turks* assaulted twelve times in one day, and took, tho' with incredible loss.

^f THE *Soltân*, being informed that the imperial army approached, used double diligence to fill up the ditch of the old castle; which having at length, with no small difficulty, effected, the *Turks*, on the 10th of *October*, made four desperate assaults upon it; but were still repulsed: however, making a fifth attack, they entered and put all to the sword. There now remained only the new castle; which the *Turks* began to undermine in several places. Hereupon the soldiers mutinied against their governors, and deserted many of them to the enemy: so that this important place was given up, on condition that the garrison, about 2000 men, might depart with their baggage, and swords by their sides. However they were in

^m RICAUT, ubi supr.

(G) A strong castle to the right of the road from *Buda* to *Agria*.

A. D. 1596.

their march set upon by the *Turks*, and cut to pieces. Some of them were flayed alive, and others dismembered, their executioners reproaching them, and saying, *that no faith ought to be kept with miscreants, who had so cruelly dealt with the people of Hatwan*. However, it was reported, that the *Soltân* ordered some of the chief authors to be put to death, and the prisoners to be set at liberty by proclamation ^a.

His camp forced.

LET us now return to the *Turkish* historians. The *Soltân*, unable to make any farther progress for the approach of winter, returns with his army: but on the way an army of Christians suddenly appears, who so furiously attack the camp of the *Othmâns*, that, not able to stand the shock, they are forced to give ground. The *Germans* penetrate as far as the tents where the royal treasures are kept, and break open the coffers: but here, surprised at the immense riches, they betray victory for money. For the *Soltân*, perceiving them intent on the spoil, attacks them first with only his courtiers, and slays upon the very treasures those who had imagined the *Othmâns* intirely routed. The rest of the army, admonished by the emperor's example, rally again, and so bravely charge the enemy, that not a man of those who had entered the camp escaped the sword ^b.

Battle of Karesta lost thro' covetousness.

THIS is the *Turkish* account; but that of the Christians robs the *Soltân* of all his glory: for they tell us, that the *Imperialists*, having routed great part of his army near *Karesta*, and taken 190 pieces of cannon, *Mohammed* was so terrified, that he fled with *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ* to *Agria*. The enemy, not being vigorously pursued, rallied again, and came on with 50,000 men: but they were charged so furiously by the *Imperialists*, that most of them were slain, and the rest put to flight. The like success the Christians had elsewhere; but pursuing the enemy into their very camp, and beginning to plunder, contrary to orders, met with a strong squadron surrounding the tent which contained the *Soltân's* treasure. Here meeting with great opposition, and *Sigâla Pâshâ* coming on with his fresh troops, they were seized with such a panick, that they fled full speed different ways, though none pursued them, nor could be rallied by all the art of their commanders. Thus one of the greatest victories that ever the Christians obtained, was snatched out of their hands by the covetousness of the *Hungarians*, and cowardice of the *German* horse. In this famous battle, the *Imperialists* lost 20,000 men, and the *Turks* 60,000. They lost 7000 more in their way home by the *Transylvanians* and *Walakhians*, who attacked them at difficult passes.

Walakhia revolts.

THE *Turkish* historians speak of nothing more in *Mohammed's* reign, but of his peace with the *Imperialists*; which they seem to make the immediate consequence of his success in *Hungary*, although it did not seem to take effect till seven years after, that is, a little before his death: wherefore we must fill up the chasm wholly from the Christian historians.

Transilvania surrendered. A. D. 1598.

WHILE the *Soltân* was engaged in the reduction of *Agria*, the *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia* besieged *Petrinia* in *Kroatia*: but the lord of *Herberstein*, after defeating first 6000 and then 8000 troops, came and relieved it. Nothing was done in the year 1597 worth notice, only in *August* the *Imperialists* took *Pappa* (H); and soon after the castle of *Dotis* was reduced by the *Turks*. The confederacy also was weakened by the defection of *Mikhael*, *Vayvod* of *Walakhia*; who, to prevent farther ravages made by the enemy, submitted once more to the *Soltân*; yet, under pretence that he could not trust the *Tatars*, still kept garrisons in his frontier places, and sent no aid against the emperor ^c.

Raab surprised.

NEXT year, *Sigismund*, the brave prince of *Transilvania*, finding himself deserted by his neighbours, and fearing the growing power of the *Turks*, made a voluntary resignation of his country to the emperor; in lieu of the duchies of *Oppel* and *Ratibor*, in *Silesia*, a pension, and some other considerations. The *Tatars* also made peace with *Rodolph*, on payment of 40,000 ducats yearly pension. Mean time two *Italian* prisoners escaped from *Raab*, having discovered the ill state of that city to lord *Swartzenberg* at *Komorra*, he, in conjunction with count *Palfi*, set out on the 27th of *March*, with a good body of horse and foot, towards *Raab*; and, approaching silently in the night, found the draw-bridge down, and the port-culisses up, waiting for some waggons with provisions, which were every minute expected there. Then having in a trice battered down the gate, and some part of the wall, they boldly entered.

THEY were first opposed by 200 *Turks*, and then by the *Pâshâ* with 2000 more; who fell on with extreme fury, and fought for two hours; till being slain, his men began a little to retire: but then *Jâffer Pâshâ* advancing with 1000 soldiers more, and the inhabitants of the place, forced the *Imperialists* back to the very gate by which they entered. Yet, disdaining to be driven out again, they here most valiantly renewed the fight; and this *Pâshâ* happening also to fall, most of his followers retreated farther into the city. However, 300 of them creeping under one of the bulwarks where there were some barrels of powder, desperately let

^a RICAUT, in Mahomet III.^b CANT. p. 236.^c RICAUT, in Mahomet III.(H) A strong place to the north west of *Alba Regalis*, and south-west of *Raab*.

a it on fire, and, together with themselves, blew up 300 of their foes, who had not lost above 200 before. The slaughter continued all that day till night, and the victors got a very rich booty, besides ninety pieces of cannon, with great store of amunition and corn. A. D. 1598.

THE march of the *Othmán* forces being delayed by a dissention which happened between the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, count *Palfi*, in *October*, took *St. Gerrard's Fort*, and then battered *Buda* with sixteen pieces of cannon : which soon obliged the *Turks* to retire out of the city into the castle. This the besiegers vigorously assaulted, but in vain. They next fell to mining : but, being countermined, gave over, and made a general assault, at the same time springing a mine. But they were repulsed with the loss of 200 men ; while the *Turks*, making a sally, were almost all cut off. However, the count being informed that relief was coming to the place, he thought fit to withdraw from before it. Buda attempted.

b THE *Turkish* army, being now arrived in *Upper Hungary*, under the command of *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, laid siege to the strong town of *Waradin*, whose garrison made several successful sallies : but were at length reduced from 2000 to 700 men. Hereupon lieutenant-general *Basta* marched with some forces, and advanced briskly towards the besiegers, as if he really intended to fight them ; but while they were busy to put themselves in order of battle, he, by another way, dexterously threw 800 men into the city, and presently retreated to his trenches. The *Turks* were so discouraged with being thus outwitted, and with the foul weather, that they soon after raised the siege ; while the *Imperialists* ravaged their territories in *Lower Hungary*, as far as the gates of *Buda*. Turks besiege Waradin.

c DURING these transactions by land, *Mohammed* sent *Sigâla Pâshâ*, his admiral, with a great fleet to sea. *Sigâla* being arrived on the coast of *Sicily*, and desirous to see the lady *Lucretia*, his mother, who lived in *Messina*, he requested the viceroy to send her on board, promising to remit her safe back, and to depart without committing any hostilities ; which engagement, after entertaining her a whole day with great honour, he punctually performed. There is nothing else memorable in relation to the *Turks* this year, either by sea or land, only *Mikhael*, the *Vayvod* of *Walakbia*, who was now come over again to the emperor's side, being resolved to attempt the reduction of *Nissa*, in *Bulgaria*, set men to work to make a bridge over the *Danube* for the passage of his troops. Having been disturbed by the *Pâshâs* of *Silistria* and *Badoua*, the *Vayvod* overthrew them. Then passing the river with all his forces, *Nissa* surrendered to him as soon as he invested it. In the beginning of the succeeding year he made several inroads into the *Turkish* territories, and carried off a vast booty. Their fleet at sea. Nissa taken. A. D. 1599.

d MEAN time the free *Heydûks* of *Walakbia*, passing the *Danube*, defeated the *Pâshâ* of *Anatolia* with great slaughter : another *Pâshâ* with 3000 men, sent to reinforce the castle of *Buda*, was likewise overthrown by a party of *Hungarians*. After this the *Pâshâ* himself, going out of the city to favour a convoy of provision bound thither, was surprised by some *Heydûks*, and taken prisoner after a sharp conflict ; wherein his son and the *Aga* of the *Janizaries* lost their lives. Hereupon the *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia* marched at the head of 10,000 *Turks*, in order to open the passes by driving from thence the *Heydûks*, who diligently guarded them : but these latter, meeting the enemy in an advantageous post, routed them with great slaughter, the *Pâshâ* himself being slain. However the *Tatars* held on their way to *Buda*, with a design to ravage the country, and draw the *Imperialists* farther from the city ; which they in a manner blocked up : but were quickly defeated by *Swartzenburgh's* single regiment, and most of them either slain, or drowned in the *Danube*. Heydûks successful.

e By this time *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, the *Othmán* general, arrived at *Solnokh* with 50,000 men, whereof 10,000 were *Janizaries* : but, hearing that *Basta* was advanced to *Kassova*, he retreated again to *Belgrade*, there to wait for a great fleet of ships, coming up the *Danube*, with provisions and stores for the army, *Buda*, and distressed places, under a guard of 5000 *Turks*. *Palfi* being informed of this, sent a body of soldiers to intercept them ; which they did ; and sinking the ships, took a booty computed to be worth a million of gold, including 100,000 dollars, which were divided among the soldiers. The Christians, on this success, over-ran the enemy's country every-where ; while the *Turks* in *Buda* were so terrified, that they abandoned the city, and retired into the castle. At length, towards the end of summer, *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, with an army of 130,000 men, came to *Buda*, and made some overtures of peace : but insisting on unreasonable terms, the treaty broke off, and war went on, though nothing farther of moment passed this year. Exploits of Palfi.

f We must however observe, that *Sigismund*, breaking his late agreement with the emperor, returned about the beginning of the year to *Transylvania*, and insisted on new terms ; which were granted : yet at the same time made an agreement with cardinal *Bathori* to resign the possession to him, under the protection of the *Soltân*, to whom he became tributary. *Mikhael*, *Vayvod* of *Walakbia*, alarmed at this change, which foreboded no good to him, with the assistance of the emperor, under whose protection he was, in *October* enters *Transylvania* with Transylvania recovered.

9 RICAUT, ubi sup.

A. D. 1599. 60,000 men, overthrows and slays the cardinal, aided by 30,000 *Turks*, and recovers the country from the hands of the *Othmâns*.

Rebellion in Asia suppress- ed. THIS news added to the uneasiness given the *Porte* by the rebellion of *Kusabin*, *Pâshâ* of *Karamânia*; who, with 3000 musketeers, and 5000 horse, defeated 10,000 troops under four *Sanjâks*; and, having subdued almost the whole province, at length took *Konia* (or *Ikoniûm*). Upon this success he gave out, that, ere long, he would besiege *Constantinople* itself, and reform the government; charging the *Soltân* with cowardice, and his ministers with corruption. Hereupon *Mohammed*, son of *Sinân*, one of the *Wazîr Pâshâs*, was sent against him with all the force which could be raised: but not chusing to hazard a battle with so resolute a man, he endeavoured to corrupt the enemy's infantry; and so far succeeded, that *Kusabin* fled with the horse, and those belonging to *Simeon* the *Georgian*, who had joined him, into *Arabia*. *Mohammed* followed him as far as *Halep*, where he wintered. Mean time *Kusabin*, having gathered a considerable force, returned next year, and prepared to give the *Pâshâ* battle: but the latter, resolving to try first what could be done by artifice, published a general pardon for all who would submit. This had the desired effect on the rebels, who, now enriched with booty, for the most part returned home to enjoy in safety what they had gotten with danger: so that at length their leader was taken and put to death at *Constantinople* with exquisite torments.

French and Walloons mutiny.

To return to the war in *Hungary*. While the emperor was making preparations, 1200 *French* and *Walloons*, who were in garrison at *Pappa*, mutinied for want of pay; and even agreed to deliver the place to the *Turks*, provided they would disburse the money: but they were at last forced to abandon it, although the brave count *Swartzenburg* was unfortunately slain in the siege. As yet neither the *Turks* nor Christians had any thing of an army in the field, however many little incursions and skirmishes happened between them. Among the rest the free *Heydûks* surprised *Giula*, and set it on fire: in which confusion the *Turks*, flying into the castle, thrust one another for haste over the bridge into the ditch; where so many were drowned, that a man might have gone dry over their bodies.

Kanissia besieged and taken.

At length *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, in the end of *August*, setting out from *Belgrade* with an army 200,000 strong, marched towards *Kanissia*; and, having taken the strong fortress of *Babotzka* (I) in the way, laid siege to that strong town, in order to prevent the troublesome incursions of its garrison, and open a free passage into *Austria*. The place standing in an isle encompassed with a marsh, the *Turks* began to fill up the latter with faggots and earth, which they effected at length in spite of the cannon: but, endeavouring to get into the island, received such a repulse from the garrison, as constrained them to retire with loss. Next day, as they prepared to renew their attempt, the *Imperial* army, consisting of 40,000 men, under the command of duke *Mercury*, appeared in their rear; which they cannonaded. Hereupon, *Ibrâhîm* drawing up his forces, a bloody fight ensued: but while victory seemed to incline to the *Imperialists*, though so few in comparison of the enemy, the night came on, and broke off the action.

NEXT day the *Turks* would have renewed the battle, but the Christians, now at variance among themselves, kept their trenches; and being afterwards distressed by the loss of provisions, which, in coming to their camp, fell into the hands of the *Tatars*, they marched off in the night; yet not so silently but that the *Turks*, perceiving it, cut off 3000 of them, and took some cannon, with most of their baggage. Hereupon the *Turks* returned with more vigour to the siege; and the garrison, finding themselves out of all hope of relief, obliged *Paralifer* and some other officers, though against their wills, to capitulate. Accordingly the town was, on the 22d of *October*, delivered up; and the garrison safely conducted over the *Murr*.

The country ravaged.

AFTER this the *Turks* ravaged the adjacent country; on which occasion the inhabitants having fled, *Ibrâhîm* invited them to return, with a promise that they should pay no tribute for three years. He wrote also to count *Serini*, who was a great sufferer on this occasion, to recover his losses by the *Soltân's* protection: but receiving no answer, he returned to *Belgrade*. *Mohammed* was so well pleased with this good service, that he sent the general a robe of cloth of gold, and a truncheon set with precious stones: though he did not long enjoy that honour; for he died in the beginning of the next year. However the *Soltân's* joy was allayed by news from *Asia*: for after *Kusabin's* death, one they called *Skrivano*, an intimate of his, took the cause upon him, and in a short time became very formidable. Against him *Mohammed Pâshâ*, marching with all his power, received a notable overthrow. Neither was the *Soltân* less mortified with his ill success in *Persia*; where his ambassador, having required one of the king's sons in hostage for the peace, was severely bastonaded for that insolent demand, and hardly escaped being put to death.

Affairs of Asia.

(I) On the river *Rigma*, about four miles from the *Danube*, and twenty-eight south-east of *Kanissia*, or *Kaniska*.

a THE emperor having at length, in 1601, gotten a considerable army in *Hungary*, under the command of duke *Mercury*, the campaign was begun with the siege of *Alba Regalis*; and the duke being informed by a deserter, that the broad lake on the other side of that city was ^{able, whatever the *Turks* and others thought to the contrary, he sent *Rossworm* with 1000 foldiers, who, with each a faggot on his back, got over the lake, though with incredible difficulty from the mud, flags, and the height of the water. Of this the duke being apprised by a signal, with great noise attacked the other side; and while the *Turks* flocked thither to defend the place, *Rossworm*, scaling the walls, got into the suburbs: from whence without resistance the *Turks* fled into the city, with the *Imperialists* at their heels, making a great slaughter. At the same time the duke took the suburbs which lay next to him; and next day the city itself by storm. Having cleared the streets of the enemy, they retired to their houses, many of which they had undermined, and blew themselves up, with such Christians as were near them; so that the church, palace, and most of the houses, were ruined. The *Páshá* after this surrendered: and the *Walloon*s got most of the booty, to the great vexation of the *Germans* ^{A. D. 1600. *Alba Regalis* by the *Germans*. A. D. 1601.}}

MEAN time, *Hassan*, the new *Turkish* general, held on his march towards *Alba Regalis*, ^{The *Turks* de-} seemingly with a design to find it unprovided, and surprise it. But being met by the duke ^{fiated.} with 20,000 men, he was defeated, though much superior in number, with the loss of 6000; among whom were the *Páshá* of *Buda*, six *Sanjaks*, and several other officers of note. The victory had been more complete, had not a great body of *Tatars* appeared in the rear of the *Imperialists*, and given the *Turks* an opportunity to restore their disordered battle.

c AT the same time that duke *Mercury* sat down before *Alba Regalis*, the arch-duke *Ferdinand*, with an army 30,000 strong, laid siege to *Kaniffia*. ^{Kaniffia be-} Notwithstanding the marsh, ^{sieged.} which surrounded the place, they carried their trenches close to the ditch, and then summoned the garrison; who, though pressed with want, with contempt refused to surrender, especially the renegade *Walloon*s. Hereupon they prepared for the assault: but the bridge proving too short to pass the ditch, they were obliged to defer it. In the interim, the *Italians*, murmuring for want of pay, marched off: but, on the 4th of *November*, *Rossworm* coming from duke *Mercury*, with a reinforcement of 8000 men, they renewed their attempts, and must have carried the place at last, had not the north wind at the end of that month blown such a quantity of snow into the camp, that the whole army seemed buried in it, and no fewer than d 1500 men were frozen to death, besides 300 horses; whereupon it was thought fit to raise the siege.

LET us now see how matters stand with the *Turks* in *Asia*. The *Skrivano*, having by his actions last year grown into great credit with the people, appeared again in the field against *Mohammed Páshá*; who attacked him with an army of 150,000 men; but was overthrown <sup>The *Asian* re-
bel gains a
victory.</sup> with great slaughter. After this victory, the rebel ravaged the country to the gates of *Hálep*, causing himself to be proclaimed the true defender of the *Mohammedan* faith, and liberty of those countries, associated with him. At length, *Mohammed* being furnished with a greater army than he had before, the *Skrivano*, presuming upon his former successes, met him, and was at the first obliged to give way: but, having dexterously restored his disordered battle, e he returned a second time to the charge, and put the *Páshá*'s troops into confusion, with a great slaughter. However, not thinking it best to venture too far, he retired to the mountains, content with what he had done for that time.

THE plague raged severely this year at *Constantinople*, and in other parts of the *Othmán* ^{Janizaries} empire; at what time the *Janizaries* having been affronted by some of the *Soltán*'s favourites, ^{mutiny.} caused their *Aga* to go to the palace and demand their heads. *Mohammed*, offended at this insolence, ordered the *Spahis* to cut him in pieces; which execution the *Janizaries* revenged on them. This broil would have proceeded much farther, had not *Sigála Páshá* appeased their fury with a great sum of money.

f BESIDES the rencounters in *Walekbia* between the *Vayvods Radol* and *Jeremy*, with which ^{Alba Regalis} last the *Turks* sided, and were worsted, they also received several small losses in *Hungary*: but ^{besieged.} at length, on the 10th of *August*, *Hassan Páshá*, with an army of 150,000 men, came and ^{A. D. 1602.} besieged *Alba Regalis*. As the arch-duke *Matbias* had notice of his coming from *Ali Páshá*, who was taken by the *Heydúks*, the governor *Ysolan* got thither in time. The *Turks* having battered the walls with incredible fury, and filled the marsh with the deep ditches, they attacked and took the counterscarp, though with great loss of men. The *Imperialists*, returning soon after, drove them out again, with the slaughter of most who were in it: but the noise piercing to the *Turkish* camp, they poured down in such multitudes, that the besieged, fatigued with the slaughter of them, abandoned the place.

MEAN time the governor sent to the arch-duke for speedy relief: but before it could arrive, g the *Páshá*, on the 29th of the same month, gave a terrible assault; with which the besieged ^{and recovered.}

^r RICAUT, ubi sup.

A. D. 1602. were so weakened, and the governor himself being dangerously wounded, that they capitulated, to be convoyed with the baggage and arms half-way to *Raab*. But the garrison falling to pilfer the citizens goods, that they might carry off the more with them, 30,000 *Tatars*, followed by the *Turks*, immediately entered at the abandoned breach, and took that business out of their hands. Then when there was no more spoil to be had, they drew their swords upon the inhabitants, nor ceased the slaughter till the *Pâshâ* came in person to stop it. There were slain 3000 soldiers, besides citizens; and the captains, with the brave *Isolan*, who were saved out of the massacre, led prisoners to *Constantinople*, whither the *Turkish* general, after ravaging the country, marched with his army.

Pest taken. Not long after his departure, the *Imperialists*, to retrieve their disgrace, to the number of 30,000, descending the *Danube* towards *Buda*, broke down the bridge crossing the river from that city to *Pest*, by running a ship against it; and while the *Turks* ran in crowds out of the water-city to defend it, count *Schultz*, by land, with a petard blew up one of the gates of *Lower Buda*: then, entering and slaying all before him, fell on the backs of the *Turks* at the bridge, who were all slain or drowned. By a like device they took *Pest* also; and having garrisoned it, returned to besiege the castle and upper city of *Buda*, whither all the *Turks* had fled. The *Imperialists* went on briskly, both with battering and mining: but the news coming to *Hassan Pâshâ's* ears, he hastily returned from towards *Belgrade*, with what forces he had then with him, and sat down before *Pest*; yet was not long there before he was obliged, for want of provision, to march back again. Presently after, count *Nadaſti*, with 5000 men, went down the *Danube*, and without much difficulty took the towns of *Adom* and *Feldwar*.

Buda besieged. MEAN time the besiegers, having intelligence that the *Turks* had assembled an army of 30,000 men to relieve the place, drew together into the water-town. Upon this the *Turkish* garrison took possession of their trenches and tents; but, after holding them for two hours, were beaten back into the city. Mean time, a strong tower next the *Danube* being battered down, the besiegers prepared to enter the breach a little before night; when suddenly there arose such a storm of wind and rain, that they could not use their arms. This, with the sallies made by the *Turks* after the storm, and the two succeeding days, gave them an opportunity to repair their breaches: and advice arriving at the same time, that the *Tatars* had passed *Temeswaer*, in order to relieve *Buda*, the *Imperialists* thought fit to raise the siege. They likewise abandoned *Adom*, and left a garrison of 10,000 men in *Pest*.

Affairs of Asia. WHILE these things were doing in *Hungary*, the *Skrivano*, growing stronger and stronger, over-ran a great part of the *Othmân* dominions in *Asia*. However, happening to die this year, a younger brother of his, no less warlike, took the command, and prosecuted the war with much vigour. Against him the *Soltân* sent *Hassan Pâshâ*, with a great army: but, coming to a battle, he was, after a bloody fight, slain, with most of his forces. Hereupon, the rebel ranging the country, seized the tribute of it, and exacted 300,000 ducats from the city of *Anguri*, or *Ancyra*, and the adjacent territories; by which methods he raised a great fund for support of his war, while the *Tatars* in *Europe* ravaged the frontiers of the emperor's dominions.

War in Hungary. THE year 1603 was ushered in by so intense a frost, that the *Danube*, especially eastward, seemed to be wholly converted into ice: yet the *Turks*, having drawn 18,000 men out of the garrisons, prepared to make incursions. But *Colonitz*, the emperor's governor in those parts of *Hungary*, assembled a good body of men in the suburbs of *Quermans*, and made such preparations every-where else for their reception, that they seemed to be very shy of him. About this time the garrisons of *Gran* and *Komorra* took 200 waggons with provisions going to *Alba Regalis*; and, though inferior in number, cut all the convoy of 6000 *Turks* to pieces. The garrison of *Buda*, understanding what had happened, and that the provision, designed for their relief was lost; animated with hunger and revenge, came on the victors with such fury, that they put them to flight, and recovered the waggons. But see the vicissitude of human affairs: for the *Turks* had not been long masters of their stores, before 2000 of the garrison of *Pest*, having way-laid them near a forest, unexpectedly fell on them, and made them quit their possession, after a smart conflict. Several other adventures happened between the garrisons of *Pest* and *Buda*, who, though the frost continued, frequently cannonaded each other; on which occasion the powder in the latter place happening to take fire, blew up part of the city wall.

and Walakbia. Now while *Radul*, the *Vayvod* of *Walakbia*, spoiled the town of *Silistria* belonging to the *Turks*; *Colonitz*, who had lain in ambush three days for the convoy bound to *Kaniffia*, at length discovering about 600 men going from that garrison to meet it, inclosed them so suddenly with his soldiers, that scarce four of them escaped the sword. But three of their horse, for the rest fled, bravely ventured to pass by the *Imperialists*, to give the convoy warning of the enemy's approach. Hereupon they returned to *Babotz*, which *Colonitz* resolved to attack; but although the assault was carried on with great bravery, yet for want of petards, scaling-ladders, and

^a and other necessary instruments, he was obliged to give over his design, and made a safe retreat *A. D. 1603.* to *Komorra*, notwithstanding the attempts of the enemy to intercept him ^{to Komorra}.

WHEN *Hassan Pâshâ*, the prime *Wazîr*, arrived at *Constantinople*, after the taking of *Alba Regalis*, he was magnificently received by *Mohammed*, and revered by the people: but while he expected to be farther honoured with the marriage of the *Soltân's* sister, the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, with the other guards, to the number of 25,000, suddenly appeared in arms before the *Diwân*, and demanded audience. As soon as their ringleaders were admitted, they required that *Hassan* should be delivered up to them. The *Pâshâ*, hereupon strangely dismayed, passed through the raging multitude, in order to go to the *faray*, protesting his innocence as he went along: but they stopping him, with many reproaches asked him how it came to pass, that, while he was in *Hungary*, the rebels in *Asia* were neglected, so that now they were come within three days march of *Constantinople*? *Hassan* answered, trembling, that, for his part, he had done his duty in both places; and that the rebellion in *Asia* was owing to the ill government of the *Soltân's* mother and the *Kâpi Aga*.

THE mutineers, being somewhat satisfied with this defence, suffered him to go to the palace, in order to obtain leave for them to speak to the *Soltân*, and prevail on him to send them the heads of the two parties whom he had thrown the blame upon: threatening otherwise to make him feel their resentment. *Mohammed*, at the *Wazîr's* persuasion, accompanied by the *Mufti*, some other ecclesiastics, and several *Pâshâs*, shewed himself to the soldiery; whose chief, stepping forward, desired to know, why he did not rescue the empire from the danger it was in? and whether he would take care of the government, or leave every man to cut out for himself? *Mohammed*, though full of indignation, having answered mildly, that he had before resolved to reform matters, and remove all cause of discontent, they demanded the heads of the queen-mother and *Kâpi Aga*, whom *Hassan*, on farther interrogatories, again accused. At last, *Mohammed* being necessitated to give way, the *Kâpi Aga*, and other officers, were delivered up to them; whom they beheaded on the spot. As for the *Soltâna*, they were content she should be confined; which, for form's sake, was promised, though not performed.

WHILE these things passed at *Constantinople*, the rebels in *Asia* made great progress in their affairs. Their forces being grown numerous, they laid siege to *Anguri*; from which the citizens, in the absence of the governor, delivered themselves for 200,000 ducats. Soon after, a new governor and other officers arriving from court, they, farther to fleece the inhabitants, would have imputed this composition with the rebels as a crime worthy of death. Hereupon, suddenly taking up arms, they fell on the soldiery; and, after a great slaughter of them, drove the rest out of the city. This broil encouraged the rebels, who being now 40,000 strong, under the command of a brother of the *Khân* of the *Tatars*, laid siege to *Burza* (K), a great and rich city, as well as a magazine for military stores; which they took. Upon this success the governor of *Bâghdâd* joins their party, and the *Shâh* of *Persia* (L) takes *Korbery*, a frontier town: so that *Mohammed*, under all these disasters, was forced to sue for peace to his rebellious subjects; which at length he obtained, by granting them all their demands, and making *Zel Ali*, one of their leaders, *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia*.

^e BUT in avoiding one danger, the *Soltân* ran into another: for the soldiery, concerned at this dishonourable peace, and prement of several rebels (joined to his mismanagement of affairs, and cruelties which they charged him with), conspired to depose him. With this view, they engaged in their party the *Soltâna*, mother of the young prince, whom they proposed to set up in his father's room: but a letter sent to her by an eunuch, relative to that affair, having been intercepted by the *Soltân*, he thereupon put to death the young prince, his mother, and fifty of the conspirators; together with the astrologer who had prognosticated a fortunate issue to their enterprize.

MEAN time, the *Tatars*, being refused passage by the *Poles* into *Hungary*, forced their way thither through *Walakbia*; and though they were frequently worsted, yet did great mischiefs in that and the neighbouring provinces. The *Imperialists*, now under the brave *Colonitz*, took the castle of *Loqua* from the *Turks*; who also, deserting that of *Boulouvener*, were surprised and overthrown. In *Transilvania*, they were forced to give-up the castle of *Solomose* to *Basta*, the emperor's lieutenant in that country; where the war went on with various fortune, till *Zakel Moses* being defeated and slain in battle against the *Walakbians*, put an end to that dispute, and soon after the troubles, in which that country had been involved; were brought to a period.

^a RICAUT, ubi supr.

(K) This should seem to be *Bursa*, or *Prusa*, there being no other city in *Anatolia* which hath any resemblance of that name.

(L) We know of no such place on the frontiers of *Turky* or *Persia*.

A. D. 1603.
Alba Regalis
fired.

THE *Imperial* forces under the lord *Ruffworm* being now arrived at *Pest*, the *Turkish* a army, one hundred thousand strong, came up and encamped in sight of them on the other side of the *Danube*. About the same time a *Turkish* captain, flying from *Alba Regalis* to *Raab*, informed the governor, that he could put them in a way how to plunder the suburbs of that place, if not to take the town itself. Hereupon, the garrisons of *Raab* and *Gran* joined together, marched under the guidance of the deserting officer, and surprised the said suburbs: where they slew all who made any resistance; and, having rifled the place, set it on fire. But, somewhat to allay this good fortune, the *Heydûks* in garrison at the castle of *Adom*, hearing that a great army of *Turks* were marching that way, set it on fire, and quite abandoned it.

Peace in agita-
tion.

THE *Soltân* finding that, for all the concessions which he had made to the rebels in *Asia*, b they could not be reduced to due bounds of obedience, and that the wars in which he was engaged greatly interrupted his pleasures, resolved to make peace with the emperor upon any reasonable terms: and, as the *French* ambassador was then treating about the liberty of count *Tsolan*, taken the last year at *Alba Regalis*, *Mohammed* granted the same, and gave the count instructions to treat with the emperor about a peace, on condition; that if he did not succeed he should return to his captivity; for which the ambassador became his surety. At the same time *Abmed Pâshâ* wrote to *Colonitz*, the *Imperial* general, to the like purpose; which letter being transmitted to the emperor, *Colonitz* was appointed, with others, to treat with the enemy: but the latter demanding the restitution of *Transilvania*, *Gran*, and *Pest*, in lieu of *Agria* and *Kanisia*, the treaty broke off.

The Turks
repulsed:

HEREUPON the *Imperialists* resolving to prevent the relief of *Buda*, sorely distressed for want of provision, the general, on the 22d of *August*, attacked *Morâd Pâshâ*, encamped near *Mohatz* with eight thousand, whereof two thousand were *Janizaries*; and, after several brisk charges with his horse, forced them to retreat to their main army. However, the vanquishers falling presently to plunder, the *Turks* returned, and attacked them with such vigour that they must certainly have been defeated, had not the *Heydûks* left their boats on the river and come to their assistance; by which means the enemy was repulsed a second time, and seven hundred slain, besides the loss of three cannon, *Morad's* red standard, and *Sasbar Beg*, who was taken †.

quite over-
thrown.

AT length the *Imperial* army, under the Lord *Ruffworm*, rendezvoused early in *September*; d and, lest the *Pâshâ* should encamp between *Vicegrade* and *Buda*, in which case he might victual that city at pleasure, he raised a strong fort half way, and another in the isle of *Vicegrade*: then, having built a bridge of boats over the river from his camp to the isle, passed over to *Vaks*, or *Vakkia*. Not long after the *Pâshâ*, with ten thousand men, having attacked the first fort in vain, threw a bridge over the *Danube*, in order to annoy the *Imperialists*, and began to cross it. Mean time they were decoyed on by some loose fore-runners to an ambuscade of 6000 foot: these seeing in what disorder they pursued, when about 10,000 of them had gotten over, the *Walloons*, posted covertly along the river, played on their flanks with four culverins, while the rest charged them on every side; and, having killed 2000, put the others to flight: but not being able to recover the bridge, 5000 more were drowned or slain, and the rest e taken prisoners, with their field-pieces, colours, horses, and arms.

Other ill suc-
cesses.

NEITHER did matters succeed better elsewhere with the *Turks*; for their fleets were about this time wrecked at sea: and although *Zel Ali*, one of the *Asiatick* rebels, had submitted, as before-mentioned, yet the chief rebel was still in arms, and the *Pâshâ* who had been sent against him, on being displaced by the *Soltân*, went over to his party. On the other side, the king of *Persia*, taking advantage of the troubles in which the *Othmân* empire was involved, laid siege to *Tauris*, and quickly recovered it.

Avoid a bat-
tle.

BUT to return to the affairs of *Hungary*. The *Imperialists*, fearing lest the *Turks* should besiege *Pest*, as they had given out, and finding they were gone to encamp near *Buda*, in the isle of *Vicegrade*, went and pitched their tents before *St. Andrew*, in sight of the enemy. f These a few days after detached 5000 men, with design to draw the *Germans* into an ambuscade of 10,000; but, missing of their aim, were forced to retire, with some loss. About the same time general *Colonitz*, thinking to surprise the *Turkish* army, landed on the 2d of *October*, with 600 *Heydûks*, in the isle of *Vicegrade*; but being discovered too soon, was forced to retire, after two hours engagement, with the loss of 400 men. Count *Trantmestorf* had better success in *Stiria*; for the *Turks* having made a bridge of boats at *Lamascia*, to give them passage into that country, and secured it with two forts, the count attacked them with such bravery, that at last he took them, and destroyed the bridge. *Lugaze* also, a place of great importance to the *Turks*, was at the same time delivered to *Basta* by the *Transilvians*.

† RICAUT, ubi supr.

- a ALL this while the *Imperialists* could not draw the *Turks* to a battle : but after the latter had supplied *Buda* with provision, they silently marched off by night, and retired out of *Hungary*. Upon their departure, the *Imperialists* besieged *Hatwán*, which was so well fortified as to endure a long siege. They made their approaches by taking the water-mill ; in which action *Grafold*, general of the *Italians*, was slain : after this, having cut off their water and made large breaches, the garrison capitulated for their lives, and the 29th of *November* were conveyed to *Zolnok*. Before the year was out, the *Imperialists* had several rencounters with the *Turks* and *Tatars*, generally to the disadvantage of the two latter ; and *Beged Páshá*, thinking to surprise *Basta* as he lay with his troops dispersed about *Lippa* (M), was attacked by that old experienced general in a place of disadvantage, and overthrown, with the loss of 1100 *Turks*, slain out of 5000 ; who, being also driven into a marsh, most of them perished there. Twenty captains and other prisoners were taken, besides a rich booty. But about the same time, *Bethlem Gabor* (N), an able commander, becoming head of the revolted *Transilvanians*, created *Basta* and the *Imperialists* no small trouble in that country, as will be seen in the next reign.

A. D. 1603.
Hatwán castle taken.

- In the interim *Zel Ali*, before-mentioned, after he had served this campaign in *Hungary* (with 12,000 of the late rebels brought over from *Asia*), retired to *Bosnia*, the government of which had been promised him, and encamped near *Bághnaluk* (O). But *Jáffer Páshá*, who resided there as governor, taking this as an incroachment on his right, drew all the force he could out of the garrisons, with an intent to fall upon him. The crafty *Zel Ali*, knowing his own weakness, caused several great fires to be lighted up in his tents, and suddenly retreated. Mean time the *Páshá* with his troops hastening to the place, and finding the camp deserted, they began to pillage it : but while the soldiers were loading themselves with the plunder, *Zel Ali*, returning with 3000 chosen horse, surprised the unsuspecting pillagers, and cut 6000 of them in pieces, the *Páshá* himself with difficulty escaping. After this the victor quickly obliged all the chief places in the province to submit to his obedience ; and, having amassed a great deal of wealth, he entered *Bághnaluk* in triumph, crowned with laurel, amidst the soldiers singing his praises. At the same time he gave out, that he was resolved to join with the emperor of *Germany*, in case any of the *Páshás* should go about to cross his designs. *Mohammed*, being informed of all this, would, under pretence of honouring *Zel Ali*, have drawn him to court : but the crafty rebel, thanking the *Soltán*, declined the invitation ; saying he desired no other reward than the government of the province, which his majesty had promised him, and which he was now in possession of.

Zel Ali enters and possesses Bosnia.

- THE *Turks* having often, during this year, especially towards the end of it, made a motion of peace, in the beginning of the next, commissioners were appointed on both sides to treat of it ; and those of the emperor went from *Pest* to *Buda* on that account, at the request of the *Páshá* thereof, and agreed on a truce for twelve days ; which was notified immediately to the *Turkish* governors on the frontiers. But while all mens minds were filled with the expectation of peace, *Soltán Mohammed* died, amidst all his pleasures. As soon as the news was brought to the *Páshá* of *Buda*, he sent notice thereof to the *Imperial* officers at *Pest* ; and that he was commanded by the new *Soltán*, *Abmed*, to continue the negotiation ^a.

Mohammed's death.
 A. D. 1604.

- THE *Turkish* historians employed by prince *Cantemir* omit all the transactions above related from the Christian writers, which succeeded the taking of *Agria*. After this victory, they only tell you, that he marched to *Constantinople* in triumph ; and, content with what he had acquired, made peace with the Christians, that he might enjoy, what he was naturally inclined to, ease and pleasure : that accordingly he lived in profound peace till the year 1012 (P), in which he died, after he had reigned nine years and two months : but that how long he lived was not mentioned (Q) in history, farther than that he died in the vigour of his age, without performing one memorable action more than what has been related ^x. And on this occasion it may be observed, that as this is the only action mentioned in his reign by the *Turkish* historians in question, one would be apt to think that their design was not to write a history of *Turkish* affairs, but only to give an account of such transactions as the *Soltáns* were themselves personally concerned in.

Hej. 1012.
 A. D. 1603.
His character.

- THE Christian historians give this character of him. They say, he was a prince of no great spirit, and yet exceeding proud ; whence it happened that he was neither much beloved

Governed by women.

^a RICAUT, ubi sup.

^x CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 236.

(M) A strong town on the river *Marosk*, to the north of *Temeswar*.

(N) By some called *Bethlin Habor*.

(O) The chief city of *Bosnia*, and residence of the *Begler Beg* of that country. It is situate in the borders towards *Kroatia*, on the river *Pliva*.

(P) This year of the *Hejrab* ended the 18th of *May*, in the year of *Christ* 1604 ; in the beginning of which the Christian historians say he died.

(Q) The Christian writers say he lived forty-four years.

A. D. 1603. nor feared : that he neglected the affairs of government, which he gave up to the manage-
 ment of women ; and was wholly addicted to pleasure and voluptuousness, the signs of which
 appeared in a foul, swollen, and unwieldy body : that his debaucheries shortened his days ; and
 that he died unlamented by his subjects. He had four sons, and three daughters, married to
 three of his *Pâshâs*. His eldest son *Mohammed* was strangled, as before-mentioned (R). The
 second died young, and the fourth, called *Mostafa*, a youth, was strictly kept up in the
 palace ^y.

^y RICAUT in Mahomet III.

(R) It is added by our author, that afterwards, find- the *Pâshâ* to be hanged who had given him wrong in-
 ing the prince to have been innocent of the charge, he formation.
 caused his body to be buried in his own sepulchre, and

C H A P. XV.

The Reign of Ahmed I.

14 Soltân Ah-
med I.

AHMED ascended the throne on the 9th of *Rajeb* in the year 1012, when he was yet
 scarce fifteen years old (A) ; and this was the first time that the reins of the *Turkish*
 government were given to a prince under the years of maturity (B). But he demonstrates in
 the first years of his reign, that the scepter was not unworthily put into the hands of a youth.
 The *Asiatic* soldiery, whom the *Persian* wars had always kept employed, became so insolent
 under his father's indolent reign, that they presumed to spoil not only travellers but whole
 provinces. The generals sent to suppress those rebels, being either allured with the hope of
 prey themselves, or negligent of their duty, were so far from putting a stop to their progress,
 that the number of plunderers increasing, all *Anatolia* was miserably ravaged.

A. D. 1604.
Asian rebels
defeated.

AMONG the rebels there were chiefly two, *Kalender Ogli* (C) and *Tavil* (D), who attacked
 the *Othmân* troops and did most mischief. *Ahmed* judged, that if they were once quelled,
 the rest would be easily suppressed, and peace restored to the east. To this end therefore he
 sends the prime *Wazîr Kojâ Morâd Pâshâ*, with his guards, to winter at *Hâlep*, with orders in
 the spring to lead them, in conjunction with such of the *Asiatics* as remained faithful, against
 the ravagers. These commands were executed by the *Wazîr* with such success, that after
 several bloody engagements, *Kalender Ogli* was vanquished near *Marâsh*, in the mountains of
Kioykiesen, and driven alone, all his common soldiers being slain, into *Persian Irâk*. Then,
 turning his arms against *Tavil*, who advanced to assist his companions, he defeats him like-
 wise, and forces him to fly into the same country.

War against
Persia,

Hej. 1013.

A. D. 1604.

A. D. 1605.

A. D. 1606.

unsuccessful.

Hej. 1026.

A. D. 1617.

THE *Shâh* having refused to deliver up the two rebels, *Ahmed*, to be revenged for that
 contempt offered to his government, sends the *Wazîr Morâd* with a numerous army towards
 the *Persian* borders : but, arriving too late at *Tibrîs* to effect any thing this year, he resolves
 next spring to invade the enemy's country ; yet dies when he was on the point of marching.
 His office is conferred on *Nasub Pâshâ* (E), who, after a year's stay there to as little purpose,
 leads back his army, weakened by sickness and fatigue, to *Constantinople* : where, on his arrival,
 he was beheaded for sloth and negligence. *Mehemed Pâshâ*, being made *Wazîr* in his room,
 departs, in 1015, with a very numerous army, and lays close siege to *Revân*, which he furi-
 ously assaults for forty days ; but repulsed by the bravery of the garrison, is forced at last to
 raise the siege : for which ill success, he is, at his return to *Arzerûm*, strangled by the *Kâpîji*
Pâshi, and his post conferred on *Halil Pâshâ*, a brave and prudent general : but, whilst he
 prepared to humble the pride of *Persia*, the *Soltân* is seized with a sudden fever ; which, tho'
 slight at first, increased every day, and at length carried him off ^a.

Turkish his-
tory defective.

THIS is in effect all which the *Turkish* authors consulted by prince *Cantemir* have given us
 relating to the reign of *Ahmed* I. The transactions of which being wholly confined to his war

^a CANT. p. 238, & seqq.

(A) The Christian historians say he was then about
 that age.

(B) Or, as the *Turks* say, before he was possessed of
 a *Sanjak*, or standard, which ensign of power is never
 delivered by them to any man till he is of mature age.
 Cant.

(C) He must not be confounded with one of the same
 name, who, under *Mohammed* I. reduced the *Othmân*
 empire to the last extremity. Cant. *Kalender Ogli* seems

to be a nick-name, given him on account of his resem-
 bling the first *Kalender* in bravery as well as rebellion.

(D) *Tavil*, or *Tarvil*, in *Arabic*, signifies tall ; and
 is a surname, to express that quality in him. So *Hassan*
Beg, or *Uzûn Hassan*, is by the *Arabs* called *Hassan al*
Tarvil, or *Hassan the Tall*, on account of his stature.

(E) *Benjamin* the son of *Jacob*, and brother of *Joseph*,
 is in the *Korân* called *Nasub* ; from whence this name
 came in use.

against

a against the *Persians*, a person who had not read the Christian historians would be apt to imagine, that he was at peace all the time with the rest of his neighbours, and never had any contest with the *Imperialists*. Leaving our readers to suggest the reason of this conduct, we have laid before them the whole at once of what they deliver concerning the *Turkish* affairs during this prince's reign, before we introduced any thing from the Christian writers, whom now we shall have recourse to. A. D. 1604.

AHMED having, to prevent the insolence of the soldiery, given the *Spahis*, by way of largess, ten crowns a man, and every *Fanizary* thirty, with advance in pay to the first of five aspers a day, and of one to the latter, was crowned with great solemnity. The first act of his authority was, to remove his grand-mother, a proud ambitious woman, from the prime administration of the government, which she managed at her pleasure in the late *Soltân's* reign. He likewise set the *Persian* ambassador at liberty; and continued the negotiations of peace in Hungary. On this occasion the *Imperial* commissioners made a splendid entertainment for the *Turks* at *Pest*; whither 600 of the better sort went. Mean time those of *Buda* had formed a design to surprise that city during the feast: but, finding the garrison as much on their guard as at other times, the *Turks* returned without success. Removes the Soltâna.

THIS treachery being complained of next day, the *Pâshâ* of *Buda* disavowed the thing with many protestations. However, the emperor's commissioners would not accept of his invitation to a feast the day following, but returned to *Gran*; yet left *Giesberg* at *Pest*, to treat with the *Turks*, in case he found them disposed to it. Instead of that, a messenger came soon after from the *Soltân*, to order the *Pâshâ* to break off the treaty. In effect, they had so little disposition to peace, that so soon as they had supplied *Agria*, *Alba Regalis*, and *Buda*, with necessaries, they laughed at the *Imperialists* for their credulity, and renewed their incursions with more cruelty than ever: yet not with impunity from the *Hussârs*, who endeavoured to repay them in their own coin. The treaty broken off.

MEAN time *Jâffer Pâshâ*, who had been driven out of *Bosnia* by *Zel Ali*, as before-mentioned, being supported by the *Soltân's* authority, suddenly entered that country with a great army, and at length expelled his competitor for that province; but died soon after his victory. As for *Zel Ali*, the ministry at the *Porte*, loth to lose the benefit of so great a soldier, and yet not willing to trust him with a government of such consequence as that of *Bosnia*, removed d thither *Begredit Pâshâ* from *Temeswar*, and made the other governor of this last place. *Zel Ali*, taking advantage of the broils and rancour which divided the Christians more than the *Turks*, laid a design to surprise *Lippa* by night; but after attempting not only to scale the walls, but even to force the gates, he was obliged to give over his enterprize. Attempt on Lippa.

ABOUT the same time some *Turkish* prisoners in *Kassova*, during the absence of the governor, and great part of the garrison, slew their keepers, with a design to have burnt the town and escaped: but were at length suppressed; while *Kanisia* suffered the misfortune which *Kassova* had escaped: for a soldier in the citadel having carelessly thrown fire into the powder, the whole place was in a manner blown up. Kanisia blown up.

WHILST the tumults in *Transilvania* and troubles in *Hungary* increased, the *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, understanding that the *Imperial* forces began to draw together, wrote to the governor of *Gran*, to invite him to a new treaty: but the insincerity of his motion appeared no less from the reserved strain of his letter, than the conduct of the *Turks*; who at the same time, with the united forces of several garrisons, surprised the castle of *Somnin* by night, and burnt it. False offers of peace.

BUT let us leave the affairs of *Europe* a while, to see how those of *Asia* stood. Although the rebellion there was weakened for a time, yet it broke out again with more force than ever. To suppress which, *Sigâla Pâshâ*, an officer of great experience, was sent with an army: but he was no sooner arrived than he was met by the enemy, and, after a bloody battle, defeated; with much ado escaping himself. However, he quickly recruited his diminished troops, and marched against the victors, in order to retrieve his disgrace: but the rebels, finding him much superior in force, retreated, and applied for aid to the king of *Persia*. The *Shâh* immediately sent them troops, under his own son; with which they marched to attack the *Pâshâ* a second time. At first fortune seemed to incline to the arms of the *Soltân*, till the prince of *Persia* with his brave cavalry falling upon them in the rear, while some of the rebel troops attacked them in the flank, they were at length totally routed, and thirty thousand of them slain, to only ten thousand on the other side. The *Shâh*, pursuing his good fortune, reduced the country of *Shîrwân*, won the city of *Arufta* (F), near the confluence of the *Tigris* with the *Euphrates*, and all the adjacent territories, excepting two or three towns, which had been taken from them ever since the time of *Soltân Soleyman*. Affairs of Asia. The Turks overthrown.

b RICAUT in Achmet I.

(F) We know of no such place in those quarters.

A. D. 1604.

make great preparations.

AHMED having narrowly escaped death from the small-pox, appointed *Hassan Pâshâ*, a man of great valour and abilities, to be his general in *Hungary*: but news arriving soon after, that the king of *Persia* had taken the field with an army of 100,000 men, and that *Bagages Pâshâ*, one of the *Asian* rebels, had confederated with him, the *Soltân* recalled *Hassan* with his forces from before *Waradin* to *Constantinople*: yet, after holding a council, sent him back again, and appointed *Sigâla* once more his general in *Asia*. The emperor, being aware of the *Turkish* preparations, sent the archduke *Maximilian* his ambassador to *Rome*, to solicit aid of the pope, who granted him 150,000 crowns for that year, with hopes of an augmentation for the future.

Walakhia ravaged.

MEAN time the *Tatars* being by the *Poles* denied a passage into *Hungary*, they fell to ravage *Walakhia*. Hereupon the *Vayvod Rodolf* retired to *Kronstad*; and, after taking a new oath, was, with his country, received by *Basta* under his protection. All this while the *Turks* seemed so desirous of peace, that at length *Cæsar Gallen* was sent to treat about it: but, as they insisted that the former tribute should be paid by the emperor; and that all the places which he had taken should be restored, together with *Transilvania* and *Walakhia*; the conferences came to nothing.

Pest deserted.

Soon after *Jagenzenter*, governor of *Pest*, terrified with the report that the grand *Wazîr Hassan* was coming with a great army to conquer *Hungary*, and intended to begin with the siege of *Pest*; he with the garrison, on the 5th of *September*, basely deserted the town, after he had first undermined the principal buildings, and laid trains of powder to blow them up. Accordingly next day they blew up, while the governor retired to *Gran*; where he was imprisoned, in order to be tried for his cowardice.

Gran besieged.

THE grand *Wazîr*, being by this time arrived in *Hungary*, laid siege to *Gran* on the 18th of the same month, encamping before *St. Thomas's* mount: but *Basta*, having raised a strong fort near the town on that side, so annoyed them from thence, as made them remove further off, while he lay with his army between the isle of *Gran* and the old town of the *Rascians*, to keep the enemy from entering into either place. On the 24th, the *Turks* assaulted fort *St. Thomas*; but count *Schultz*, governor of *Gran*, having ordered 500 horse and 2000 foot to sally out upon them, they forced the enemy to quit the mount on which they were encamped: however, pursuing them too far, they fell into an ambush, where, after a bloody fight, they were obliged to retreat. In this action the *Turks* lost 700 men, and the besieged 100; among whom was the valiant count *Casimir* of *Holenloth*.

Bethlem Ghabor routed.

As the noise of this siege drew many to the relief of the place, count *Tambier*, governor of *Lippa*, being about to march thither with some troops; *Bethlem Ghabor*, chief of the *Transilvanian* revoltors, with *Bakheres Pâshâ* and 4000 *Turks*, entered into that province, with a design to make himself master of it, under the protection of the *Turks*. The count understanding this, fell upon him so hastily that he quickly put him to flight, and killed 1000 men. The two chiefs were glad to save themselves by swimming; and succours sent to them from *Temeswar* were also cut to pieces by the count.

The siege raised.

MEAN time the besiegers having been repulsed in two assaults made on fort *St. Thomas*, although 5500 *Heydûks* had deserted out of 6000, they fell to mining; but their design was frustrated by counter-mines. On this they had recourse to their old artifice of a parley for peace: but the *Germans* not agreeing to their terms, the *Janizaries* were for giving over the siege. However, *Hassan* being resolved to attack the fort once more before he left it, assaulted it six times on the 10th of *October*; wherein failing, he withdrew his army, many of whom *Basta* cut off in their retreat. Yet he had not forces enough to put a stop to the ravages they made afterwards: but what that general could not do, was effected by *Collonitz*.

Troubles in Transilvania.

WHILE *Hungary* became a little easy by the departure of the *Wazîr*, *Transilvania* grew distracted with intestine troubles. The Lord *Istivan*, surnamed *Botskay* (G), who, under the *Soltân's* protection, stiled himself prince of that country, committed great disorders there. The lord *Beligiosa*, *Basta's* lieutenant there, was sent with an army to subdue him: but *Botskay* having seduced the *Heydûks* under his command to desert him in time of battle, the rest of his followers were almost all slain; and such as were taken prisoners cut in pieces, contrary to faith. After this, being assisted with men and money by the *Turks*, he took *Kassova* (H), and there established the reformed religion, of which he called himself the defender. The ensigns and prisoners taken on these occasions were borrowed by the grand *Wazîr*, to colour at *Constantinople* the ill success of his campaign.

Botskay revolts,

HOWEVER that be, *Botskay* was grown by this time to such a head, that *Basta* was forced himself to march against him, and defeated his troops, killing 1500 of his men. For all

c RICAUT, ubi supr.

(G) Or more truly *Potskay*; which in the *Bohemian* language signifies to stay, or wait. So called in scorn, on account of the long delay given him, by way of disgrace, at the emperor's court.

(H) About 33 leagues from *Agria*, to the north-east, in *Upper Hungary*.

that,

a that, *Kassova* would not submit to him, and receive an *Imperial* garrison, although *Esperies* A. D. 1604. did (I). But such were the confusions and discontents of these countries, that *Basta's* own soldiers were ready to have mutiny'd, if they had not been prevented by his prudence and generosity. The *Heydûks* had a great hand in these troubles: for they seized on divers castles, and among the rest the mine-towns; doing a great deal of mischief to the *Imperialists*, whom now they reckoned the worst of foes.

THESE distractions which afflicted *Hungary* and *Transilvania* had their rise from the persecuting spirit of the *Romish* clergy. These in an assembly this year at *Presburg*, without the consent or knowlege of the nobility, published a decree, condemning those of the reformed religion in *Hungary* either to be burned, or to suffer perpetual banishment. Against this decree the states of that kingdom made their protest; and declared, that they would defend themselves by arms, in case they should be molested on account of their religion. Notwithstanding all this, *Beligiosa*, *Basta's* lieutenant, seized on not only the churches, but lands and effects of the reformed at *Kassova*. He forbid them also the use of the bible, or to have sermons in their own houses; and would not suffer them to bury their dead in the city near monasteries. Not content with this, because *Botzkay* refused to lend him a large sum of money, he ordered his soldiers to plunder two of his castles. That lord, enraged at these injuries, by proclamation, promised four crowns a month, as pay, to every *Heydûk* who would enter into his service. Hereupon those people resorted daily to him, and among the rest 6000 who served under *Beligiosa* himself: but as soon as he took upon him the protection of the reformed religion, they flocked to him in crowds, and the people every-where appeared ready to join him.

NEITHER were the *Turks* free from intestine commotions, the rebels being still on foot in *Anatolia*; while, in *Syria*, the *Pâshâs* of *Damaskus* and *Hâlep* were in arms against each other: but the latter, having been defeated and besieged by an army of 30,000 men, was obliged to submit to such conditions as the other imposed. To add to these misfortunes, *Sigâla Pâshâ*, with all his great power, was defeated by the king of *Persia*; who, improving his victory, went and took *Bâghdad*. Although these crosses gave the *Turkish* ministers great uneasiness, yet *Soltân Ahmed* continued his pleasures, as if he did not mind how matters went.

d BASTA, finding himself by force unable to put an end to the troubles in *Hungary* and *Transilvania*, exhorted the chiefs of the malecontents, and even *Botzkay* himself, by letters, to lay down their arms. Hereupon that lord, by way of answer, insisted, that *Transilvania* should be yielded to him: that an *Hungarian* should be made lieutenant-general in *Hungary*; and none but *Hungarians* have command of the garrisons in that country: that the *French* and *Walloon* soldiers should be sent home; and every man have the free exercise of his religion. But these proposals not being agreeable to *Basta*, nothing was concluded. Mean time the *Heydûks*, joined by a body of *Tatars*, surpris'd *Gokaza*, over-against *Gran*; where they slew the *German* garrison; and, after rifling the town, set it on fire: but were quickly driven out again by the governor of that city. The *Imperialists* likewise took the strong fortress of *Palantwar* from the *Turks*.

e ABOUT the same time, the latter having a design to besiege *Vachia*, not far from *Vicegrade*, the *Heydûks* in garrison, finding themselves much stronger than the *Germans*, slew most of them, while the rest fled to *Gran*, and put the *Turks* in possession of that important place. The *Ottomâns*, with their new confederates, flushed with this success, attempted to take *Gran*, but were repulsed. The emperor was not a little troubled to see his enemies increase, and his own troops diminish through civil dissension: yet, instead of pacifying the malecontents by redressing their grievances, he applied to other princes for aid; in order to reduce them by force. But while he received nothing from them but promises; the enemy, under the prime *Wazîr Hassan*, taking the advantage of time, marched to besiege *Vicegrade*, situate on the *Danube*, between *Buda* and *Gran*. As soon as they appeared before it, the *Heydûks* opened the gates of the town, and then informed them how to attack the castle; which, after a brave defence, was yielded upon articles.

f BASTA, in the mean time lying at *Esperies*, published a general pardon to the revoltors; but with little effect: and not long after his own soldiers began to mutiny for want of pay. The *Heydûks*, in the beginning of *February*, besieged the castle of *Sakmar*, which was quickly surrendered to them. Then advancing towards *Tokay*, attempted to surpris'e the castle: but the governor being apprised of their design, caused the ice on the river to be broken forty paces over, and then covered it with snow near the place, so that the *Heydûks* marching on to

^a RICAUT, ubi supr.

(I) About 7 leagues north-by-east of *Kassova*.

A. D. 1606. *Besiege New Hausel.* scale the walls, were suddenly swallowed up. On the 2d of *March* they came before *New Hausel*, and having persuaded the citizens to revolt, *Burbelius* with his *Kofaks* retired into the castle; from whence afterward sallying, he drove them out of the town again. But about this time *Filek*, the key of that part of upper *Hungary*, was given up to the *Heydûks*, who had for some time besieged it by the garriou, for want of water. After this four thousand of them attempting to surprise *Wiglate* castle, were repulsed with great loss: but marching from thence, they broke into *Turson's* country, and forced the states to submit to *Botskay*.

Troubles every where. To remedy these evils, the emperor sent two commissioners to treat with that lord; but he refused to receive them; and sent circular letters to assemble the nobility and states of *Hungary* at *Gerents*, there to deliberate what was to be done, when their country was so oppressed with *Germans* and strangers. In the interim, the army under *Basta* mutinied again, for want of pay, severely threatened their general, and most miserably ravaged the country between *Esperies* and *Presburg*. About the same time *Constantinople* was afflicted not only with a tumult of the *Janizaries*, but also with a dreadful fire; wherein many people perished, with five hundred shops and warehouses, full of rich commodities, which were consumed. This misfortune was preceded by a letter from *Sigála Pâshâ*, giving the *Soltân* an account of his ill success; and that without speedy reinforcements the *Persians* would carry all before them.

New Hausel taken. To return to the affairs of *Hungary*. The *Heydûks* not only renewed the siege of *New Hausel*, but also took it; and afterwards made incursions into *Moravia*, where they committed intolerable ravages: but they were at length driven out by count *Lichtenstein*, governor of that country, yet carrying great spoils along with them. About this time *Basta*, who lay at *Presburg*, understanding that six thousand *Turks* and *Tatars*, out of fourteen thousand, arrived at *St. George's*, had crossed the *Danube*, about a mile below the city, went in the night with three hundred choice horse; and falling on the *Turks* and *Heydûks*, who remained behind in the camp, slew five hundred of them, before the rest could recover their arms, and returned with some booty of horses. Mean time the garrison of *Aomorra*, from an ambuscade, routed and slew *Begedes Pâshâ*, the great fomentor of the *Hungarian* troubles; and took seventeen waggon-loads of money and other things of value, which he was conveying to *Botskay* and the *Tatars*, under the son of the *Khân* of *Khrim*.

Botskay's success. To make amends for this loss, the *Turks* and *Tatars*, in conjunction with the forces of the malecontents, in *May* burnt twenty-eight villages, about the lake *Nevisdier*, and the town of *Newstadt*; put people of all ages and sexes to the sword, impaled many, and led multitudes captive. After this the malecontents surprised and plundered six or seven considerable towns, the terror of which made the adjacent country submit to them. In *June* the inhabitants of *Wesbrun* secured the officers, and put themselves under *Botskay's* protection. A passage being thus laid open to the *Turks* for farther conquests, they wrote to the *Soltân* to hasten the army. Indeed things grew daily worse and worse: for now the revolted broke into *Stiria* and *Austria*, and did so much harm, that the counts *Serini*, *Nadasti* and *Budiani*, who had been so serviceable against the *Turks*, seeing all they had in danger to be lost, submitted themselves, as well as many others, to *Botskay*. However the *Heydûks* were repulsed before *Odenburg*, which they besieged, with the loss of many men.

New Hausel retaken. THE *Turks*, to induce *Botskay* to give up *Kassova* to them, sent him three waggon-loads of money, by a convoy of four hundred *Heydûks* and some *Turks*: but being to pass by *Tokay*, the former joined four hundred *Germans*, sent to meet them by the governor, with whom they held intelligence, and slaying all the *Turks*, carried the booty into that place. However the malecontents still encreasing in strength, had *Totis*, or *Dotis*, yielded to them. Mean time *Redesus*, the lieutenant of *Botskay* in those parts, with an army of thirty thousand *Hungarians* and *Turks*, besieged *New Hausel*: but, loth that it should fall into the hands of the latter, he often kept them from attacking it, with design to take it by means of the *Hungarians* only, with whom he furiously assaulted it on the 25th of *July*; yet was repulsed after all, when on the point of taking it. After this the *Pâshâ* of *Agria* arrived with three thousand men and some *Janizaries*: but still the besieged held out, though reduced to a few men, in want of provision and other necessaries, till the 17th of *October*; when the utmost necessity forced them to surrender by consent to the *Hungarians*.

Turks besiege Gran. IN *July* offers of pacification were made from the emperor to *Botskay*, whose chief demands were a toleration of the reformed religion, and the principality of *Transilvania* conferred on him for life: but the *Soltân* coming to hear of these proceedings, diverted him from an accommodation, by promising, in a short time to make him king of *Hungary*. The *Turks* having gained this point, and resolved to carry on the war in that country, with all the vigour their wars in *Asia* would admit of; their general *Sedar Pashâ*, with an army of fifty thousand men, including *Hungarians*, on the 20th of *August*, laid siege to *Gran*. To deprive the city of relief by the *Danube*, they made a great bridge of boats over it, and placed a strong guard at each end. After they had with vast loss and charge made *St. Thomas's* castle assaultable, they mounted

- a mounted the hill in great numbers, and in spite of the cannon of the besieged, came to blows with them in the very breaches. The attack lasted five hours, during which they were with incredible courage three times repulsed : but by numbers prevailing at last, after they had slain nine hundred of the garrison, with count *Ottingen* their brave commander, they entered the place, and quickly dispatched the few who remained. This done, they raised a battery of thirty great cannon against the lower town, and having made a large breach in the wall, after four desperate assaults, entered the city. They then attempted the higher town, but being beaten off, fell to mining with such success, that the fortifications being blown up, the besieged lay open to their shot. Hereupon the garrison in a tumult would have the governor *Dampier* to surrender the place ; but on his refusing, they imprisoned him, and did the work themselves, on condition of being allowed to march out with their baggage, colours furled, and match lighted : for which piece of baseness, the captains, and principal authors of the mutiny, were executed at *Komorra*, whither they were civilly conducted by the enemy ^c.

A. D. 1606.
The city yielded.

THE *Soltân's* joy for taking this important place was much allayed by the ill success of his arms in *Asia*. *Sigâla Pâshâ* having advanced towards *Persia*, the *Shâh*, who had then a great army on foot, halted to meet him before the *Pâshâ* of *Karamania* joined him with the forces he was ordered to raise for that purpose ; accordingly, coming on him before he was ready to engage, he quickly overthrew his army, and took all his cannon. The king pursuing his victory, followed *Sigâla*, who with three hundred men hardly escaped to *Adena* (K), and besieged him there. Hereupon, the *Pâshâ* of *Trapezond* was ordered to march to his assistance ; which *Sigâla* hearing of, he secretly got over the wall with ten soldiers, and joining the succours, advanced to relieve the city. But the *Shâh* to prevent them, leaving part of his army to carry on the siege, with the rest marched to attack the *Pâshâs*, whom he unexpectedly surprised before they could draw up in order ; and made so great a slaughter of the *Turks*, that very few escaped, besides *Sigâla*, and two or three more, who got over the river in a boat. The consequence of this victory, was the surrender of the town ; and *Ahmed*, to make himself amends for the loss, seized on *Sigâla's* houses and treasure at *Constantinople*. After this, he ordered new forces to march against the *Persians* : But the *Janizaries* refusing to go, and mutinying for their pay, the high treasurer, whom they complained of, was put to death, to appease their clamour.

Sigâla overthrown by the Persians.

- d NOR did matters turn out better in *Syria* ; notwithstanding the late agreement between the two contending *Pâshâs* of *Damaskus* and *Hâlep*. The former, in concert with the *Pâshâs* of *Tripoli* and *Gazera*, at the head of sixty thousand men, marched to besiege *Hâlep* : but the *Pâshâ* of this last city, meeting them with only thirty thousand, attacked them with such bravery, that he entirely routed them ; and then took *Tripoli*, after he had a second time overthrown the *Pâshâ*, who had assembled an army to relieve it. This done, he raised tribute on the *Turks*, in order to make himself master of all *Syria*, whose capital he had in his power ; and to enrich the country, granted a free trade to the merchants of *Persia* and the *Indies*. Mean while, news being brought that the *Beglerbeg* of *Anatolia's* lieutenant was coming against him with a great army, he seized all the difficult passes ; and laying an ambuscade in the straits of the mountains, when the enemy had passed them with two thousand musketeers, and three thousand horse, charged them himself in front, while those in ambush fell on their rear ; and, after a sharp fight, totally defeated them. To encrease his good fortune, a rich ship, with the tribute of *Egypt* on board, was cast upon the coast, and fell to his share. These successes being communicated to the king of *Persia*, he extolled the *Pâshâ's* valour, and sent him rich presents, while the flames of this rebellion spread into *Karamania* and other parts of *Anatolia* ; which made the *Soltân Ahmed* dispatch orders to the prime *Wazîr* in *Hungary*, to make peace with the emperor upon reasonable terms. To this the *Imperialists* were not averse, although the king of *Persia* had sent ambassadors to *Vienna*, to engage the court to the contrary ; and *Rodolph's* commissioners having on the 6th of *December* received letters from the *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, inviting them to a negotiation, they went thither next day. But the *Turks* declaring they would do nothing without the *Hungarians*, matters for the present stopped here ; although the same month, all things were agreed at *Vienna*, with *Illiskascius*, *Botzkay's* agent, excepting what concerned the toleration of religion, which was not settled till next year.

lep grows formidable.

DURING this suspense of peace, the troubles continued in *Hungary*, as well as in *Asia*, where the *Persians* prospered, against whom the prime *Wazîr* was ordered to go in person. Mean time the *Turks* attempted to surprise *Raab*, as the revolted *Hungarians* distressed *Esperies* and reduced *Tokey* : yet there was no good understanding at this time between the confederates,

Affairs of Hungary.

^c RICAUT, *ibid*.

(K) A city near *Tarsus*, in the southern coast of *Anatolia*, towards *Syria*.

A. D. 1606. on account of the incursions of the *Tatars* in upper *Hungary*; which made the *Heydûks* resolve a to join their forces together, and oppose both them and the *Turks*. Hereupon the latter went and besieged *Lippa*, a town of the *Heydûks*, who forsaking the town, fortified the castle with armed men, and then placed others up and down in cellars and vaults; they likewise laid store of gunpowder in the streets. The *Turks* finding the gates open, entered without resistance, and hastened to reduce the castle: but the powder in the mean time taking fire, blew up a great many of them; while the concealed *Heydûks*, issuing from their hiding places, fell on, and made a great slaughter among them.

Peace with Botkay, and the *Turks*. AT length the difficulty about religion being removed, notwithstanding the great opposition made by the *Romish* clergy, and more particularly the bishop of *Vienna*, peace was concluded in September with the *Hungarians*; whereby, among other articles it was agreed, that every b man throughout *Hungary* should have the free use of his religion, and believe what he would: that the *Hungarians* might chuse a governor, which title the archduke was no more to use, but that of viceroy: that Botkay, for himself, and his heirs male, should for ever hold *Transilvania* dependent on *Hungary*: and that he should no more style himself prince, but lord of part of the kingdom of *Hungary*.

THIS peace was a prelude to that concluded between the emperor and the *Turks*, on the 19th of November following, near *Komorra*, for twenty years, to commence in 1607. By the articles, the *Tatars* were to be included, and the king of *Spain* might accede to the treaty: *Vakbia* was to be restored to the emperor, and *Gran* remain to the *Soltân*. The year concludes with the death of the great Botkay; who having been ill all the time both treaties were going c forward, died at *Kassova*, on the 30th of December, very much lamented. He was a man of great spirit; wise, politic, a warm lover of his country, but an extreme enemy to the *Germans*, and their government in *Hungary*.

Rebellion in Asia suppressed. A. D. 1607. THERE occurs very little remarkable for the next three years, concerning the *Turks*, who now resolved to turn their whole force against the *Persians*. But the *Soltân* thinking it necessary first to procure peace at home, sent to the *Pâshâ* of *Hâlep*, promising him pardon and favour, provided he submitted himself. The answer not being agreeable to *Abmed*'s desire, the prime *Wazîr* was sent over with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men, against the *Asian* rebels; who being suppressed by his discrete management, more than by his arms, he marched towards *Hâlep*. The *Pâshâ*, with a body of forty thousand only, but most of them musketeers, d engaged the *Wazîr* in an advantageous post, within two miles of that city, and in three notable battles withstood his whole power: but understanding, as he prepared for the fourth engagement, that a great reinforcement from the *Pâshâs* of *Damaskus* and *Tripoli*, his enemies, had joined the imperial troops, he fled with his effects towards *Persia*, followed by his army. Hereupon the *Wazîr* took *Hâlep* by force, and put the garrison to the sword. The *Pâshâ* having gotten together new forces, was returned with design to fight the *Wazîr*: but finding many of his old friends had forsaken him, he wrote to that minister, desiring him to obtain his pardon from the *Soltân*, which was accordingly effected f.

Persians successful. A. D. 1610. AHMED, though now quite at liberty to unite his forces against the *Persians*, yet chusing peace rather than war, employed the *Khân* of *Tartary* to bring it about: but as he demanded e *Tauris*, with all the provinces lately recovered by the *Persians*, the treaty did not take effect. However, nothing of moment was acted on either side against the other, till the year 1610, when the *Persians* entered into the provinces of *Arabian Irâk*, with a design to recover *Bâghdâd*, taken from them in a former reign. To prevent this misfortune, *Abmed* sent a mighty army under *Nasub Pâshâ* (L), who had no better success than *Sigâla*, for he was routed, and lost twenty thousand. To repair this loss, new troops were dispatched under the command of the famous *Pâshâ* of *Hâlep*, lately in rebellion. But whatever the reason was, he never marched against the enemy; being, by the *Soltân*'s order, slain by a *Kâpiji* (M), soon after his arrival at *Constantinople*.

Affairs of Transilvania. MEAN time *Gabriel Bathori*, prince of *Transilvania*, having put himself under the protection f of the *Turks*, against the archduke *Matthias*, now king of *Hungary*, who pretended a title by reason of *Sigismond*'s cession formerly to the emperor, as king of *Hungary*; that prince took *Hermanstadt*, and having entered *Walakbia*, drove out the *Vayvod Raduile*; then putting another in his place, he returns to *Transilvania*, to oppose *Fortgatsi*, the lieutenant of king *Matthias*. *Raduile*, who retired to *Constantinople*, *Vayvod* of *Moldavia*, having insinuated to that prince, that *Bathori* had a design to seize his country also, they joined their forces, and defeated him near *Kronstadt*, while *Fortgatsi* seized *Transilvania*: but *Bathori*, some time after,

f RICAUT, *ibid*.

(L) In our author *Nasut Bassa*.

(M) By this circumstance, he should be the same who is called *Mehemmed Pâshâ* by the *Turkish* historians. For

he succeeded *Nasub Pâshâ*; though neither the time nor place of his death in them agrees with those of the Christian account.

having

a having received a reinforcement of *Turks* and *Tatars*, forced the lieutenant of *Mathias* to retire A. D. 1610.
into *Walakbia*.

THUS the storm ceasing in *Transilvania*, a more violent one fell upon *Moldavia*. For the and Moldavia.
Soltân understanding that *Constantine* had assisted the *Walakkians* against *Bathori* his tributary,
sent a new prince (the supposed son of *Thomas*, alias *Aaron*, once *Vayvod* there) with fifteen
thousand men, besides orders to the *Turks* and *Tatars* in that province, to assist him in his pre-
tensions. But as if two competitors for it were not enough, there started up a third, the son
of *Janiculo*, who once commanded in *Moldavia*; and after many turns of fortune, arriving
in *England*, was recommended by king *James I.* to Sir *Thomas Glover*, his ambassador at the
Porte, in order to solicit his restitution; which he did, but without success.

b WHILE these things were doing by land, the gallies of *Mâlta* and *Tuskany* greatly incom- Naval trans-
moded the *Turks* at sea; the latter intercepted forty gallies and two galleasses, laden with the action.
tribute of *Egypt*, sunk five, and drove the rest into *Famagusta*, but got no booty. However,
in their way home, they took a rich ship, valued at a million and a half of crowns. About
the same time the gallies of *Mâlta* and *Naples*, missing of the said treasure, ravaged the isle of
Longo in the *Archipelago*; while the *Turks* slay'd a *Greek* patriarch alive, under pretence of
his intending to make some *Albanian* Christians revolt. This summer *Constantinople*, and the
adjacent countries, were afflicted with infinite clouds of locusts; which were followed by
showers of extraordinary great hail, and a deluge of rain.

c DURING the distractions in the west, the *Persian* king having extended his dominion to the The Shâh's
Black Sea, was content to have made a peace with the *Porte*, and sent two different embassies proposals.
for that purpose. But although the proposals were rejected, yet the *Turks* attempted nothing

against *Persia* in the years 1609 and 1610. However, next year *Abmed* sent an army thither, A. D. 1611.
of more than one hundred and fifty thousand men, under the command of *Morâd Serder*, the
grand *Wazîr*: but he dying in *July*, before he had entered the enemy's borders, *Nasuf Pâshâ*,
who had been formerly in rebellion, was appointed to succeed him (N). The new general
about the midst of *August*, committing great spoil on the frontiers, was met by the *Shâh*;
who had drawn his forces together: but, finding himself over-matched, he made offers of
peace again, which were accepted of, on condition that he paid a yearly tribute of two hundred Peace con-
camel-loads of silk, for some countries which he had conquered: that the *Shâh's* son should cluded.

d be called *Pâshâ* of *Tauris*; and that the judge of that city should be sent from *Constantinople*.
Nothing farther remarkable happened this year, except that the ships of *Mâlta*, failing in their
design on *Nowarino*, landed eight hundred men near *Korinth*, in the *Morea*; who getting to
that city an hour before day, surprised and plundered it, coming off with great booty, and no
loss from the enemy, who had drawn together ten thousand men to attack them ^e.

NEITHER did any matters of great moment fall out the next year. The terms of peace having Janizaries
been agreed on between the *Shâh* and *Abmed*, *Nasuf Pâshâ* returned to *Constantinople* without mutiny.
any delay, bringing with him an ambassador to conclude it. The *Wazîr* was received with A. D. 1612;

e great honour at court, and the *Persian* ambassador highly careffed. Soon after the *Soltân*
going to reside at *Adrianople*, the soldiery began to mutiny, spurning at their bread and rice;
and being expostulated with on the occasion, they answered, that no *Soltân* before carried out
his men in the depth of winter. This gave great disgust to the *Wazîr Nasuf*, who was now
so much in favour with *Abmed*, that none was allowed to see him in private but himself; and
finding, at a great fire which soon after happened in *Constantinople*, that the *Janizaries* were
more careful to break open houses, than quench the flames, he severely punished them for it;
sent sixteen thousand of them away into *Asia*, and would suffer no more of their order to be
made.

f WHILE the *Persian* ambassador was at *Constantinople*, one arrived from *Mathias*, now become Treaty with
emperor of *Germany*, on the death of his brother *Rodolph*, requiring the province of *Tran-
silvania to be given up to him, according to the agreement with *Botskay*, in case he died with-
out male issue; but did not succeed in his demand. Holland.*

THIS year also, for the first time, an ambassador came from the states of *Holland*, and con-
cluded a treaty, whereby the *Soltân* promised to set at liberty all the *Dutch* slaves within his
dominions; that the *Dutch* merchants should be free to trade in all his ports; and, that the
states might send an ambassador to reside at *Constantinople*.

IN the end of *June*, the *Soltân* married his sister and eldest daughter, the first to *Mehemmed Ahmed af-*
Pâshâ, son to the late *Sigâla*, the latter to *Mahmûd*, the *Kapudan Pâshâ*, or high admiral. The faulced.
ceremony was extremely grand, and the presents of the *Soltân* to the brides exceeding costly:

^e GRIMSTONE in Achmet apud Ricaut.

(N) 'Tis said this was by *Morâd's* own advice, in his letters while sick to the *Soltân*, although *Nasuf* (or rather *Nasub*) was supposed to have poisoned him. But *Morâd* did it with a view, that by such means the *Soltân* should draw him home, and then dispose of him at pleasure, as afterwards it appears he did.

A. D. 1612. but all this gaiety ended in bitterness, for the day after, *Abmed* beat the *Soltâna*, mother to the new married daughter, most unmercifully; stabbed her through the cheek with his dagger, and trod her under his feet, because she had strangled a female slave of his sister's, whom he was enamoured with. After this, having, to avoid the plague, removed from *Constantinople* to one of his country palaces called *Darut Pâshâ*; while he was viewing a *Yami*, which he had built there, a *Darwîsh* threw a great stone, with a design to knock him on the head, but falling on his shoulder, it did but slightly hurt him. For this crime the offender was next day beheaded.

Affairs of
Moldavia.

MOLDAVIA and *Transilvania* were still embroiled in troubles; and though the *Turks* could not make an absolute conquest of them, yet they set up princes there, who were in their interest. For *Constantine* being driven out of *Moldavia*, and taken prisoner, *Stephen*, the pretended son of prince *Aaron*, was placed in his stead. As for *Bathori*, he was much molested by *Bethlem Ghabor*, his mortal enemy; and being at length slain by his own soldiers, *Bethlem* was soon after declared prince of *Transilvania*, by *Serder Pâshâ*.

The Floren-
tines take fort
Agliman.
A. D. 1613.

TOWARDS the end of this year, the *Turks* drew together a great army, which they sent towards *Transilvania* the next spring: but while they were fortifying the places which they held in those parts, *Cosmo di Medicis*, grand duke of *Tuscany*, bent his thoughts to take the fort of *Agliman* (O), in *Kâramania*; to revenge the loss of a ship in that port, and forty men, whose heads the *Turks* exposed on the walls. To this intent, his fleet of gallies, with some land forces on board, about the end of *April*, landed in the night near *Jeronda* (P), a small town in lesser *Asia*; but being discovered, embarked again, and put on shore a mile and half from the port of *Agliman*. The fort stands on a little hill, and extends from thence to the sea side. 'Tis of an oval form, with stone walls, four fathom high, and one broad, divided by a wall in two equal parts, one to the east, the other to the west. It was fortified with eight towers, and had a garrison of three hundred men, provided with all necessaries.

THE *Florentines*, commanded by *Montano*, presently marched towards it, and the earl of *Candale* being come within fifteen paces of the wall, was charged in front by the musketeers of the fort; behind by the *Turkish* gallies; and in flank from the mountain. For all this, they advanced with their petards to force the gate; and although the enemy from their gallies came forth to attack them, yet they at last entered the fort, and took it, after a most sharp fight: then having removed the artillery, provision and ammunition, they set *Agliman* on fire. They carried off likewise two gallies, and eight other vessels from the port^a.

Portuguese
take Aden.

MEAN time the rebels in *Asia Minor* burnt several places; and an *Arab* prince having revolted, ravaged the *Othmân* territories with 50,000 troops. The *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* also, with their fleets infesting the *Red Sea*, took and plundered *Aden*, a city of great importance, on the south end of *Arabia*. In the interim, the *Soltân* set out for *Hungary*, with an army; but on advice that *Bethlem Ghabor* was become prince of *Transilvania*, he returned, yet dared not enter *Constantinople* for fear of the plague; and when it had ceased, for fear of

Dogs banished.

renewing the infection, he ordered all the dogs in that city to be carried to *Skutari*, beyond the *Bosphorus*, with an allowance of bread and flesh for their maintenance: but becoming uneasy to the inhabitants, they were transported to a desert isle, sixteen miles from the capital, where they all perished for want of food. The lives of the dogs, though held unclean by the *Turks*, were deemed of such importance, that the *Soltân* demanded of the *Mufti*, whether it was lawful to kill them? but that head of their religion answered, that every dog had a soul, and therefore it was not lawful to kill them.

Fleet repaired.

THE *Soltân* having this and the preceding year sustained a loss of gallies and frigates in the *Mediterranean*, by those of *Naples*, *Mâlta*, and *Florence*, as well as in the *Black Sea*, by the *Kosaks*, he imposed a great tax on all his Christian subjects towards repairing it; on which occasion the *Armenians* were cessed to build nine gallies at their own charge, and the *Greeks* twenty.

The prime
Wazîr put to
death.
A. D. 1614.

THE first thing which occurs of any moment in the *Turkish* affairs, is the disgrace and death of *Nasuf Pâshâ*. This person, who was the tribute-son of a *Greek* priest, by degrees came to be *Kâpi Aga*, then governor of *Hâlep*, next that of *Mesopotamia* (or *Diyârbekr*), and lastly grand *Wazîr*. *Abmed*, for what reason is not known, growing jealous of his conduct, resolved on his death. *Nasuf* suspecting the *Soltân's* displeasure, endeavoured by presents to the *Soltâna*, and others, to pacify him, while he prepared to secure himself by flying over to *Asia*. In the interim, *Abmed* going one night, in the time of an eclipse, to visit a new mosque, as soon as the *Wazîr* heard the cry, the king comes, he went down to salute his majesty as he

^a GRIMST. ubi supra.

(O) It guards the port of *Seleucia* to the north-west of cape *Bogaz*, of old *Karicaum*, on the east of *Cilicia*.

(P) Supposed to be the *Jeronda* of the ancients.

- ^a passed by: but instead of the *Soltân*, the *Bostânji Bâshi*, dressed like *Abmed*, steps up to him, and tells him, it was his master's pleasure that he should resign the seal. The *Wazîr* amazed, asked, *what the Soltân meant to do?* the other replied, *he knew not what the Soltân's pleasure was, but that if he would not deliver the seal, he would return with that answer.* A. D. 1614.

HEREUPON *Nasuf* drawing the seal out of his bosom (Q), and delivering it, the *Bostânji Bâshi* then shewed him a warrant for his head, to which the *Wazîr* presently submitted; and then two *Jamoglâns* strangled him. His head was immediately cut off, and carried to the *Soltân*, while his body was thrown into the street to be trampled on. It was thought his death was procured by *Sigâla*, *Pâshâ* of *Bâghdâd*, whom he had removed; and denying him access to *Abmed*, he wrote a letter, accusing *Nasuf* of conspiring with the *Persians* to kill the *Soltân*.

- ^b This letter he sent by his wife, the *Soltân's* sister; but not being able to deliver it into his hands, on account of the *Wazîr's* vigilance, she left it in his chamber, where he found and read it. They got in his house eighty bags of gold, containing ten thousand chekins each. *Mahmûd Pâshâ*, the high admiral, succeeded him in his *Wazîrship*.

ALTHOUGH the *Soltân* laid aside his expedition into *Transilvania*, yet he wrote letters to the nobility and states in an imperious style, in favour of *Bethlem Ghabor*, who still carried on the war against the *Germans*. These letters were fixed up in form of a mandate, throughout the country, against the emperor's party. At the same time a *Chausb* arrived at *Lintz*, with letters also from the *Soltân*, complaining, that several places in *Transilvania* had been taken from *Ghabor*, who was under his protection, and demanded the restitution of them. But while the

- ^c states of the empire were debating this matter, *Bethlem*, assisted by *Saïder Pâshâ*, laboured to recover the towns which had been lost, and in *October* besieged *Lîppa*; with which *Genna* and *Arach* were surrendered to him, on condition that they should be annexed to the principality of *Transilvania*, and not be put into the hands of the *Turks*.

THIS year in *Hungary*, incursions began afresh between the *Turks* and malecontents, but the losses were on neither side very considerable. All this while *Abmed* was beautifying the front of the palace towards the *Propontis*, with a platform or terrass, eight hundred paces long, and twelve broad, washed by the sea. Mean time, one *Iakaya*, who gave himself out to be the *Soltân's* brother, after experiencing various turns of fortune, and failing, in concert with the prime *Wazîr*, to kill *Abmed*, by the sudden death of the *Dârwish*, who was to have been the assassin, he wandered through *Walakbia* and *Moldavia*, into *Poland*. There being in danger of his life from a *Chausb* who knew him, he escaped to the emperor's court at *Prague*, where he solicited aid against his brother: but meeting with nothing but fair words, he travelled to *Florence*, and from thence to *Naples*, *Milan* and *Rome*. Last of all he went to *France*, where he lived by the liberality of the duke of *Nevers*. Although many suspected him for an impostor, yet those who knew him, concluded from his actions and behaviour, that he was sprung from a princely race. A Turkish pretender. A. D. 1615.

- ^d STEPHEN, who had been by the *Turks* created *Payvod* of *Moldavia*, proving a great tyrant, and endeavouring to root out all the nobility of the country, they invited prince *Alexander*, son of *Jeremy*, from whom they had received so much good usage, to make head against him. *Stephen*, after several defeats, being forced to fly, *Alexander* was proclaimed prince of *Moldâvia*. After this, the latter sent an embassy to acquaint the *Porte* with his pretensions, and that he had no design to withdraw *Moldâvia* from the *Soltân's* obedience. But as that prince's ambassadors took the way of *Buda*, the *Pâshâ* seized and sent them to *Stephen*, then at *Brâhilow*, who put them to death. Then having assembled his scattered forces, and received a recruit from *Mikhna*, prince of *Walakbia*, he marched to try his fortune once more, but was again overthrown by *Alexander*. This prince afterwards gained some farther advantages over him and the *Turks*, who came to his assistance: but finding that his enemies had gathered a force which he was not able to withstand, he thought fit to retire to the strong fortrefs of *Kochim*¹. Revolution in Moldavia.

- ^e THE beginning of *March* following, the prince being reinforced with three thousand five hundred *Kosaks* under the lord *Tischevich*, and fifteen hundred *Poles* under *Potoski*, besides other succours, found his troops encreased to twelve thousand men. Mean time *Skinder Pâshâ*, and *Stephen*, with an army of twenty thousand strong, came and incamped between the town and the prince's army. The *Tatars* immediately fell on the *Kosaks* who were in the van, when eight cannon playing upon them from a masked battery, made them retreat. While the *Kosaks* pursued them, the lord *Tischevich*, with fifteen hundred horse, bravely forced a squadron of *Walakbians* and *Moldavians* to retire, although supported by three thousand *Turks*. Then The Turks routed. A. D. 1616.

¹ GRIMST. ubi supr.

(Q) The *Turks* have pockets in the breast of their vests, for carrying their money and other things of value.

A. D. 1616.

Stephen
seized.Alexander
seized :Is overthrown
and taken pri-
soner.Peace with
the Germans.Demand on
France.
A. D. 1617.Great prepa-
rations.

prince *Alexander* advancing with the rest of the army, and prince *Koreski* rallying with the gar-
rison of a thousand men in the *Turks* rear; the *Pâshâ*, who perceived the stratagem of the
enemy, retired with *Stephen* and part of the cavalry, in much fear and confusion, leaving the
prince to carry all before him, who in this action slew twelve thousand men, besides the
wounded and prisoners.

THIS great success was attended with more advantages against *Mikhna*, *Vayvod* of *Walakbia*,
whose *Boyars* offered that country to *Alexander*, though he thought not fit to accept of it.
Ibrâhîm Pâshâ likewise wrote to assure him, that he should remain in quiet possession of *Mol-
davia*, since the prime *Wazîr* was in disgrace; and at the same time had orders to seize *Stephen*,
and send him to *Constantinople*, where he turned *Mohammedan*, to save his life. For all this,
in June, *Skinder Pâshâ*, with an army of twenty thousand *Turks* and *Walakhians*, joined by
ten thousand more of *Mikhna's* men, came to *Tergovist* in *Walakbia*, and there proclaimed
Mikhna prince of *Moldavia*; after which they marched towards that country.

ABOUT the same time, the *Polish* general growing discontented at the success of prince
Alexander, and his son *Bogdân*, wrote to acquaint *Mikhna* and the *Pâshâ*, that if they would make
the eldest son of the late prince *Simeon Vayvod* of *Walakbia*, he would so weaken the army of
the two princes, that they must either yield or fly. This being agreed on, he drew the *Kosaks*
to mutiny; and to the number of about eight thousand of them, marched towards *Poland*:
Bicho also, prince *Alexander's* own general, having treacherously deserted him with 2000 horse,
it caused great confusion in his army. The prince perceiving that the *Pâshâ* had sent twelve
thousand men to pursue the *Poles*, then at *Kotnard*, between *Tassi* and *Kochim*, suddenly
advanced with his army towards the latter place. Mean time prince *Koreski*, who staid near
Kotnard with two thousand five hundred horse, was surprised by a body of *Turks* and *Tatars*,
yet retreated, with the slaughter of six thousand of them, to one hundred and fifty which he
lost of his own.

THE *Turkish* commander being reinforced with sixteen thousand men from the *Pâshâ*,
challenged prince *Koreski* to fight at single combat; but having been wounded twice in the late
action, the lord *Tischevich* undertook the quarrel. The *Turkish* general being about fifty paces
from his army, called for water to wash (R), then turned to the east (S), and prayed; after
which he mounted, and rode slowly towards his adversary. The two combatants having spent
their bows and arrows, *Tischevich* firing a petronel, shot the *Turk* through the body, and then
dispatched him. But this small victory was of little service to them, for the traitor *Bicho* having
found a way with two thousand horse to cut off the passage between *Kotnard* and *Bochocan*, the
Poles were surrounded on all sides; yet refusing to yield, the *Pâshâ* and *Mikhna* ordered the
cannon to be played upon them. *Tischevich* seeing all lost, with five hundred horse, forced
his way through three or four squadrons, posted by the wood side, to keep any from escaping.
After this, the *Turks* approaching to force the prince's camp, they cried out, they yielded.
The prince *Alexander* and *Bogdân*, with their mother, were carried to *Constantinople*, where,
for fear of perpetual imprisonment, they turned *Mohammedans*. Prince *Koreski* also was taken
afterwards, and the young prince's wife carried into *Tartary*; from whence she was
ransomed for three thousand chekîns.

THE peace made in 1606, between the *Turks* and *Germans*, having been infringed by both
nations, for want of being explicit enough in certain articles; after much altercation, the
ambassadors of both empires agreed to farther articles, to take away all pretence of contro-
versy in explaining the former. By the seventh, priests of the church of *Rome* were allowed
to build churches, and perform divine service in them; and by the tenth, all merchants from
the empire and *Spain* were to pay three per cent. and, in case of death, the *Soltân* was not to
claim their goods.

THE peace being thus confirmed between the two empires, the bordering countries, which
had been so long harrassed with war, began to breathe a little; and the *Soltân* turning his
thoughts to other things, in 1617, sent a *Chausb* to *Paris*, with letters to demand of *Henry*
IV. that justice might be done the Moors of *Granada*, expelled out of *Spain*; who had been
wronged of their goods, as well as in their persons, in their passage to *France*. The *Chausb*
was amazed at the long delays given to law-suits in that country; whereas, he said, the *Turks*
did justice with dispatch, and terminated the most important causes in eight days time.

THIS year the *Soltân* had two armies on foot, one under *Ali Pâshâ*, against the *Persians*,
the other against the *Poles*, on account of their supporting the interest of *Alexander*, prince
of *Moldavia*. They had likewise two fleets at sea, the first in the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*, against

(R) They wash their eyes, nose, mouth, ears, and
privities: this is called *Abdest*, and is performed before
they say their prayers, or go upon any action of im-
portance.

(S) Or more properly to the point where the city of
Mekka is situate, which from *Moldavia* was towards the
south-east. This point, with the action of turning to
it, is called *Kibla*.

a the *Kofaks* or *Ruffians*, who daily infested their coasts; the other in the *White Sea*, or *Propontis*, A. D. 1617. to be ready to convoy the treasure of *Egypt*, and oppose the attempts of the gallies belonging to *Malta* and *Florence*. However, nothing remarkable happened abroad this year, which at *Ahmed dies*, home proved unfortunate by the loss of the *Soltân* himself, who died on the sixteenth of *November* ^k.

AHMED lived twenty-nine years, and reigned fourteen. His three sons, *Othmân*, *Murâd*, and *Ibrâhîm*, all ascended the throne.

Not to mention his other virtues, he excelled all his predecessors in liberality and magnificence; *His character*, so that he has been charged by some with profuseness. He was very fond of building, and erected in the Hippodrome a *Yâmî* (T), the neighbour and rival of *Sancta Sophia*. This structure b proved so costly, that to finish it, the treasures of the whole empire, collected by his father during his long repose, scarce sufficed. Whilst this work was in hand, the *Soltân* is said to have visited it every week, and paid the workmen himself their wages ^l.

To this account of the *Turkish* historians, we may add from the Christian, that he was of a good constitution, well complexioned, and somewhat inclined to be fat. He was strong and active; ambitious and proud, but not so cruel as many of his predecessors. He was much given to sensuality, having had three thousand women, the daughters of Christians, in his *Saray*. He took great delight in hawking and hunting, to pursue each of which sports, he maintained forty thousand falconers, and near as many huntsmen, in *Greece* and *Anatolia*. *Abmed* took a fancy to make horn rings, such as the *Turks* use when they draw their bows; c and his father *Mohammed* made arrows. For the *Mohammedan* princes are obliged by their religion to practise some handicraft business, which they do in the morning, the first thing after they have said their prayers. But it is only for form sake, since they scarce finish an arrow or a ring in a whole year ^m.

^k CRIMST. IN RICAUT,

^l CANT. p. 240.

^m GRIMST. IN RICAUT.

(T) This building excells *Sancta Sophia* in magnificence, though not in largeness. Besides the numberless ornaments on the outside of the walls, there are above two hundred gold tables, each set with sixty one diamonds, hung up on the inside, whereon are engraven the names of the prophets, with sentences out of the Korân, every one of which is said to cost sixty dollars. It is certain, so much money was expended on this structure, that on an exact calculation, every dram of stone or mortar was found to cost three aspers. *Cant.* What then must the gold, gildings, painting, wood, and iron-work have cost?

CHAP. XVI.

The Reign of Mostafa.

d **AHMED** was succeeded in the beginning of the year 1027, by his younger brother ^{15 Soltân} *Mostafa* (U): but as this prince took no care of the public affairs, but gave himself ^{Mostafa.} up intirely to his lusts, he was in the fourth month of his reign, by the unanimous consent of ^{Hej. 1027,} the great men, removed from the throne to the prison of the seven towers. ^{A. D. 1618.}

HIS is all we meet with relating to this first reign of *Mostafa*, in the *Turkish* authors before us: nor do the Christian historians say much more, the short space of its duration not affording time for many transactions of moment. They tell us, that growing odious by his tyranny, he was by the grand *Wazîr*, on his return out of *Asia*, forced to return to his cell again. That *Ahmed* being but fifteen years old when he ascended the throne, the great officers of the court thought it not prudent to put him to death, lest his brother should die without children, and the empire be involved in civil wars. But that when *Abmed* saw he had children, he resolved e to get rid of him, had he not been hindered by frightful dreams the night before: another time going to shoot him, he was seized with a pain in his arm: yet that in his last sickness he called for him, and declared him his successor.

THE first thing this prince did, was to set the *Persian* ambassador at liberty; but, contrary ^{Koreski's} to the law of nations, he ill used the baron *de Mole* or *Sancy*, the *French* ambassador. The ^{escape out of} occasion was this: prince *Koreski*, after he was taken prisoner in *Moldavia*, as before related, ^{prison.} refusing to turn *Mohammedan*, was sent prisoner to the castle on the *Black Sea*, where he was confined in a little chamber, with one *Rigault*, a *Frenchman*, who was there before him. This chamber was on the top of one of the towers of the castle, and had one window without bars, f large enough for a man to get through. As the king of *Poland* was concerned for the prince's

(U) The *Turks* ascribe the greatest things to all their emperors, except this *Mostafa*, whom they represent as exceeding all the rest in vice and lust.

A. D. 1618.

French am-
bassador con-
fined.

liberty, he wrote to the *French* ambassador to solicit his ransom; the imperial ambassador likewise did what he could to procure his release. Mean time *Martin*, the *French* ambassador's secretary, having ransomed a *Polish* lady, with her daughter and maid, for two thousand five hundred crowns, on condition that he was to have the young lady in marriage, sent them home: but the father refusing to perform the agreement, one day in a visit which he made to prince *Koreski*, he told him the affair. The prince bid him be easy, and assured him, that if he could obtain his liberty, he should not long pine for the lady. Hereupon, *Martin* sending a *Greek* priest with a rope ladder, which he drew up by means of a packthread, the prince and *Frenchman* got out of the tower, and were concealed at *Constantinople*.

As soon as their escape was known, not only the *French* ambassador's domestics were seized, and severely tortured to discover where they were, but the ambassador himself was confined in the grand *Wazir's* palace: and although the *English* and *Dutch* ambassadors resented this injury, yet he could not obtain his own and servants liberty, without very great presents to the *Musti*, *Chausb bashi* and others^a. But we must now look into the actions of *Ozmân* or *Othmân*, who by this time is upon the throne.

^a GRIMST. in RICAUT.

C H A P. XVII.

S E C T. I.

The Reign of Soltân Othmân II.

16 Soltân
Othmân II.

MOSTAFA having been deposed, *Soltân Othmân* (or *Osmân*) the second ascended the throne, in the eighth year of his age. It was upon account of his youth, that they had before passed him by, although he had more right to the empire than his uncle *Mostafa*, who was chosen as a contemplative and inoffensive man^c.

Embassy to
France.

As soon as the *French* ambassador was freed from his confinement, he sent to acquaint his master with the treatment he had received. Hereupon, the king of *France* sent two gentlemen to *Constantinople*, to demand reparation for the indignity offered to his representative. On this occasion *Uri Chausb* was dispatched ambassador to *Paris*, to confirm the peace; and at his audience he delivered a letter from the young *Soltân*, wherein he made an apology for what had happened, and promised, that for the future, the *French* ambassador should be treated with more respect than that of any other Christian potentate.

URI CHAUSH, after he had finished his business in *France*, went over in the same quality to *England*, where he had an audience of king *James I.* at *Whitehall*, to whom he made a speech, and then presented a letter from the *Soltân*, much to the same purpose with that sent to the king of *France*.

Peace with
Persia.

In the mean time, *Ali Pâshâ*, the grand *Wazîr*, had entered *Persia* with his army, and destroyed all before him with fire and sword, as far as *Tauris*, whither *Karelghay Hân* (or *Khân*), the *Persian* general, retreated: but on the *Wazîr's* approach he left that city; and being pursued by the *Tatars*, many of his troops were cut to pieces. Then the *Turks* proceeded towards *Ardevil*, from whence the king of *Persia* fled towards *Hulkbal* (X), and retreating with his army to the top of a high mountain, sent to demand peace (Y): which the *Wazîr*, being in distress for want of victuals, was obliged to grant, and *Soltân Ozmân* afterwards confirmed it.

Strange phæ-
nomena.

Hej. 1029.

A. D. 1620.

DURING this expedition of the *Turks* into *Persia*^p, in the year 1029, on the 28th of *Rabio'lawel*, there appeared in the heavens at *Constantinople*, a crooked sword, five times as long as a spear, and three feet broad (Z). It extended from east to west, and for a whole month shone with great brightness after sun-set. The astrologers declared it to be a sign of victory, and increase of empire to the *Othmâns*^q.

^c CANTEMIR Othman Hist. p. 241.^p GRIMST. in RICAUT.^q CANT. p. 241.

(X) Or *Kalkal*, a strong place on the river *Ispervah*, in the road from *Ardevit* to *Kasîn*.

(Y) This is according to the account sent by the *Wazîr* to Sir Paul Pindar, then the *English* ambassador at the *Porte*.

(Z) The Christian writers make it of a vast length,

and extending from near the zenith, where the point was, below the horizon, which hid the hilt. The blade seemed to be stretched from *Persia*, with the edge towards *Constantinople*. It always rose in one place, and followed the motion of the heavens.

a THE war about the same time growing hot in *Bohemia* against the protestants, *Bethlem* A. D. 1620. *Ghabor*, prince of *Transylvania*, diverted the arms of the Imperialists, by invading *Hungary*; but fearing that the emperor, in case he quite subdued the *Bohemians*, should fall upon him with his whole power, he sent an ambassador to crave aid of *Ozmân*, who promised, with an oath, to assist him, in case of need, to the utmost of his power. *Bethlem* having thus gained the *Soltân's* protection, entered into a league with the *Bohemians* and *Hungarians*, and on the 25th of *August* was proclaimed king of *Hungary* ¹.

NEXT year there happened in the month of *Rabio'lawel*, a frost at *Constantinople*, which was so excessively great, that the inhabitants of that city walked over the *Bosphorus* to *Iskuder* (or *Skutari*) on foot. This the astrologers interpreted as a bad omen: but *Othmân*, in contempt of their prediction, undertakes in the summer after the hard winter, an expedition against the *Poles*; recovers *Khotin* (A), which they had taken by assault, and sends the *Khân* of *Khrîm*, with the *Tatarian* and *Turkish* forces, to ravage the inmost part of *Poland*. Mean while he himself so surrounds and presses the enemies troops with his own, that they were at last compelled to sue for peace; which the *Soltân* having granted on his own terms, he returns about winter laden with spoils and captives ².

As to the occasion of this war, the Christian historians tell us, that the *Poles* had not only given the *Othmâns* offence, by supporting the interest of *Alexander* prince of *Moldavia*, in opposition to the *Vayvod* set up by the *Turks*, as hath already been related; but they had also given protection to *Gasparo Gratsiani*, an *Austrian*, who had been made *Vayvod* of *Moldavia*, after the death of *Mikhna*, and falling into disgrace at the *Porte*, fled into *Poland*. Soon after this, *Jebân beg Ghieray*, *Khân* of *Khrîm*, having made several incursions into the *Polish* territories, the ambassador of *Poland* complained thereof to the *Porte*: but being answered, that the *Tatars* were absolute lords of themselves, and besides had a demand of forty thousand ducats annual tribute on his country, which was not paid to them, those ravagers grew more insolent, and committed much greater depredations than before.

HEREUPON the *Poles* and *Kosaks*, dwelling about the *Boristhenes* or *Nieper*, in order to make reprisals, fell down that river in boats, and plundered several towns and villages on the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*. The *Soltân* sent forces against them from time to time, which always came off with the worst; and when he complained of the damage done by them to his subjects, the *Poles* answered in his own language, that the *Poles* were absolute lords of themselves; but that when the *Tatar* would give over his hostilities, they might be prevailed on to give over theirs. *Ozmân* saw plainly by this, that he was to expect no peace from the *Kosaks*, so long as the *Tatars* continued their ravages; and therefore, rather than procure it at that rate, by the advice of his prime *Wazîr Ali*, he resolved on a war against *Poland*.

ACCORDINGLY, in the end of *April*, 1621, he set forward at the head of an army three hundred thousand strong. His first attempt was to attack the fortrefs of *Kochin* in *Moldavia*, given by *Gasparo* to the *Poles*: but failing in his design, he crossed the *Boristhenes*, and as it were, besieged the chancellor of *Poland*, with forty thousand *Poles* and *Kosaks*, besides eight thousand *Germans*, in their camp, for four and thirty days together. At length finding, after all his attempts, that he could do no good against the bravery of the enemy, who resisted him with great slaughter, by the mediation of *Radula*, prince of *Walakbia*, they came to the following agreement; that the emperor's army should retire from the borders of *Poland*: that the *Tatars* should send a *Murza* to reside as an hostage in *Poland*, against future incursions; and that the *Poles* should send another to the *Krîm*, as a security against any invasion, either by them or the *Kosaks*; and pay the *Khân* forty thousand florins: that the *Poles* should have a resident at the *Porte*, and be allowed a free trade in the *Othmân* dominions; but that their merchants should be obliged to make a present of one hundred thousand *chekîns*. This accommodation was the more seasonable on both sides, for that by the sword, cold, famine, and other casualties, the *Turks* were computed to have lost eighty thousand men (besides one hundred thousand horses), and the *Poles* twenty thousand.

HOWEVER, the *Soltân* being exasperated at the emperor *Ferdinand* II. for sending aid to the *Poles*, did, upon his leaving *Poland*, contrary to the advice of his council, proclaim war against him. Pursuant to this measure, he commanded the *Pâshâ* of *Silistria* to winter in that country, with an army of seventy thousand men, in order to invade the emperor's dominions in the following spring; and presently after *Gallo*, the emperor's ambassador, was stopt at *Buda*, under pretence that he had promised, upon his life, the emperor should not assist the

¹ GRIMST. ubi supra.

² CANT. p. 242.

(A) Or *Khochim*, commonly written in the maps *Choczyn*. It is a city of *Moldavia*, on the river *Tyras*, (or *Nieper*), over against *Kaminiek*. The walls were repaired by the *Turks*, after the battle of *Hierafus*, with

the addition of some modern works; so that it may now be counted the bulwark of the whole empire, against the *Poles* and *Russians*. CANT.

A. D. 1921. *Poles.* Hereupon, the king of *Poland* acquainted the *Chausb*, who was then at his court, that in case his master should on any such account commence hostilities against *Ferdinand*, he would conclude no peace with him, but should be obliged to take the part of his ally. Upon this, *Ozmân* thought it adviseable to desist from his resolution; yet at the same time secret orders were sent to some of the officers, who commanded on the frontiers, to join with *Bethlem Ghabor* against the emperor. But that order came too late, *Bethlem* having already made peace with that prince¹.

Rebellion in
Syria.

It being now given out, that the *Amîr* of *Sidon* (B) was in rebellion, *Ozmân* pretending to go against him in person, ordered his palace in *Halep* to be fitted up, and his troops to be in readiness to march. This resolution was against the opinion of the *Mufti*, and other officers of state, who thought it not convenient for him to leave his *European* dominions; besides, they said his presence would inhanse the charges of the expedition. On these remonstrances he seemed to change his mind; but next day going to the arsenal, he ordered one hundred gallies to be fitted out, and sent a fleet into the *Black Sea* against the *Kosaks*. The dissatisfaction given his ministry by these precipitate proceedings, was heightened by his marrying the granddaughter of a *Soltâna*, wife of *Parteu Pâsbâ*, only for her beauty, without any pomp; contrary to the custom latterly of his predecessors, who refrained taking wives of *Turkish* extraction. The soldiery also began to be disgusted on the same account; and his manner of behaviour increased a contempt of him in the city: for he used daily to go about the streets on foot, sometimes in disguise, with a page or two, peeping into houses and taverns like a petty officer (C).

Embassy from
England.

While the peace between the *Turks* and *Poles* was in agitation, Sir *Thomas Roe*, ambassador from *James I.* of *England*, arrived at the *Porte* to renew the ancient capitulations and privileges, with some amendments. He had it also in charge to offer his master's mediation between the *Soltân* and *Poland*; to desire redress for the piracies committed by the gallies of *Tunis* and *Algiers*; and likewise to demand restitution of a great sum of money taken from *Arthur Garraway*, merchant, in the reign of *Abmed*.

The prime *Wazîr* answered the ambassador, that the *Soltân* had given orders for renewing the capitulations, with requisite additions: but declined the king's mediation, as if inconsistent with the *Soltân's* honour, since the *Poles* seemed not sincerely inclined to peace: however, he promised that if the peace did take place, all the prisoners should be released, except prince *Koreski*. As for the pirates, *Ozmân* protested against them, and was ready to do the *English* any service; but thought the demand of *Garraway's* money injurious to him, since they could obtain no relief from the three preceding *Wazîrs*, to whom they had applied.

Ozmân's
designs.

The *Soltân*, discontented ever since his disgrace in *Poland*, meditated revenge upon the soldiery; finding also that his intention of going in pilgrimage to *Mekka* did not relish, he grew still more uneasy: however, being resolved to undertake it, he seemed now content with any sort of peace, even a dishonourable one, with the *Poles*. He reinforced his frontiers in *Hungary*; and though much troubled at the league between the emperor and *Bethlem Ghabor*, yet he dissimbled his resentment to a high degree, and secured the *Black Sea* as well as he could with his gallies. Mean time, all the great officers both in church and state strenuously opposed his intended journey to *Mekka*; and the soldiery went so far as to protest they would not follow him, but set up another prince in his room.

The soldiery
mutiny:

For all this, *Ozmân* hurried on by his ill fortune, on *Wednesday* the 7th of *May*, began to pass over his tents and treasure into *Asia*. Hereupon the *Janizaries* and *Spahis* concluding that his palaces and the temples were not stripped of what was valuable in them, merely for sake of the pilgrimage; suddenly met in the *Atmeydan* or *Hippodrome*, and running to the *Saray*, called out for the *Soltân*. On *Ozmân's* appearing, and asking what they meant by that piece of insolence? they answered, that he should neither go to *Mekka*, nor over to *Asia*, but stay in the city: and at the same time demanded the heads of the prime *Wazîr Delavir*, and others, as enemies to the government. The *Soltân* finding it best to give way a little, promised to lay aside the thoughts of his journey; and as to their other demand, desired them to refer it to the divan to be held next *Saturday*.

Kill the
Wazîr, and

Ozman perceiving that they could not be prevailed on to desist, at night fortified the *Saray*, with design to oppose the seditious; but although the palace had always 3000 domestics within it, yet not a man of them would arm in their master's behalf. Next morning the mutineers assembled again, and forcing the *Mufti* to go along with them to the court, made a new demand of the persons whom they wanted to destroy. In this danger the *Wazîr*

¹ Sir THOMAS ROE's Letters, ap. RICAUT.

(B) This was probably the famous *Amîr Fakro'ddin*, great loss to find excuses for destroying him, since this prince of the *Dursâi*, commonly called *Drufes*. was the effect of his care.

(C) The enemies of this prince seemed to be at a

a intreated him to pass over to *Asia* in his own boats: but finding the *Soltân* inflexible, he bravely ventured to go out himself to the mutineers, and asked them, *what it was they sought, and wherein he had offended?* This courageous behaviour put them at first to a stand, till some insolent fellows, more audacious than the rest, answered him with their swords (D), and cut him in pieces. A. D. 1622.

WHEN *Ozmân* was informed of this, he attempted to escape into *Asia*; but finding he had slipped the opportunity, hid himself in a private part of the palace. The mutineers at last entered the *Saray*, and taking *Mostafa* with two negroe women out of a vault, where he had been put at the beginning of the tumult, by his nephew's order, they proclaimed him emperor a second time, and carried him to the old palace. *Ozmân* having in the night consulted with *Husseyn*, *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, and another officer, pursuant to their advice, early next morning, went to the college of those soldiers, and by a speech, accompanied with tears, acknowledging his error, had almost brought them to relent in his favour: but the *Aga* unseasonably making use of some harsh and reproachful words, their fury was roused again; so that crying out treason, they cut him and *Husseyn Pâshâ* to pieces, and sent the *Soltân* prisoner to the *Seven Towers*. their Aga.

As soon as *Mostafa* was seated on the throne, *Dawd Pâshâ*, the new prime *Wazîr*, and his brother-in-law, went with certain persons to put *Ozmân* to death: being awakened by the executioners entering his chamber, he cried, *what news?* At first they stood amazed; till one of them striking him on the head with a battle-axe, the rest leaped upon him, and with much ado strangled him ^u.

THE *Turkish* historians made use of by prince *Cantemir*, wholly omit the circumstances of this remarkable event: they only tell us in general, that the soldiery, unused to youthful government, and living idly at *Constantinople*, being stirred up by *Mostafa's* party, most barbarously kill the *Soltân*, a young man of great hopes, in the fourth year of his reign, and twelfth of his age; after which they release *Mostafa*, whom they had before deposed, and set him once more upon the throne ^x. Hej. 1032.
A. D. 1622.

^u ROE, ubi supra.

^x CANT. p. 242.

(D) When Sir *Thomas Roe* desired him, in case he went along with the *Soltân* in pilgrimage, to recommend him to the *Kaymekâm*, he replied, *trouble not yourself, I shall never remove so far from this city, but I will leave one of my legs behind to serve you.* Which promise was verified, in a way he never intended; for within a few days after his murder, one of his legs was hanged up in the *Hippodrome*.

S E C T. II.

Mostafa restored.

d ALTHOUGH the soldiery were so eager for *Mostafa's* restoration, yet he did not please them long. He had, while in prison, concealed, not corrected, the vices of his perverse nature; and thereby put the soldiers in hopes, that having tasted the cup of affliction, he would become better, and alter his course of life, as well as method of government. But after they had, in this expectation, replaced him on the throne, he thinking himself out of fortune's power, returns to his old vices, and seeks to destroy his deposers; neglects the administration of affairs, and in a word, does nothing worthy of memory. When he had thus tyrannized, rather than reigned, fifteen months, he is again dethroned by the great men, rejecting the dominion of a fool; and being with the greatest ignominy set on the back of an ass, is carried amidst the insults of the mob, to the prison of the *Seven Stars*, where soon after he is strangled by the command of his successor ^y. Mostafa's incapacity.
Deposed again.

e THIS is all the account which the *Turkish* historians in view afford us, relating to the second reign of *Soltân Mostafa*; nor are the matters which the Christian writers have collected of any great moment: however, it may not be amiss to mention them. The conditions agreed on by the late *Wazîr Dalavir*, and the *Polish* commissioners, were kept so secret, that the new *Wazîr Dawd* knew nothing of the matter, nor could find any copy of them: however, a *Polish* ambassador being now arrived to conclude the peace, it went on at the earnest solicitation of Sir *Thomas Roe*. For all this, on the 17th of *June*, the brave prince *Koreski*, who had formerly made his escape out of the *Turkish* dominions, after two years close confinement, was strangled in prison. Although this was done by the *Wazîr's* order, yet, in malice to the

^y CANT. ubi supra

A. D. 1622. *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, he laid the blame on him; and from thence taking occasion to remove a him, sent him to the islands to be strangled. The *Janizaries*, incensed at this injustice done *Things in con-* their general, rescued him, and demanded the *Wazir's* head. They likewise broke into and *fusion.* plundered his palace: but though on promoting *Mostafa*, a person of a mild nature, to that high post, they became quiet for two or three days; yet afterwards things returned into confusion again; some being for the continuance of *Mostafa* on the throne, whilst others practised for the advancement of *Morád*, the brother of *Ozmân*. Mean time at *Bâghdád*, the captain of the *Janizaries* there slew the *Pâshâ* of that city, burnt the *Mufti* and all his kindred, and married his daughter to *Arslân Beg*, who laid pretensions to the inheritance of a neighbouring prince.

Peace with
Poland.

ON the 22d of *August*, there arrived an ambassador from *Bethlem Gabor*, prince of *Transylvania*; who, among other instructions, had orders to excuse his master for having made peace with the emperor; alleging, that it was done chiefly to gain time, and that he did not intend to keep it long. He likewise suggested, that the emperor designed to invade the *Othmân* dominions; and on that pretence would have had orders sent to the *Pâshâs* on the frontiers, to begin hostilities against the empire and *Poland*, whose ambassador was at the same time treating of peace; and at last, after many difficulties and delays, he gained his point, notwithstanding the great opposition given by the minister of *Russia*. By this peace the *Moldavians* were not to give the *Krím Tatars* a passage into *Poland* through their country; and in case the latter did the *Poles* any injury, satisfaction was to be made, and their *Khân* punished. They were likewise to assist the *Poles* in their wars, on paying them the yearly stipend. On the other hand, the *Kosaks* were not to invade the *Turkish* territories; and in case they did, restitution was to be made of the spoil. In consequence of this peace, some reparation was made the *Poles*, for the ravages committed by the *Tatars*, and their *Khân*, *Jebân beg Gbieray*, deposed; in whose room was placed *Mehemed Gbieray*, his cousin german, before imprisoned at *Rhodes*².

Violences committed.

THE soldiers persisting still in their mutinous disposition, demanded for themselves all profitable employments, which durst not be denied them. They drank wine in the streets, contrary to their law, and extorted money from the Christians to pay for it; killing them with impunity, in case they refused. About the same time, the *Janizaries* in the galleys which rode at *Smyrna*, commanded by *Halil Pâshâ*, in despite of his authority, set upon the houses of all the Christian consuls in that port. The *English* were forced to run naked from their lodgings, and swim to the admiral's galley to save their lives; while the *Turks* ransacked the lower part of the houses, and carried away to the value of two thousand dollars. The damage which the *French* suffered was still greater; and the loss of the *Venetians* amounted to at least ten thousand dollars.

The late
Wazir put to
death.

THERE were at the same time three rebellions on foot in *Asia*; one at *Bâghdád*, another at *Arzerûm*, and a third in *Mesopotamia*, which were concealed by the ministers of state.

MEAN while the grand *Wazir*, *Jorji Mehemed*, envying the authority of his predecessor, *David Pâshâ* (the queen mother's favourite, and son-in-law, who had been the instrument of *Soltân Ozmân's* murder) stirred up the *Spahis* to demand justice upon him for that heinous fact. Hereupon being seized and carried into the divân, he was, without any trial, brought before the soldiers, where he was stript, and on his knees, with his turban taken off, ready to receive the fatal stroke, when the *Janizaries* suddenly came to his rescue, and carried him away to their odas or chambers: but the *Spahis* insisting on his death with great vehemence, to prevent their coming to blows, he was, notwithstanding all the money given to save himself, delivered up to them. This done, he was secretly put in the same coach wherein he had sent *Soltân Ozmân* to his execution; and being dry with sorrow, drank at the same fountain where his late sovereign had stopped to drink. In a word, having been conveyed into the same chamber where he had murdered that prince, he shewed the executioners the corner where he had committed the crime; and desiring to expiate it in the very same place, he was there accordingly strangled.

Conspiracy at
court.

AS the great disorders in the empire manifestly proceeded from the weak capacity of *Mostafa*, and instead of subsiding, spread themselves gradually into the provinces; both ministers and people seemed unanimously to desire the deposition of *Mostafa* a second time. There were indeed three difficulties in the way: for it was not likely, either that *Khossûm Pâshâ*, now prime *Wazir*, would consent to divest himself of that absolute power which he enjoyed under a weak prince; or that the *Janizaries*, who had exalted *Mostafa*, would easily forego their choice; nor was there money in the treasury sufficient to pay the customary donatives on a new inauguration. However, certain things happened at this juncture, which contributed much to remove those difficulties, and hasten a change. The chief of these was the news of the rebellion of *Abâza*, who, with fifteen thousand horse, ravaged the plains about *Kârahissar*, in

² RICAUT.

^a *Anatolia*, stiling himself the avenger of *Soltân Ozmân's* murder, and enemy of the *Janizaries*. A. D. 1622. {
Of these he slew all who fell into his hands; which so enraged the rest of that order who were at *Constantinople*, that they proposed to their *Aga* a speedy union with the *Spahis*, for the immediate suppression of the rebels; and the rather, because *Sigâla Pâshâ*, who had been sent into *Asia* for that purpose, had by letters informed the court, that on his approach towards the enemy, most of his forces had deserted him.

This intelligence furnished the *Mufti*, *Wazîr*, and *Aga*, with such an answer for the *Janizaries*, as disposed them to co-operate in the desired change. They told them, that they ^{deposed.} *Mostafa* were ready to comply with their request for suppressing the rebellion in *Asia*; but that the incapacity of their sovereign hindered them to proceed; and that the defect of the principal wheel obstructed all the motions of good government. The *Janizaries* hereupon met in a tumultuous manner at *Soltân Soleymân's* mosk, and there making an *Ayak Diwân*, it was enacted, by consent of the civil and military power, that young *Morâd* should be advanced to the throne, and *Mostafa* deposed; and because the treasury was low, the soldiers were content to wave their largesses for this time, but without prejudice to their claim on future inaugurations. This decree being made, the prime *Wazîr* immediately mounted on horseback to notify the same to *Mostafa*; but he found him so stupid, that he seemed insensible of the message ^a.

^a RICAUT:

C H A P. XVIII.

The Reign of Morâd IV. Surnamed Ghâzi.

S E C T. I.

^c THIS *Soltân*, whose brave exploits acquired him the surname of *Ghâzi*, or the valiant, (E), was born in the year 1018, and on the deposition of *Mostafa*, succeeded to the empire the 4th of *Zulkadeh*, 1032 ^b. 17 Soltân
Morad IV.
Hej. 1032.
A. D. 1622.

THE first act of his power was to depose *Husseyn Pâshâ*, grand *Wazîr*, for mal-administration, whom he afterwards strangled; and to advance *Halil Pâshâ*, whom the other had unjustly prosecuted, in his place. He had many difficulties to struggle with, especially the insolence of the *Janizaries*, and want of money to satisfy their demands. To this end, besides a tax laid on all military officers, a shameful loan was required of thirty thousand chekins, from the four Christian ambassadors at the *Porte*. Distractions
at court.
A. D. 1624.

MANY of the officers not liking this usurping humour, began secretly to espouse the cause of *Abâza*, *Pâshâ* of *Arzerum*, and his confederate the *Pâshâ* of *Bâghdâd*: neither was the *Wazîr* himself, or the *Pâshâ* of *Anatolia*, favourers of the *Janizaries*; who, when they pressed him to fight *Abâza*, answered, that they might if they would, but that for his part, he would not engage in a quarrel where *Mussulmân* blood must be spilled on both sides. Abâza fa-
voured.

THE *Porte* was also distracted at this time with the *Krîm Tatars* refusing *Mahmûd Ghieray*, whom the *Soltân* had appointed *Khân*, and declaring for his brother *Mehemet*. On this occasion the *Kâpûdân Pâshâ* landing eight thousand men, to support the interest of the former; they fell into an ambush of thirty thousand *Tatar* horse, who might have cut them all off; but to shew their regard for them as old allies, they slew but a few, and let the prisoners go at small ransoms. Had they pursued the advantage they had against them, they might have destroyed their whole fleet, and done them still greater damages. Krîm Ta-
tars succefs

^e DURING these troubles, the *Kosâks* in the admiral's absence, with one hundred and fifty sail and saiks, or boats, entered the *Bosphorus*, where they burnt several villages, and pleasure-houses. To oppose them, although so near the imperial city, there was not a galley in readiness; they therefore armed some small craft of the same kind with the enemies vessels, and brought forth a great chain, which the *Greek* emperors used at the siege of *Constantinople*, Kosâks in-
vasions.

^b CANT. p. 243.

(E) *Gâzi*, or *Ghâzi*, signifies more properly a conqueror, or one who conquers, to propagate the *Mohammedan* religion.

A. D. 1621. to extend across the *Bosphorus*. Not long after, the *Kosiks* returned with a more considerable force, and threw the city into greater consternation than before. They landed in several places; and having burnt the *Pharos*, with some villages, returned home laden with spoil and glory.

Affairs of
Germany.

For all things were in so bad a state at the *Porte*, yet *Bethism Ghabor*, prince of *Transylvania*, retained his attachment to it; and suing for leave to make war on the emperor, was assisted with fifty thousand *Turks*: but for these favours he paid fifty thousand dollars to the prime *Wazîr*, and promised a yearly tribute of forty thousand more. After he had, with those auxiliary troops joined to his own, done considerable damage to the imperial territories, a truce was at last concluded. But the *Turks* divided in parties, having in their return committed great spoil, and carried off a multitude of people captives, the imperialists fell upon and defeated most of them, killing a good number, and releasing many prisoners. Among the rest, *Esterhâsi* boldly attacked a large body of them, slew twelve hundred, freed one thousand Christians, and took several of their principal commanders, with all their baggage, besides a great quantity of gold and silver.

Persians take
Bâghdâd.

THE *Turks* discouraged by these losses from a *German* war, sent ambassadors both to *Vienna* and *Poland* to renew the peace; and the rather, because the power of the rebels increased in the east, while the king of *Persia* entered the *Othmân* dominions, carrying all before him. The more moderate ministers were for pardoning *Abâza*, and granting his demands: but this was stiffly opposed by the *Janizaries*, whose declared enemy he was; so that while they differed about the method of proceeding, the rebel had an opportunity to ravage *Anatolia*, and the *Shâh* to conquer the city, with the province of *Bâghdâd*. After this, dividing his army into four parts, he marched with one into *Mesopotamia*, the second he sent into *Syria*, the third harried the coast of the *Black Sea*, and the fourth set forward towards *Mekka*.

ALI PASHA being sent to oppose the *Shâh* in *Mesopotamia*, was there slain, and his army ruined. The *Othmâns* had no better success in *Syria*, which was attended with the revolt of *Damaskus*. The forces sent to the *Black Sea*, besides other damages, took a fort near *Trebizond*; while those detached towards *Arabia* reduced the cities of *Bâsrah* and *Medinah*.

Abâza de-
featca.

To remedy these evils, the prime *Wazîr*, with a great army, set forward to besiege *Bâghdâd*. But here it will be proper to leave the Christian historians, and return to the *Turkish*, to see first what account they give us of the war in *Asia*, with which they begin the actions of *Morâd*'s reign. They tell us, that in the very commencement of it, he shewed how much better it was for the *Othmâns* to obey an active young man, than a sluggard.^a

Hej. 1033.
A. D. 1623.

ABAZA, *Pâshâ* (F) of *Arzerûm*, in *Mostafa*'s time, had dared to ravage the *Asiatic* provinces, in open defiance of his sovereign; and hoped to proceed with impunity, so long as *Morâd*, a youth, held the reigns of government. But the *Soltân*, in the second year of his reign, sends the prime *Wazîr*, *Cberkies Mehemed Pâshâ* (G), with an army against the rebel; who, after a bloody battle near *Kaysarya*, being defeated, flies to *Arzerûm* (H). But death at *Tokâd* prevented the *Wazîr* from prosecuting the war.

Baghdâd
besieged.
A. D. 1626.

HOWEVER, *Morâd*, imagining *Abâza*'s rebellion to be entirely quashed, sends *Khafiz* (I) *Ali Pâshâ*, governor of *Diyârbeker* (K), with a great army to besiege *Bâghdâd*; but after five months siege, he is repulsed by the bravery of the besieged with great loss, and forced to return (L). For this reason, when he came to *Hâlep*, he was deprived of his dignity, and the imperial signet committed to *Halil Pâshâ* ^d.

Peace with
the emperor.

ABOUT this time *Bethlem Ghabor* makes peace with the emperor of *Germany*; obliging himself, among other things, to procure a restitution of all places on the borders taken by the *Turks* in the last war, and all prisoners to be set at liberty. These articles which were approved of by *Morâd*, were agreed on in *December* 1626; and in *September* next year, a peace was concluded at *Komorow*, between the emperor and the *Soltân*.

Persian ex-
pedition.
A. D. 1627.

AFTER this, the *Shâh* of *Persia*, notwithstanding his late successes, thought fit to dispatch an ambassador to the *Porte*, with proposals of peace: but as he could not be prevailed on to part with *Bâghdâd*, the grand *Wazîr Halil* would not hearken to them. Soon after, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, he passed into *Asia*, in order to subdue that

^c RICAUT, in Amurat.

^d CANT. p. 244.

(F) So called from his country *Abâza*; the inhabitants whereof, both in manners and language, much resemble the *Cherkassians*. Cant. They are called also by some, *Abkâs*. Their country lies on the *Euxine Sea*, to the west of *Mingrelia*.

(G) The only prime *Wazîr* of *Cherkassian* extraction; although several of that nation have enjoyed the highest offices in the *Turkish* court. Cant.

(H) According to the account before from *Ricaut*, he seems to have been in great power about this time.

(I) *Khafiz* is a surname given by way of honour to those who can say the whole *Korân* by heart. Cant.

(K) This seems to have been the anonymous *Wazîr* mentioned above by *Ricaut*.

(L) Some say he was forced to burn his tents and provision, burst his guns, and throw them into the *Euphrates*. After which he was pursued with great loss by the enemy. *Ricaut*.

a capital *. But neither does this *Wazîr* answer the *Soltân's* expectations : for being ordered to A. D. 1627. march against the *Persians*, when he came into the neighbourhood of *Arzerûm*, *Abâza Pâshâ*, who lurked about that place, suspecting that, under the colour of a *Persian* expedition, an army was leading against him, returns to *Arzerûm*, which he had made the feat of arms, and furnished with provisions, as well as warlike stores.

HALIL PASHA taking this for a flight, leaves the *Persian* expedition (M), in order to crush Abâza's the rebels, quite dispirited, as he imagined ; and marching to that city, closely besieges it (N). *success.* But whilst he hoped to acquire fame with little labour, he procures disgrace with infinite trouble. For *Abâza*, who was by all esteemed the best soldier and wisest general of his time, bravely defended the city ; and having repulsed the enemy in an assault, unexpectedly attacks, with a b small but chosen band, the *Othmân* camp, instantly killed the guards, and struck the whole army with such terror, that a defeat easily followed. Thus numerous forces are vanquished by a handful of men, multitudes are slain, and many taken alive ; the *Wazîr* himself, after throwing away his arms, hardly escaping with a few attendants †.

THE *Krim Tatars* likewise gave no small trouble to the *Porte* at this time ; for they took *Kâffa* from the *Turks* ; who could find no better expedient to bring them to their duty, than *Troubles in Krim.* to forgive all past offences, on condition they restored that place again. This the *Tatars* readily agreed to, with a proviso, however, on their side, that the *Soltân* should impose no other *Khân* upon them, than him whom they had themselves elected.

BUT the great concern of the *Porte* being the rebellion in *Asia* ‡, *Morâd*, on the news of Abâza re-duced. c *Halil Pâshâ's* defeat, displaces him, and appointing *Khosraw Pâshâ* his *Wazîr* and general, sends him with supplies to the army, wintering in *Diyârbekr*, with orders to extinguish the flame, A. D. 1628. by attacking *Abâza* early in the spring. *Khosraw Pâshâ*, rendered more cautious by the miscarriage of his predecessor, besides assembling all his forces, provides the largest cannon ; and with them so shakes the walls of *Arzerûm*, that the frightened inhabitants deliver up their city, with the rebel, the fifth day of the siege (O). Hereupon the *Pâshâ* sends *Abâza* in chains to the *Porte* : but *Morâd*, in consideration of his heroical exploits and invincible courage, was unwilling to deprive the *Othmân* empire of so great an ornament. On his promise therefore to wipe out his former crimes, by drawing his sword against the *Soltân's* enemies, he is not only received into favour (P), but also made *Beglerbeg* of *Bosnia* ; as a proper person to secure d the empire on that side, in case any neighbouring power should invade it, whilst his master was employed in the *Persian* war.

THE civil disturbances being thus appeased, in the year 1039, *Khosraw Pâshâ* is sent with Hej. 1039. a fresh army against *Bâghdâd* (Q). The *Wazîr*, to remove the obstacles which his predecessors A. D. 1629. had met with, immediately goes into *Asia*, and makes great preparations the whole winter at *Musol*. In the spring, to cut off all relief from *Bâghdâd*, he enters the province of *Irâk Arabi*, governed by *Zeynel Khân* ; takes the castles, destroys those he cannot keep, and intirely quelling the rebellion, closely besieges *Bâghdâd* : but although he bravely assaulted the city for one-and-forty days, yet finding he could not prevail, he raised the siege, after sustaining considerable loss †.

c THE Christian historians tell us, with regard to this expedition, that the *Wazîr* being lured on by the feigned flight of the *Persians*, was brought at first under very great difficulties ; Defeats the Persians. but the experienced general having at length disintangled himself, encamped on the plain of A. D. 1630. *Hamadân* (R). There laying an ambush for the *Persians*, who he was informed designed to attack his camp, eight thousand of them were slain, though with the loss of many *Turks*, which made them averse to that service.

* RICAUT, ubi supr.

† CANT. p. 244.

‡ RICAUT, ubi supr.

b CANT. p. 245.

(M) The Christian writers tell us, that he did besiege *Bâghdâd*, but was forced to withdraw : yet that his army being reinforced, he entered *Persia* a second time, overthrew the *Turkmâns*, and then the *Georgians*, taking their general *Merwe*. After this, the *Persians* made new proposals of peace, offering to pay a large tribute in lieu of *Bâghdâd* ; but *Morâd* not approving thereof, *Halil* was recalled, and the *Pâshâ* of *Diyârbekr* made general. *Ricaud*.

(N) The Christian writers do not ascribe this siege to *Halil Pâshâ*, but to his successor : who, they say, was forced to this siege by the *Janizaries*, *Abâza's* inveterate enemies, whom the besieged hanged about the walls, when they took any of them prisoners.

(O) The Christian historians say, that the new *Wazîr*, by the *Soltân's* order, came to an amicable accommodation with *Abâza*, that he should continue *Pâshâ* of

Arzerûm, his son of *Bozra*, and his lieutenant of *Marash* : after which, returning with the *Wazîr* to the *Porte*, he was honourably received. *Ricaud*.

(P) The pardon of this rebel is ascribed to *Morâd* as an unparalleled instance of clemency, by the *Turkish* historians, who study to put the best construction on their emperors actions. But others say, that he conditioned to depart out of the city with life and honour safe, and therefore could not be put to death. *Cant*. This is consistent with the Christian account.

(Q) About this time the *Soltân* appeared on horseback with his brother *Ibrâhim* by his side ; a very unusual sight, but the queen mother's order. A *Turkish* prince came into the world this year, and the great *Bethlem Ghabor* went out of it. *Ricaud*.

(R) One of the capitals of *Persian Irâk*, the antient *Amatha*, or *Ekbatana*.

A. D. 1630.

Siege of
Bâghdâd
raised with
loss.

AT this time there were great factions at court, owing chiefly to the debauched and light behaviour of the *Soltân*: the depredations also of the *Kosaks* gave no small uneasiness, of whom complaint was made to the king of *Poland* for redress. In short, every thing looked with so gloomy an aspect, that nothing but the expectation of the good success of their army against the *Persians* could keep up their spirits. The grand *Wazîr* had now passed the *Tigris* with part of his forces, in order to besiege *Bâghdâd*; but the *Pâshâ* of *Hâlep* being sent with six thousand men to view the places, was defeated, with the loss of most of his troops, by two thousand *Persians*, going to reinforce the garrison of that city. However, the *Wazîr* having spent all *September* in making his approaches, and mounting eighteen pieces of cannon, in *October*, for twenty-five days continually, battered the curtain between two bastions. The breaches being made, and seemingly left undefended, on the 20th of *November*, the *Spahis*, supported by thirty thousand *Janizaries*, were ordered to give the assault: but as the ditch, which was wide and deep, had been covered with planks and green turf laid over them, to deceive the besiegers, on their crouding forward, the gallery fell under them, and swallowed up five or six thousand in an instant. At the same time there appeared fifteen thousand men at the breach, and on the bastions, where likewise there were four cannon, unknown to the *Turks*; who were so galled with the continual firing of the artillery and muskets, that the main body of the *Spahis* was quickly broken, their commanders killed, and at length the whole army routed. Two days after the *Wazîr* raised the siege, and marched towards *Musol*, pursued by eight thousand *Persian* horse, who cut off three thousand more of his men. However, he represented matters so much to his advantage at the *Porte*, that the *Poles* renewed the peace, and the *Hungarians* continued quiet.

Morâd thunderstruck.
A. D. 1631.

NEXT year the *Wazîr* made great preparations to renew the siege: but while the *Soltân* slept secure from enemies, he was in great danger of perishing by a natural evil: for in *September*, one night he was awakened by a terrible lightning, which entering his chamber, surrounded his bed, leaving several marks on the sheets and quilt. *Morâd* in a great fright got out of bed; but while he sought to hide himself, the flame passed under his arm, and burnt part of his shirt: this threw him into a swoon, which ever after much impaired the strength of his brain. However, he was so affected with the accident, that he dismissed many of his buffoons, and for some time abstained from wine¹.

Rebellion in
Natolia.Hej. 1041.
A. D. 1631.

THE *Turkish* historians tells us, that the good success of the late *Persian* expedition was hindered chiefly by a fresh rebellion, which broke out in the borders of *Persia*: for *Ilias Pâshâ*, whom *Morâd* had made *Beglerbeg* of *Arzerûm*, in *Abâza's* room, following the example of his predecessor, throws off his obedience to the *Soltân*: but being taken in the year 1041, by *Kyuchuk Mehemmed Pâshâ* (S), and sent to the *Porte*, his head was stricken off in the public market place².

Sues for a
peace.

ACCORDING to the Christian writers, there were two rebels up at the same time, one who seized on *Prusa* or *Bursa*, and *Elias Pâshâ*, who made himself master of *Magnesia*. There being besieged by the *Beglerbeg* of *Anatolia*, he was at length prevailed on to accept of terms; to which trusting, he went to *Constantinople* to receive his reward, and met with a halter.

The Spahis
mutiny.

A. D. 1632.

MEAN time the *Wazîr* wanting the necessary supplies, occasioned by his enemies at court, the *Persians* recovered all the fortresses they had lost the preceding year, with *Illy* (T), a considerable city, two days journey from *Bâghdâd*; where eight thousand *Turks*, left in garrison under three *Beglerbegs*, were cut in pieces, and vast quantities of stores taken. This made the *Soltân* think of peace, and send the *Persian* lord from his prison in the seven towers, as his ambassador to solicit it: at the same time he caused hostilities to cease, by calling home his army: and the *Wazîr* at his return was removed.

Morâd's
resentment.

BUT the new *Wazîr*, one of *Morâd's* brothers-in-law, did not long enjoy either his dignity or life: for having joined with the *Janizari Aga* and *Testerdar*, or treasurer, in procuring the death of the *Aga*, or general of the *Spahis*; these latter rose tumultuously, and demanding all their heads, knocked the *Wazîr* off his horse, within the walls of the court. On *Morâd's* refusing to deliver them, they threatened to depose him, and set up his brother *Ibrâhim*. At length being obliged to give them up to save himself, they were all strangled and hung upon trees. The *Soltân* greatly incensed at this insult, and suspecting the new *Wazîr*, *Rejep Pâshâ*, to have encouraged the mutineers, he took occasion some time after, at a fire-work played off in the palace, to carry the *Wazîr* aside into a little room, where he was strangled by persons placed there for the purpose: but as he had for some time before expected this treatment,

¹ RICAUT, ubi supra.² CANT. p. 245, & seqq.(S) A name generally given by the *Turks* to persons of low stature. Cant. *Kiuchuk* or *Kuchuk*, and *Kichuk*, signifies little.(T) It should be *Hilla* or *Hella*; it stands on the*Euphrates*, on the north side, near the place where *Babylon* formerly stood; as appears by the ruins found there by *Ravolf*, *Della Valle*, and other travellers.

a he took care to dispose of his wealth, for the benefit of his family. After this, the *Soltân* A. D. 1632.
by degrees cut off the ringleaders, and diminished the soldiery. He also appeared more in public, to strike them with awe, which had its effect. At the same time, to win them over to his interest, he daily went to see them perform their exercises in shooting and riding; in which he always bore a part himself ¹.

THE *Othmân* army being weakened by these civil wars; *Rustem Khân*, the *Persian* general, *Wân* besieged.
invades the *Othmân* dominions, and lays close siege to *Wân*. *Morâd*, on the news of this danger, sends to its relief the *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm-ili*, with his *European* forces; who rout the *Persians*, and deliver the city, now on the point of surrendering ^m.

ABOUT this time a *Turkish* woman slave being found in a *French* ship, ready to sail from
b *Constantinople*, the *Turks* impisoned the *French* ambassador's son, who was then on board; and would have confiscated the vessel, but for the warm remonstrances of the other Christian ministers at the *Porte*. Yet *Morâd* being informed by the *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, that they were set on by *Baldazar*, an *Armenian*, interpreter to the *French* ambassador, he ordered him to be impaled before his face.

IN the interim, an ambassador came from *Persia* with proposals of peace, which was sud- A short peace.
denly concluded; but as suddenly broken again the same year, by the persuasions of the *Great* A. D. 1633.
Mogul, who promised to assist *Morâd* with forces. Some of his ministers would have had him turn his arms against *Hungary*: but to no purpose, since an agreement was signed not long after with the imperial ambassador for continuing the truce; and this was the more readily
c effected, in regard the *Soltân* had entertained some thoughts of making war on *Poland*, and dispossessing the *Amir Fakro'ddîn* of his territories in *Syria*.

THIS *Amir* was a prince of the *Durzi*, commonly called *Druses*, who inhabit part of mount *Amir Fak-*
Libanus: but his ancestors had gotten possession of the cities of *Barût* and *Sayda*, or *Sidon*, ro'ddîn redu-
on the sea-coast, with great part of the adjacent territories; so that they were become ced to streights,
very potent under *Ebn Mân*, or *Mân Oglî*, of whom an account has been already given ⁿ.
Morâd, resolved to destroy the power of these *Durzi*, sent great forces (U) against *Fakro'ddîn*,
under the *Pâshâ* of *Tripoli*, with orders to those of *Damaskus*, *Gâza*, *Hâlep*, and *Kayro*, to
join him. Mean time, *Fakro'ddîn* being summoned to surrender *Sayda*, and other places, sent
word, he was but a subject himself, having resigned his power to his son *Ali*, and that there-
d fore they should apply to him. The old *Amir* at that time had twenty-five thousand men,
divided into two bodies, and commanded by his sons. *Ali* the elder, marched with one of
them to *Safet*, to prevent the junction of the *Amirs*, *Faruk* and *Herabit*, as well as the *Pâshâs*
of *Gâza* and *Damaskus*. Being a brisk prince, he engaged them so warmly, that he defeated
them, and killed eight thousand of their men: but as he lost seven thousand of his own, the
next day they returned to the charge, and overthrew him by numbers. All his men were
killed, excepting one hundred and forty-six: his horse was mortally wounded; and being him-
self weary and faint, he yielded to a soldier, who promised him quarter, but afterwards strangled
him.

THIS news so discouraged *Fakro'ddîn*, that giving up *Sayda* to the *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, he Goes to Con-
e returned to *Barût*; and thence retired, with his *Durzi* and *Marionites*, into the mountains. stantinople.
But now good fortune had forsaken him, his subjects forsook him too, revolting to the *Pâshâ*
of *Damaskus*. After this, his houses and country were destroyed: he also lost his two remain-
ing sons; one being slain in battle, and the other carried for an hostage to *Constantinople*. He
had now scarce any thing left, excepting a few strong holds in the mountains, where living at
good terms with *Reba* king of the *Arabs*, he never ceased ravaging the lands belonging to the
Pâshâ of *Damaskus*: but being pursued from one place to another, he was at last forced to
submit, on condition to be sent free with all his treasure and equipage to the *Porte*. When he Is strangled.
was about two stages from thence, he sent eight chests of gold before him, to open his way
to the *Soltân*; who, pleased with the present, went in disguise to the *Amir's* tent, and got him
f to relate the history of his life. *Fakro'ddîn*, pretending not to know him, did this with all
the advantage he could, in order to gain his favour; which he afterwards obtained to such a
degree, as raised the envy of the great officers, who traduced him as an apostate from their
faith. This wrought so much on *Morâd*, that one day ascending his throne, he commanded

¹ RICAUT, ubi supra.^m CANT. p. 246.ⁿ See before, p. 383.

(U) The *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, in transporting the army, met with two *English* ships freighted with corn; which being prohibited goods, rather than fall into his hands, they fought his whole fleet for several hours, slew him

with abundance of his men, and then blew themselves up, to the astonishment of the *Turks*, who admired their bravery.

A. D. 1633. the *Amîr* to be brought before him, and placed on a low chair; where he passed a formal sentence of death on him (X), which was accordingly executed in his presence^a.

War with
Poland.

As to the war with *Poland*, the *Turkish* historians tell us, that the *Persian* expedition being over, *Morâd* assembled his forces at *Adrianople*, and ordered *Murtâza Pâshâ*, in conjunction with *Jambolad Zadeh* (Y), general of the *Rumilian* horse, to infest *Poland*. These generals passed the *Danube* near *Gbirghiow* (Z), a town of *Walakbia*; but while they waited there for the *Soltân's* orders, *Polish* ambassadors arrive, and sue for peace to *Murtâza*, who sends them to the *Porte*, where *Morâd* grants it them, but on his own terms^p.

THE Christian writers relate this short war more to the advantage of the *Poles*, and with some variation. According to them, the *Othmân* general, whom they name *Abâza*, having ordered fifteen thousand *Tatars* to enter *Poland*, they quickly over-ran the country about *Khochim* and *Rinczug*; but being overtaken on the 14th of *July* (A), by the *Polish* general, with only two thousand five hundred horse, who surprised them unmounted, they easily recovered their booty.

The Turks
defeated.

MEAN time, *Abâza Pâshâ*, with sixty thousand men, resolving to attack the small army of *Poles*, consisting chiefly of *Kosaks*, in their camp, the latter lined the hedges and ditches, planted their cannon advantageously, and then drew their troops into battalia. The *Turks* pushing forward, fell into the ambuscade: but having lost five hundred men, *Abâza* stopped, and ordered the *Tatars* to charge the right wing; the *Moldavians* and *Walakians* the left; while he with the *Turks* fought the main body. But the *Poles* stood so bravely to it, and their Christian adversaries made so faint an attack, that *Abâza* was obliged to retreat, although he made the *Soltân* believe he had gained a great victory. This was the more readily credited, because *Ladislaus*, being then at war with the *Russians*, sent an ambassador to the *Porte* to treat of peace. *Morâd*, to bring him to his own terms, declared war, talked insultingly, and went to *Adrianople*, affecting to make great military preparations: but finding at length, that the *Russians* were obliged to sue for peace to the *Poles*, he thought fit to dispatch an ambassador, to renew the antient league with them. This only gave the *Poles* a better opportunity to mortify his pride: for the king and dyet so resented his treatment of their ambassador, as well as the violation of the late articles, that the *Chausb* was dismissed with some reproaches on those occasions.

Sue for peace.

MORAD, who waited to turn his whole force against the *Persians*, was very uneasy to find so much resolution in the *Poles*; especially as they had now an army of eighty thousand effective men ready in *Podolia*; and therefore *Mortâza*, one of the *Wazîrs* of the divân, was ordered to lay the blame of all on *Abâza*, and even offer to have him punished, in case the *Poles* would comply to make a peace. This the *Pâshâ* did so effectually, in his letters to the *Polish* general, that *Abâza* (B) being strangled, articles were at last agreed to; whereby the *Vayvods* of *Moldavia* and *Walakbia* should be confirmed by the *Soltân*, with the consent and recommendation of *Poland*: *Cantemir*, and his *Tatars*, should be obliged to quit *Buják*, and the *Kosaks* to forbear hostilities in the *Euxine Sea*. The *Turks* were likewise to renounce all demands of tribute from *Poland*, and to build no new forts on the frontiers.

Terrible fire.

BEFORE the *Soltân* went to *Adrianople*, a most terrible fire happened about the middle of *September* at *Constantinople*, which reduced one third of it to ashes. There were burned no fewer than twenty-five thousand houses; two hundred mosks; the *Mustî's* library, and the habitation of the *Janizaries*, consisting of three hundred chambers. *Morâd* was so affected with the sufferings of the poor people, on this occasion, that he distributed considerable sums in order to support them, and rebuild the city^q.

Wine licensed.

A. D. 1633. In the year 1643, the *Soltân* publishes a new, and till then an unheard-of edict, by which, not only the sellers of wine are permitted to exercise their trade, but also every body is allowed

^a RICAUT, ubi supra. ROGER la terre sainte.

^p CANT. p. 246,

^q RICAUT, ubi supra.

(X) *Eugene Roger*, the missionary, who has given the life of this *Amîr*, in his *La Terre Sainte*, says, he was received and treated with respect by *Morâd* for fifteen days, at the end of which they consulted about putting him to death. That the *Soltân* pronounced sentence against him as a rebel, in the manner related: that he made a speech proper to move clemency; to which *Morâd* only answered, that cats should not pretend to fight with lions; that he was then strangled by mutes, the 14th of *March*, 1635, at the age of 70.

(Y) He seems to have been of *Tatar* extraction; for this name is peculiar to the *Tatars*, as *Polad Mirzah*, &c.

Cant. *Polâd* or *Pulâd* seems to be no other than the *Persian* orthography of *Fûlâd*, which in *Arabic* signifies a pillar.

(Z) An ancient city, between *Silistria* and *Nikopolis*. *Cant.*

(A) They place this action in the year 1634; whereas, by the *Turkish* account, it seems to have been in 1633.

(B) This could not be *Abâza*, the famous captain and quondam rebel; for he was killed afterwards at *Wân*, by the account of the *Turks*. Perhaps *Abâza* here is mistaken for *Morteza*, or *Murtâza*.

a to drink it (C), contrary to the *Mohammedan* law. On the other hand, the coffee-houses are forbidden to be opened under severe penalties. A. D. 1633.

MEAN time the care of the *Persian* war gave him continual uneasiness; because he perceived it impracticable, either to establish, or, as he intended, to enlarge the empire, whilst *Bâghdâd*, the noblest city of *Asia*, and bulwark of the *Ottomân* dominions, was in the hands of the *Persians*. Wherefore, as he found he had gained no advantage to the state by his generals, he resolves to take upon himself the office of commander in chief, and surmount, by his presence, the obstacles which had stopped the progress of so many *Wazîrs*. To this purpose, in the year 1044, he passes into *Asia* with a numerous army, which, full of hopes, he leads towards *Bâghdâd*. In his march he lays siege to *Revân*, lately recovered by the *Persians*; and so fiercely assaults it, that the garrison on the eighth day surrenders at his mercy. Hereupon, the governor alone, *Amir Ghiun Oglî* (D), is detained, and sent to *Constantinople*: to which city he the next year, about *Kassim Ghiuni* (E), leads back his army, after he had staid for some time about *Tibris* (or *Tauris*), to repair and garrison the neighbouring castles.
Morâd's expedition.
A. D. 1634.
Recovers Revân.

ACCORDING to the Christian historians, *Morâd* set out on his *Persian* expedition about the end of *April*, 1635. Before he went, in order to prevent seditions, he not only ruined taverns and tobacco shops, but forbade coffee-houses, and other idle places of resort: nay, in barbers shops, no more than one person was suffered to enter at a time. And further, to restrain meetings, all houses were obliged to put out both fires and candles, an hour and half after night-fall. The same authors tell us, that *Morâd* was induced to undertake this expedition by the prime *Wazîr*, who wrote him word, that he had not forces sufficient to oppose the king of *Persia*, then encamped towards *Wân*; and that his presence was absolutely necessary to encourage his soldiers. Wine forbidden.

WHILE the *Soltân* was on his march to *Persia*, there were great contests in *Transilvania*, between *Stephen Bethlem* and *George Ragotski*, for that principality. *Morâd* espousing the interest of the first, while the other sought the assistance of the emperor *Ferdinand II.* though not with the desired success. The *Turks* entering the province with twenty-five thousand men, under the *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, *Ragotski* detached his general *Cornis*, with seven thousand, to seize an advantageous post; but ordered him not to fight, till he came up to support him. However, the *Pâshâ* having sent twelve thousand horse and two thousand *Janizaries*, with some cannon, to attack him, he set himself at the head of his troops, and fell on with such bravery, that he drove the enemy's first rank upon the second; and at length put them all to flight, leaving their cannon and baggage behind, beside three thousand slain. The whole army had been defeated, if a party of *Janizaries* had not fortified themselves in a wood, and stopped the pursuit. *Ragotski* having had the better in several other rencounters with the *Turks*, and burnt two thousand villages in their territories, they were content to agree, that *Ragotski* should enjoy his government, on condition that the goods and estate which belonged to *Ghabor* in *Transilvania*, should be restored to him. Affairs of Transilvania.
Ragotski prevails.

By this time *Morâd* was arrived at *Arzerûm*; the head of whose *Pâshâ* he ordered to be cut off, for oppressing the people. Then entering *Armenia*, and finding it deserted by the inhabitants, he commanded them to return within twenty days, under pain of death: but most of them being settled elsewhere, bought off the penalty by fines. In this *March*, though naturally luxurious, he set his army of near three hundred thousand men an example of temperance and hardiness, using a saddle for his pillow, and his horse-cloth for a quilt. Being come in *July* before *Revân*, he began the siege: but although the place, which was well provided with necessaries, and a garrison of fifteen thousand men, might have held out a long time; yet the governor *Amir Guni* betrayed it to *Morâd*, who afterwards held him in great esteem. As soon as this news reached *Constantinople*, great rejoicings were made there for four days; during which time *Bâyezîd* and *Orkhân*, two of the *Soltân's* brothers, were strangled; the last of whom was said to have killed four of his executioners before they could overpower him. Revân betrayed to the Soltân;

AFTER this, the *Turks* entering farther into *Persia*, miserably wasted the country; yet not without many losses and defeats from the *Persian* cavalry, and mountain people. At last, being destitute of provisions, they retired to the parts about *Tauris*; which being harassed who returns.

^c CANT. p. 245, & seq.

(C) According to *Ricaut*, he in the year 1634 (half of which falls in that of the Hejrah 1033) suppressed taverns, and had the wine spilled.

(D) Son of *Amir Ghiun*, a *Persian Khân*. By his skill in music he gained *Morâd's* favour to such a degree, that he made him one of his privy council; and when he indulged himself in drinking wine, was delighted only with this *Persian* and *Bekri Mostafa*. In his

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

palace on the *Bosphorus*, called *Imir Ghiun ogli Tulîf*, the *Soltân* often went to drink with him. CANT.

(E) That is *St. Demetrius*, whose day falls on the 26th of *October*; by this day and that of *Hiderlek* (or *Khiderlek*) being the 23d of *April*, the *Turks* regulate their expeditions. After the 23d of *April* they take the field, and return on the 26th of *October*. CANT: *Hiderlek* is supposed to be *St. George*.

A. D. 1634. like the rest, the *Soltân*, in revenge, gave that city up to be plundered by his soldiers. After this he put his army into winter-quarters, and returned to *Constantinople* in December^a.

THE *Persians*, who had hitherto skulked for fear of the *Othmân* sword, when they hear of *Morâd*'s departure, rush forth with numerous forces, and besiege *Wân*; of which city *Abâza Pâshâ* had been made governor. Yet the *Othmâns* behaved in so gallant a manner for four months, that the enemy could gain no advantage, although they frequently repeated their assaults; and perhaps the city would have escaped falling into their hands, if the brave governor, on whom the strength and safety of the place seemed to depend, had not been snatched out of the world. For, dispirited by this loss, the garrison more faintly defend themselves; whilst the *Persians*, grown more courageous, furiously renew their assaults, and taking the city by force, sacrifice all the *Othmâns* to the ghosts of their countrymen slain by *Morâd*^b.

ACCORDING to the Christian writers, after *Morâd*'s return from the east, the army, wanting provisions, was disbanded; and *Mortâza Pâshâ*, governor of *Revân*, being killed, the soldiers mutined; who opening the gates, yielded to the *Persians* (F). At the same time, two thousand *Janizaries*, for fear of the *Soltân*'s resentment, lifted with the enemy, who thereupon instituted chambers of *Janizaries*; and would have drawn over the *Spahis* also, by an offer of twelve aspers a day constant pay. These tidings *Morâd* received with great indignation: however, to retrieve his loss of *Revân*, he ordered the *Wazîr* to besiege *Bâghdâd*: but the soldiery, not liking the enterprize, would march no farther than *Arzerûm*. They likewise demanded the head of *Jambolâd Ogli*, who commanded the army before his arrival; because he had put a *Pâshâ*, with several *Spahis* and *Janizaries*, to death: and although *Jambolâd* pleaded the *Soltân*'s orders, yet the *Wazîr*, to appease them, was forced to strangle him. Mean time the *Persians* besieged *Wân*; but although they could not take it (G), yet they so ruined the country, that it could afford no subsistence to the *Turks*; who led by a *Kyurd*, to surprize one of the enemy's quarters, the guide, when he brought them thither, changed sides; so that fifteen thousand were slain and taken prisoners.

IN the interim, great contests arose in little *Tartary*, between *Kantemir* (H), a very leading man, and the *Khân*, who had overthrown the other in battle: but as he had thrown off much of his respect to the *Soltân*, this latter began to take *Kantemir*'s part, and sent for him to *Constantinople*. There he was kindly entertained, till his son, having killed a *Tatar*, was strangled for it; and soon after the father himself was strangled. Yet his nephew having pretended to revolt to the *Khân*, and slain him, with one of his brothers, he was highly applauded at the *Porte*; and *Bekbir Ghieray*, another brother, set up in his room. But the joy of this good news was allayed by bad tidings from *Asîk* or *Asof*, which was taken by the *Russians* and *Kosaks*, who fortified that important place with new works^d.

BUT to return to the war with *Persia*. The *Soltân*, not expecting any such misfortunes as happened after his last year's prosperous expedition, let fall the first effects of his anger on the *Wazîr*, *Mehemed Pâshâ*. This minister, for neglecting to fortify the borders, is instantly turned out, and his office given to *Bayrâm Pâshâ*, whom, the same year, he sends before with some light-armed troops (I), and following in person with a greater army into *Asia*, marches directly to *Bâghdâd*. When he comes there, spurred on by revenge, he attacks the city so vigorously, for thirty days together, that it seemed to be rather a continual slaughter than a fight. Fire, sword, and cannon, cease not one moment the whole time, to destroy the soldiers on both sides. The assaults are daily renewed, and the *Soltân*, with his scymitar, compels the retiring forces to re-charge; and with his own hand kills the *Wazîr* himself, for appearing too negligent. At length, by the bravery of the army, and steadiness of the *Soltân*, the city is taken, and above thirty thousand *Persians* (K), who had delivered themselves up to his power, are slaughtered in his presence. Thus fell the famous city; to defend which the *Shâh* of *Persia* had assembled the flower of his army, with almost his whole nobility;

^a RICAUT, in Amurath.^b CANT. p. 248.^c RICAUT, ubi sup.

(F) Here *Revân* seems to be mistaken for *Wân*; and if so, it helps to confirm what we suggested in a former note, that *Abâza* was mistaken for *Mortâza Pâshâ*.

(G) As the *Turkish* historians affirm, that *Wân* was taken, *Wân* here may be mistaken for *Revân*; as *Revân* seems to be mistaken for *Wân*, in the place above.

(H) Prince *Cantemir* takes occasion to inform us, in a note, that this *Tatar* family is a different one from his. It seems to be compounded of *Kant*, *Kente*, or some such word, and *Amîr*.

(I) While the *Wazîr* was on the road to *Persia*, an ambassador arrived in *August* at the *Porte*; but although

the *Soltân* seemed disposed for peace, yet he resolved to make another expedition. *Ricaud*.

(K) The *Persians* still mourn this cruelty of *Morâd*, who spared no captive excepting one. This person, when the officers were going to kill him, desired that he might speak a word to the *Soltân* before his death. Being brought before him, and asked what he had to say, *suffer not*, cried he, *most gracious emperor, that with me, Shâh Kuli, that is, the king's slave* (by which name he was afterwards called), *the whole art of musick should perish*. Being ordered to give a specimen of his skill, he takes up a *shehdâr* (called in *Arabic* *zabur*, and in *Greek*

a lity; and to take which *Morâd* had applied the strength of the empire. This was the last A. D. 1637^o overthrow of the *Persians*; since which they have not dared to seek revenge, or to lift up their heads against the *Othmân* power¹.

According to the account given of this siege by a *Turkish* officer (L), who was present; “as soon as the *Soltân*’s tent was erected (M) on the side of the *Dogayl*, or *Tigris*, near the sepulchre of the great *Imâm*, on the 8th of *Rajeb*, they began to make their approaches with vigour. They opened their trenches under cover of ten pieces of cannon, and as many royal falcons, opposite to the white gate, which faces the angle of the tower of *Jighalzade*, over-against the great fort. When the siege was formed, and they had entered the trenches beyond the white gate, *Mostafa*, *Pâshâ* of *Damaskus*, *Ibrâhîm*, the *Haznadâr Pâshâ*, the *Sanjâk Bey* of *Kustandil*, and others, were posted at the tower of *Persia*, with seven pieces of cannon and five royal falcons. Somewhat lower, where the grand *Wazîr Mohammed* had his quarters, there were only five pieces of cannon. A little beyond that, towards the gate of darkness, where stood the great tower between two forts, *Derwîsh Mohammed*, *Pâshâ* of *Diyârbekr*, was posted with seven great guns; and *Mostafa Pâshâ*, the *Selikhtar*, or sword-bearer, with five pieces of cannon and thirty falcons, took his quarters over against the bank of the *Tigris*, where is the bastion of birds.”

“THINGS being thus disposed, they began to batter the city with inexpressible fury; having beaten down five or six great towers: the trenches in thirty days were carried to the ditch; to fill up which, the officers among them furnished thirty millions of sacks filled with hair, wool, and hemp. They likewise cut down fifteen hundred palm-trees; and for ten days and nights the soldiers carried earth to fill the ditch of the fortrefs, which was about eighteen feet deep, six whereof were filled with water. On the 19th of *Shaabân*, they marched at break of day to attack the fort which was at the angle of the grand *Wazîr*’s quarters; where the fight continued three days and nights with unparalleled fury. In this action the *Turks* engaged the enemy so closely, that some took them by the collar, whilst others struck them with their fists, or engaged with their poniards. Here the grand *Wazîr*, after slaying several with arrows, was slain himself by a musket ball, which hit him in the throat (N).”

“MORAD at this news dropped a tear, and appointed the *Kapudân Mostafa Pâshâ* in his room; who renewed the attack with such vigour, that at length the *Turks* set up their standard on the top of the fortrefs; and made so great a slaughter, that on the 29th of the same month, the *Persians* from the top of the walls demanded quarter. *Morâd* having given them till the evening to evacuate the city, *Bektâsh Khân*, the governor (O), with all his train, came to the camp, where he was received with honour, and quarter granted to him and his troops. Mean time *Fetab Khân*, *Khâlef Khân*, and *Ali Khân*, who remained in the fortrefs, having twenty thousand men at their command, resolved not to quit the place. Hereupon *Ali Pâshâ*, son of *Arslân*, entered the city with all the *Janizaries*; and made himself master of it with such a slaughter, that the streets ran with blood, without the loss of one man.”

“HUSSEYN, *Pâshâ* of *Anatolia*, seeing *Morâd* incensed at this breach of articles, desired leave that he might go and put the revoltors to the sword. His request being granted on the second application, he set himself at the head of his troops; who fell on so furiously, that the enemy presently fled towards the gate of darkness: but they were pursued so closely, that out of twenty-five thousand, not one escaped. The three *Khâns*, with a hundred captains, and many other officers, were taken prisoners. *Morâd*, having reproached them for their misbehaviour after quarter given, put two or three of them into the hands of the *Selikhtar Mostafa Pâshâ*, and left the rest to the discretion of the soldiers; who slew some, and gave the remainder to the *Janizaries*. Of those who were in the place not one in a thousand were saved; whereas the *Turks* lost not above five thousand men in all.”

THIS is the substance of what the *Turkish* officer relates concerning the siege. But the author, who has communicated the relation, observes that those at *Constantinople*, who were best acquainted with affairs, seemed convinced that the city was taken by the perfidy of the

¹ CANT. p. 248. & seq.

² DU LOIRE Voy. de Levant, lett. 8.

Greek psalterio), and with so much art, as well as sweetness, both play’d and sung the tragedy of the taking of *Bâghdâd*, intermixed with *Morâd*’s praises, that the *Soltân* could not refrain from tears all the while he was performing. For this musician’s sake, *Morâd* set at liberty all who had not yet been massacred, and his musical works became famous in *Turky*. This instrument is much like a harp, with six strings each way, as the word *sheshdâr* denotes. ’Tis reckoned the chief of musical instruments, and is said to have been invented by *David*, though few at present know how to play well on it. CANT.

(L) This account is inserted both in the *Turkish* (printed in *Italick* characters) and the *French*, by the *Sieur du Loir*, in his voyage to the *Levant*.

(M) The place was invested by the *Wazîr*, on the 19th of *October*, with 30,000 men, although the *Soltân* did not arrive till *November* 5th. *Ricaut*.

(N) By this it appears that he was not slain by the *Soltân*, as the *Turkish* historians relate.

(O) The Christian writers call him *Amir Fatta*, who must be the same with *Fetab Khân*, mentioned a line or two below.

A. D. 1638. governor, rather than by force. They alledged farther, that the *Khân's* wife, being ashamed of her husband's treachery, poisoned herself, the same day on which the *Turks* entered *Bâghdâd*; and that neither the other *Khâns* nor the inhabitants consented to the surrender made by the governor. Hence they inferred, that the inhabitants were falsely accused of mutiny by *Husseyn Pâshâ*; who having formerly betrayed *Revân* to the *Soltân* (P), forged this story of a mutiny to incense *Morâd*, when intoxicated with wine, that he might have the pleasure of washing his hands in the blood of his countrymen^a.

Some farther particulars of the siege.

WE shall add something farther concerning the siege of this famous city, from the Christian historians. They tell us, that at this time the king of *Persia*, *Shâh Sefi*, with his army consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, was gone to oppose the great *Mogol*, who had promised *Morâd* to make a diversion in his favour: that the besieged made no opposition to the *Turks* while they were carrying on their trenches to the ditch, except by their cannon: that they were twenty days filling the ditch; and after they had gained the first inclosure, had two more grand walls to encounter, and another ditch to fill up, which at length they did with trees and other matter: that things being ready for the assault, it was given on *Christmas* day, and the fortieth of the siege; when the brave *Wazîr* being killed, *Mostafa*, seeing almost all his men dead about him, furiously took a royal standard, and climbing up the wall, planted it there: that being followed by the soldiers, they soon entered and mastered the city, killing all before them without distinction; excepting the governor and a few others: that *Morâd* ordered the slaughter to cease; but that, on the remonstrance of *Mostafa*, who was made *Wazîr*, he gave up fourteen thousand more to the sword: that in the assault the *Turks* lost thirty thousand men, besides ten thousand wounded: that *Morâd* entering the city, ordered that sixty thousand of the slain should remain unburied, for a terror to a *Persian* ambassador whom he expected^a.

Morâd returns.

Hej. 1048.

A. D. 1638.

MORAD, having stayed a few days to repair the breaches and settle the affairs of *Irâk*; leaving the new *Wazîr Mostafa* to finish what he had begun, winters in *Diyârbekr*; and the next spring returns to *Constantinople* (Q), with his guards^b.

HE entered the city with all the triumph imaginable, although in a very bad state of health; and not long after an ambassador arrived from *Persia* with propositions of peace, which were not accepted of. However, another concluded a treaty with the *Wazîr* on the frontiers, whereby *Bâghdâd* was confirmed to *Morâd*; who being now at leisure, resolved to call the *Venetians* to an account for destroying the *Algerine* pirates in his port of *Valona*. The affair was this:

Capello de-
troys

THESE pirates, in conjunction with those of *Tunis* and other *Barbary* rovers, having infested the coasts of *Italy*, the *Venetian* gallies, under the command of *Capello*, blocked them up in the aforesaid port. The *Corsairs*, not daring to venture out, resolved to remain there till the coast should be clear: but *Capello*, after a month's stay, finding an opportunity, boldly went in; and, to the astonishment of the *Turks*, took the whole sixteen vessels. The graver part of the *Venetian* senate, altogether disapproving of this action, wrote to *Contareni*, their *Bailo*, or resident at the *Porte*, to mollify, if possible, the resentment of the *Turks*. The *Kaymakâm*, as soon as he was informed of the affair, sent for the *Bailo*, and exclaimed against it, as an infraction of the peace, which the *Soltân* on his return from *Persia* would resent.

the Barbary
pirates.

THE *Bailo* answered, that those same pirates having landed the year before in *Kandia*, and pierced far into *Italy*, with design to plunder the island of *Liffâ*, belonging to his republic, he had done nothing contrary to the capitulations; which enjoined, *That all ports should be forbidden to those pirates, unless they first gave security not to injure the subjects of the Venetians*. The *Kaymakâm* however required that the gallies should be restored; and that ten thousand soldiers and slaves belonging to those gallies, who were at *Valona*, should have free passage through the territories of the republic. But all those vessels, excepting the admiral galley, had been sunk in the port of *Korsu*, by order of the senate, to prevent the restitution demanded.

Satisfaction
demanded;

AN account of this transaction being sent to *Morâd*, he was so enraged, that he ordered the *Bailo*, with all those of his nation found in the *Othmân* dominions, to be cut in pieces. But the *Wazîr* and his *Persian* favourite stopping the mandate for thirteen days, till the *Soltân* grew cooler, persuaded him to change the sentence into an imprisonment of the *Bailo*; which, by application of the other Christian ambassadors at the *Porte* to the *Kaymakâm*, was ordered to be in his own house. When the senate heard this news, they, to prevent a war, which

^a RICAUT, *ibid*.

^a *Ibid*. ubi *supr*.

^b CANT. p. 249.

(P) According to the *Turkish* and *Christian* historians, the person who betrayed *Revân*, or *Riwân*, was *Amîr Ghiun*; a different person, as it should seem, from *Husseyn Pâshâ*, whom the Christian writers name *Delli Husseyn*.

(Q) The Christian writers say, on the 10th of *June* 1639.

a they were apprehensive of, began to make alliances with other powers, and, at the same time, used all their address to soften *Morâd*. They also wrote him a handsome letter, to excuse themselves; and although he answered it with disdain, and seemed to breathe nothing but revenge, yet it was carried by a *Chaussh*, and couched in such terms as shewed there was room for an accommodation. A. D. 1638.

MORAD, at his return from *Bâghdâd*, let *Contarini* know, that he looked on him no longer as a public minister, but an hostage for the ships which had been taken: however, he at the same time ordered the *Kaymakâm* not to shut his ears against a treaty. Accordingly that minister having admitted the *Bailo* to an audience, and finding the senate resolved not to deliver up their own galleys in exchange, at last accommodated the matter with him, on his promising to pay two hundred and fifty thousand chekîns, and restore the vessels which were in being.^c

BUT now to come to the period of *Morâd*'s reign: we are told by the *Turkish* historians, that while he was meditating an expedition against the Christians, he was suddenly seized with a distemper, which in fifteen days carried him out of the world, on the 15th of *Shawal* 1049, after he had lived thirty-one, and reigned seventeen years.^d Morâd dies.

THE Christian writers are more particular; they tell us, that *Morâd* began to grow feeble by frequent debauches, his stomach so cold and weak, as not to digest the lightest meats. He was also at times grievously afflicted with the gout, and all over paralytic; so that his mother and the physicians persuaded him to forbear wine. Yet he could not withstand the temptations of a banquet to which his companions invited him. In the time of *Bâyram*, he, at the instance of his *Persian* favourite and the *Seliktâr Aga* (R), appointed a solemn drinking day, to which they being invited, the former took care to excite his inclination to liquor by high seasoned dishes; by whose aid they all drank so hard of wine and strong waters, that they were carried off drunk one after the other. The excess of this debauch threw the *Soltân* into a violent and continued fever; and the timorous physicians agreeing at length to let him blood, it hastened his death, which happened on the eighth of *February* 1640.^e Cause of his death.

A CERTAIN traveller, who was then at *Constantinople*, says, he was not ill above eleven days, and that on the eighth he threatened his physicians with death unless they cured him. At the same time being sensible he should die, he gave orders about paying his debts, and other affairs. After this the fever increasing, he resolved to put to death his brother *Ibrâhîm*, and all the great men who were enemies to *Mostafa*, to the intent that after his death his favourite might seize the throne without opposition (S). The great officers, believing that *Ibrâhîm* had been strangled, with his two other brothers, in the road to *Persia*, crowded the sick monarch's chamber, not so much to render him their last respects, as to be present when he appointed a successor, each of them having the vanity to expect that the nomination would fall on him. But their ambition was strangely mortified, when the *Soltân*, in order to find a pretence to cut some of them off, began to examine them very strictly, as to the execution of their respective offices. When he saw by their answers, that he could not with shew of justice put them to death, he commanded the *Mufti* to sign a *fetva* for the execution of his brother *Ibrâhîm*, who escaped the blow twice by means of his mother. Attempts to d'stroy, his brother Ibrâhîm.

MORAD expired in the arms of his favourite, with these words, *Mostafa, I am dying*. *Mostafa*, quite distracted at his master's death, ran to a window, and would have thrown himself out headlong, if he had not been prevented by those who were present: but his chief support being now gone, his enemies obliged him immediately to disburse fifteen hundred thousand crowns, as well as resign his post of *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, in lieu of the *Pâshâship* of *Temeschwaer*; and probably they would have aimed at his life, if it had not been for fear of enraging the princess, sister of the late *Soltân*, who was in love with him, and breeding of a sedition among the soldiers.^f

THE *Turks* have related the manners and domestic affairs of this *Soltân* in so many volumes, that it is to be suspected they sometimes insert fables. His most accurate historians observe, that he did some things which were contrary both to the majesty of an emperor, and the dictates of nature. They say he used to resort with particular favourites to certain pleasant places and gardens without the city, where he would light fires, dress victuals, and buying wine from a tavern, drink and converse familiarly with them. Moreover, he married old women of fourscore to young men of fifteen or five and twenty, and old men to girls; committing a thousand such like frolicks.

^c RICAUT *ibid.*
voy. de Levant, lett. 4.

^d CANT. p. 247.

^e RICAUT *ibid.*

^f DU LOIRE

(R) This was *Mostafa*, who was also *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, or high admiral; *Du Loire*, who was then at *Constantinople*, says he was a handsome man, of about five or six and twenty; so well beloved by the *Soltân*, that instead of slave, he called him his friend. *Du Loire* voy. de Levant, le. iv. p. 110.

(S) Others say, that he did it in favour of the *Tartar Hân* or *Khân*; often wishing that he might be the last of the *Othmân* line. *Ricaud*.

A. D. 1639.

A great
drinker.

IN drunkenness he exceeded all his predecessors who were given to that vice. He not only drank wine in private, and allowed it to be publicly sold, as before is mentioned; but compelled even the *Mustis* and *Kûdbî'laskers* (or lord chief justices) to drink with him. He was drawn into the love of strong liquors by the following accident: As he was going one time about the market in disguise, he happened to see a man wallowing in the dirt, almost dead drunk. *Morâd* wondering at the novelty of the thing, asks his attendants, what was the matter with him? for he took him to be lunatic. Being told he was intoxicated with wine, he wants to know what sort of liquor that was, of whose effects he was yet ignorant. Mean while, *Mostafa* gets up, and with opprobrious words bids the *Soltân* stand off.

The adventure
of Bekri Mo-
stafa.

THE prince, astonished at the man's impudence, *Rascal*, says he, *dost thou bid me, who am Soltân Morâd, to be gone? And I* (answers the drunkard) *am Bekri Mostafa (T): but if thou wilt sell me this city, I will buy it; and then I shall be Soltân Morâd, and thou Bekri Mostafa.* *Morâd* demanding where he would get the money to purchase such a city, *Mostafa* replies, *Don't trouble thyself about that; for, what is more, I will buy also the son of a bond-woman (U).* *Morâd* agrees to it, and orders *Mostafa* to be taken out of the kennel, and carried to the palace. After a few hours *Mostafa* comes to his senses; and seeing himself laid in a gilded room, asked those who attended him, what was the meaning of all that, and whether he was in a dream, or in paradise? Having informed him of what had passed, and his bargain with the *Soltân*, the man falls into a terrible fright, as knowing *Morâd's* fierce disposition. But necessity whetting his invention, he feigns himself ill, and pretends he should die, unless he could have some wine to restore his spirits.

THE waiters, to preserve his life, give him a pot full of wine, which he conceals under his gown. Presently after being sent for by the emperor, and ordered to pay so many millions as the price of the city, *Mostafa*, taking the pot out of his bosom, says, *This, O emperor! is what would yesterday have purchased Constantinople; and were you likewise possessed of these riches, you would think them preferable to the monarchy of the universe.* *Morâd* asking how that could be? *By drinking*, said he, *this divine liquor.* The *Soltân* being persuaded, takes a large draught; which, as he was unused to wine, presently made him so drunk, that he fancied the whole world not able to hold him; conceives mighty projects, and was filled with such pleasing joy, that he thought it equal to the charms of a crown. After this he fell asleep; and in a few hours, awaking with the head-ach, in a great passion sends for *Mostafa*. The man forthwith appears; and perceiving the case, *Here*, says he, *is your remedy*; and offers the *Soltân* a cup of wine, by which his head-ach was presently removed, and his former gaiety restored (X). When he had done this two or three times, he became by degrees so addicted to wine, that he was drunk almost every day.

Envy to to-
bacco:

As *Morâd* was an immoderate lover of that liquor, so he was a mortal enemy to opium and tobacco (Y). He forbade the selling of both on pain of death; and with his own hand killed several, whom he found either eating the one, or smoking the other (Z). However, one *Tiriaki*, a smoker, escaped punishment by his wit: for as he could not abstain from tobacco, he caused a deep pit to be dug under his tent, and covered with green turf, to prevent discovery: but one day the emperor coming and enquiring for him, he is betrayed by his people, who expose him in the pit with a pipe in his mouth. The *Soltân* instantly drawing his sword in order to kill him, *Tiriaki*, seeing the danger he was in, humourously cries out, *Go-to, thou son of a bond-woman! thy edict extends above, not under the earth.* By this ready turn, he obtained new honours, with the sole licence of smoking tobacco.

extremely
cruel:

FROM this vice sprung another cruelty. He thirsted after blood, and seemed to be nourished with it. Very often at midnight he stole out of the womens apartments, through the private gates of the palace, with his drawn sword; and running through the streets barefooted, with only a loose gown about him, like a madman, killed whomsoever came in his way. Frequently from the windows of the higher rooms, where he used to drink and divert himself, he shot with arrows such as passed along. In the day time, he strolled up and down in disguise, and never returned till he had slain some unfortunate wretches, for little or no cause. He struck so great a terror through the whole city, that no man dared even to men-

(T) That is drunken *Mostafa*.(U) Meaning the *Soltân* himself: for the princes are all born of captives.(X) *Bekri Mostafa*, his tutor in drinking, was afterwards admitted among the *Mufahib* or privy councillors, and always near the *Soltân*; who at his death ordered the court to go into mourning; but caused his body to be buried with great pomp, among the hog-heads. After this loss *Morâd* declared that he never enjoyed one merry day; and whenever *Mostafa's* name happened to be mentioned, was seen to burst into tears, and sigh from the bottom of his heart. *Cant.*(Y) He is reported to have said to his people, by way of advice, *if you will be merry, drink wine and eat not t—rd.* *Cant.*(Z) *Thevenot* relates an adventure of his with a *Spahi*, whom he smoked with on the *liosphorus*; but going to seize him, when he landed, the *Spahi*, thereby suspecting that it was the *Soltân*, with a blow on the back with his mace, beat him down, and ran away. *Travels to the Levant*, part i. chap. 45.

a tion his name within his own doors. Many weak persons, especially such as used to eat opium, ^{A. D. 1639.} fell into a swoon, if they heard but the word *Morâd* repeated: for he never spared that sort of people, but either killed them, or made them drink wine instead of it. By these methods he is said, within the seventeen years of his reign, to have put to death above fourteen thousand men, several of whom were generals of the highest rank.

But at the same time that *Morad* excelled in those worst of vices, he was adorned with great endowments both of body and mind. All sorts of exercises requisite to a soldier were found in him. In the art of shooting with the bow, he had not his equal in the whole *Turkish* nation, excepting the famous champion *Toskoparan*. There are now two marble pillars standing, fifteen hundred cubits asunder, over which he is said to have shot an arrow. He was, of all the *Othmâns*, the most expert horseman; and threw the jerid (or dart) with such dexterity, that no *Tatarian* arrow could fly so far, or with such exactness. He is reported to have been so swift of foot, that the fleetest *Arabian* horse could hardly out-run him.

NOR did this *Soltân* want singular endowments of mind: in the first place he was steady in the conduct of affairs; and desisted not from an undertaking, till he either had accomplished it, or found it was not in his power to succeed. He was unshaken in all circumstances; so that if his years had been equal to his greatness of mind, he would without much difficulty have acquired the monarchy of the universe: but the wounds, with which the sword threatened others, were given him by drunkenness, and removed him early out of the world, of which he was the terror.

c THE Christian writers say, that *Morâd* was the most absolute prince who ever swayed the *Othmân* scepter; but very irreligious (A), often laughing at the *Darwîshes* and other religious orders. That he was very active, but a great dissembler, and covetous to excess; having left fifteen millions of gold in his treasury, which was empty when he ascended the throne.

^b CANT. p. 249 & seq.

^a RICAUT, ubi supr.

(A) Is not this to abuse the word religion; as if superstition required respect? or any thing which is either useless, or ridiculous, can deserve the name?

C H A P. XIX.

The Reign of Soltan Ibrâhîm.

d **M**ORAD being dead, and no other heir of the *Othmân* race remaining but his brother *Ibrâhîm*, he was with unanimous consent proclaimed emperor, being then in the three and twentieth year of his age.

According to the Christian historians, his interest was managed with the great officers by the *Soltâna* mother *Kiosem*, in opposition to the *Khân* of *Tatary*. But when they came to the hole of a prison, where, almost void of light, he had been mewed-up for four years, in constant expectation of death, he barred the door, and denied them entrance, supposing they came to strangle him. Nay, when the *Wazîr* proclaimed him emperor, fearing it to be only an artifice of his brother, he said, he did not desire that honour; and still persisted to deny them entrance, till the *Soltâna* mother caused *Morâd*'s corpse to be brought. With this being at last satisfied, he plucked up his spirits, and taking boat, passed to *Job*'s mosk (Z), where in eight days all the ceremonies of his inauguration being completed, he rode through the city to his palace: but whether for want of practice, or through an awkwardness natural to fools, he sat his horse so odiously (A), that it moved the laughter rather than the acclamations of people.

THE *Soltân*, for want of capacity, left the whole management of his affairs to his ministers; who knowing his luxurious and wanton appetite, humoured him therein, as well as his other recreations of horse-races, shooting with the bow, and the like. So that he was a mere stranger to the business transacted; only the *Wazîr* would sometimes, in matters of least importance, apply for his assent; either out of formality, or because it was not safe to act altogether without his authority. As his fondness for women was his reigning passion, so they

ⁱ CANT. p. 252.

(Z) *Du Loir* calls it *Yupuan Saray*; that is, the *Saray* or palace of *Yup*, *Yub*, *Ayub*, or *Job*, as we corruptly spell the word after the *Germans*. To this *Saray* belongs a mosk, where the *Soltâns* are girt with a sword by the *Musli*, and then mount on horseback.

(A) *Du Loir* only says, that he was so feeble, that in saluting the people by bowing his head, he would have fallen with his face to the ground, if he had not been supported. *Voy. de Levant*, let. 4.

A. D. 1639. were the first objects of his diversion. But as the law of the country forbad the *Soltâns* to see a any other ladies than virgins, and he found he exhausted his strength to no purpose on girls, he had a mind to caress the favourite *Soltâna* of his deceased brother, who had charmed him with her beauty and wit. Nor was the lady averse to the design: but finding the queen mother and *Wazîr* do all they could to oppose it, she chose to sacrifice her ambition to her safety, and retire to the old *Saray*, where the other women of *Morâd* were locked up^k.

The *Kosâks*
repressed.

IBRAHIM's first care, as to matters of government, was to clear the *Black-sea* of the *Kosâk* pirates, and render the passage safe for ships sailing for *Constantinople*. As *Asâk* (or *Asof*) situated at the mouth of the *Don* or *Tanais*, was very convenient for people of that profession, and, in case of an overthrow, would afford them a retreat, he perceived that there was no putting a stop to their depredations without great difficulty, so long as that city remained in b their hands; and therefore sends a numerous army to besiege it, which after many assaults takes it, and puts all the garrison to the sword^l.

Asof besieged:
A. D. 1641.

THE Christian writers give quite a different account of this affair. According to them, this city was besieged twice by the *Turks*; who the first time being molested by frequent sallies, made some furious assaults on the place; but were so repulsed with arms, wild-fire, and scalding liquors, that they lay still for fourteen days. During this time the captain *Pâshâ* tried the force of bribes: but finding it to little purpose, and having received some supplies by sea, another assault was given for seven days together, without gaining an inch of ground. So that they were forced to raise the siege, after they had endured the severest hardships, and lost three thousand *Spahis*, seven thousand *Janizaries*, and eight thousand other soldiers, besides *Molda-* c *vians*, *Walakhians* and *Tatars*.

and abandon-
ed.

A. D. 1642.

HOWEVER, the *Soltân* having settled all differences with the emperor, and concluded an advantageous peace for twenty years, the *Wazîr* resolved to attack *Asof* a second time both by land and sea. The *Kosâks* on this news sought the protection of the *Czar* of *Russia*: but that prince excusing himself, as having lately concluded a peace with the *Porte*, they abandoned the city, ruined the places, and carried all their moveables along with him.

Raab in dan-
ger.

ABOUT the same time the *Turks* renewed their league with the king of *Persia*, on condition that he should demolish the fortrefs of *Fortrina*, which, contrary to articles, he had built on the *Caspian Sea*. But notwithstanding their league lately made with the emperor, they contrive to surprize the fortrefs of *Raab*, in *Hungary*, by the following stratagem. A select number of d soldiers, dressed like peasants, were put into carts covered with hay; which being admitted into the city, they were to surprize the centinels and gates, in which they were to be supported by four thousand others, lying in a valley near at hand. But this party being discovered by an officer of the garrison, in his return from hunting, he quickened his pace to the town; and overtaking the above-mentioned carts, which seemed to be laden after an unusual manner, it increased his suspicion. On his arrival at the town, he acquainted the officers, who immediately put the garrison in arms; and having permitted the carts to enter, the bridge was drawn up, the carts searched, and the whole fraud detected. However, the emperor, being at that time at war with the *Swedes*, could not resent the injury in the manner he was inclined to have done.

Changes at
court.

A. D. 1644.

NEXT year nothing remarkable occurs; but in 1644 some broils arose between the emperor and prince *Ragotski*, wherein the *Turks* somewhat concerned themselves; but matters were composed the year following. All this while *Ibrâhîm* minded nothing but his pleasures; yet the prime *Wazîr*, *Mostafa*, being an active minister, put to death all those persons whom he suspected in the least inclinable to sedition; particularly the *Pâshâs* of *Halep* and *Kâffa*. Yet his care of the state could not secure him from the resentment of the *Valide Soltâna*, who cut him off, for some marks of disrespect shewn to her; as for a like offence against the *Soltân*, the *Kâpudân Pâshâ* underwent the same fate. The *Tatar Hân* (or *Khân*) was likewise deposed by *Ibrâhîm*, not so much for his incursions into *Poland*, as for his ill success; having in one of them lost ten thousand men.

Actions at sea.

BEKR, *Pâshâ* of *Rhodes*, the new *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, to hance his office, made a descent on the f coast of *Calabria*, from whence he carried off three hundred men: but attempting the like near *Corton*, paid for the former booty with the loss of five hundred of his own. However, six of the *Maitefe* gallies made more considerable reprisals, although the consequence proved fatal to the *Venetians*: for they took several rich *Turkish* vessels bound to *Alexandria*, with a vast booty; and amongst the rest, the wealth of the *Kislar Aga*, who was slain in the action^m. But here it will be proper first to see what the *Turkish* historians say upon this occasion, which became of such importance to their nation.

Offence given
by the Vene-
tians.

THE *Soltân* having cleared the *Euxine Sea* of *Corfairs*, he resolves likewise to purge the *White Sea*, or *Mediterranean*. All the islands therein were already subdued by the *Othmân* valour, excepting *Kandia*, or *Krete*; which, in defiance of the imperial power, afforded a g retreat to pirates, who plundered the *Turkish* ships. To the provocations before given by the

^k RICAUT, in *Ibrâhîm*. DU LOIR Voy. lett. 4.

^l CANT. p. 252.

^m RICAUT, ubi sup. subjects

a subjects of the *Venetians*, a new one was added about this time, which presented him with a fair occasion for subduing this island, long before desired, and more than once attempted in vain : for a *Turkish* ship, with the *Kislar Aga* (B), the *Kâdî* of *Mekka*, and *Mollah* of *Prusa* on board, being on its way to *Egypt*, was attacked by six *Maltese* gallies, and taken ; after the *Kislar Aga*, the *Kâdî*, and commander of the ship, had been killed in the action. The *Corfairs* immediately put into a port of *Kandia*, and giving the governor some share of their prize, were suffered to depart with the rest ^m.

ACCORDING to the *Venetian* historians, the *Kislar Aga* retreated, to avoid the fury of the *Soltâna*, mother of *Soltân Mohammed*, on the following occasion. The *Aga*, enamoured with a beautiful *Persian* slave, whom he took for a virgin, gave for her four hundred and fifty dollars : but soon after, she appearing to be with-child, he confined her to his steward's house ; yet was so taken with the infant when born, that he adopted him for his own. About the same time, *Mohammed* happening to come into the world, the pretty slave was preferred to be his nurse ; and during the two years that she continued in the *Saray*, *Ibrâhîm* took such an affection for her boy, that he seemed to love him better than his own son. This so displeased the mother, that she could endure neither the nurse, her child, nor the *Kislar Aga*, who had recommended her (C) ; and the fear of her resentment was the occasion of that eunuch's retiring from court. The boy, who caused all this uneasiness, was taken among the prisoners on board, and considered at *Malta* as a son of *Soltân Ibrâhîm*. But time having discovered the falsity of that opinion, he became a frier, and was the same person who went under the name of *Padre Ottomano*.

IBRAHIM, enraged for the loss of his ships, not only vowed utter ruin to *Malta*, but vented his passion against the Christians in general, and in particular the *Venetians*, for not guarding the seas from his enemies, and for relieving them in their ports. The *Bailo* answered, that the port which the *Maltese* put into, had neither castle nor fortrefs ; and if his majesty was not able to hinder those ships from careening, as they had often done, before *Rhodes*, how was it possible for the *Venetians* to drive them out of the sea ? With this answer *Ibrâhîm* seemed so well satisfied, that the *Bailo*, who was a person of penetration, had no apprehensions of a war. However, as great preparations that way were seen to go forward soon after at the *Porte*, they began to provide against the danger at *Malta*, which seemed to be the place on which all the storm was to discharge its fury.

MEAN time the *Venetians*, suspecting the worst, prepared also for their defence ; yet gave their *Bailo* orders, to try if money would purchase their tranquillity. Hereupon he demanded an audience of the *Wazîr* ; but after waiting several hours, was told there was no opportunity of giving it him, although he saw the ambassadors of other princes admitted during the time. This was a convincing mark of their resentment : yet as soon as *Ibrâhîm* understood that the republic, growing jealous of his vast preparations, began to arm likewise, he did all that was possible to persuade the *Bailo* that hostilities were not designed against the *Venetians*, and complained that by their suspicions they injured his friendship.

ALL this while the *Soltân* was pursuing his pleasures, with no less vigour than preparations for war went on : so gay was his *Harâm*, or ladies apartment, and so eager were they to get silks, cloth of gold, and the like to adorn it ; that many times, when ships arrived at the castles of the *Hellepont*, gallies were sent to fetch the goods, which often were forced away, without any account taken, or price agreed with the merchant. Of this when Sir *Thomas Bendish*, the *English* ambassador, complained to the *Wazîr*, without redress, he put fire on the yard-arms of thirteen *English* ships, then at *Galata* ; and drawing in the guns, brought them to an anchor just before the *Saray* : for it is the custom in *Turkey*, when any one has received a very great injury from the chief ministers, for him to put fire on his head, and running to the palace, no person dare refuse him access to the *Soltân*. This unusual sight therefore, of fire on the ships yard-arms, being espied by the officer of the customs, he presently apprehended the reason, and went to acquaint the *Wazîr*. This minister immediately dispatched him on board, with a considerable sum of money, and desired the fires might be put out ; promising faithfully to pay the remainder.

^m CANT. p. 253, & seq.

(B) That is the chief eunuch, or keeper of the women. They are all, when displaced, sent into *Egypt*, where they receive a pension of 8,000 *para* a day, each of which is three aspers *Cent*. He is a *Black*.

(C) 'Tis said, that on a time when *Ibrâhîm* was diverting himself in the garden with his women and children, the *Soltâna* vented her anger against the nurse and her boy in such provoking terms, that the *Soltân* threw her son *Mohammed*, then in his arms, into a cist-

tern ; where, though saved from being drowned, he received the scar which he had in his forehead. *Ricant. Thevenot* says, the scar was on his left cheek ; and given by his father, who, being half drunk, fell a dancing, and calling to *Mohammed* to dance with him, the little boy made answer, *I am not a fool to dance. I am a fool then*, replied *Ibrâhîm*, in a rage ; and gave him a wound with his dagger ; or, as others say, with a bottle thrown at him. *Trav. Levant. c. 45.*

A. D. 1644.

Kandia is-
sued.

AT length the preparations both by land and sea being ready, the fleet on the last day of April set sail, consisting of seventy-three gallees, besides eight from *Barbary*, two galleasses, one great galleon, twenty-two other ships, ten of them *English* and *Dutch*, pressed into the service; with about three hundred *Saiks* and *Karamousals*, which carried soldiers, provision, and stores. The army was composed of seven thousand *Janizaries*, fourteen thousand *Spahis*, fifty thousand *Timariots*, and other soldiers, besides three thousand pioneers. They arrived at *Scio* the 7th of May, and from thence steered different courses, to disguise their design, till war was declared at *Constantinople*, by imprisoning the *Bailo*, and giving orders throughout the *Archipelago*, to destroy or enslave all the subjects of the republic^a.

The island re-
duced.

Hej. 1051.

A. D. 1644.

THE *Turkish* historians, omitting the circumstances above-mentioned, only take notice, that upon the taking of the ships bound for *Egypt*, with the *Kislar Aga*, *Ibrâhîm*, by advice of his counsellors, breaks the peace with the *Venetians*; and having declared war against them, as robbers and protectors of pirates, sends out both an army and a fleet; the first commanded by *Musab Pâshâ*, and *Morâd Aga*, *Kulkieth Udasi*, or lieutenant-general of the *Janizaries*; the other under the conduct of *Kâpadân Yusef Pâshâ*. On the 21st of *Rabio'lakbir* 1055, they landed in *Kandia*, and next day invest *Kanea*, which, after a resistance of fifty-four days, surrenders; then having repaired the walls, and left a garrison, they returned to *Constantinople*. Shortly after, *Husseyn Pâshâ* is sent with fresh forces; which, after several battles, fought in this and the following year, subdue the whole island, excepting the capital city^b.

Hej. 1056

Kanea taken.

THIS is all the account we have from the *Turks*, relating to the expedition. From the *Venetians* we learn, that the republic was not unprovided with a fleet, nor wanting in care for their defence. They immediately sent necessary provisions to *Kandia*, with orders to *Cornaro*, then general and inquisitor there, to fit out twenty gallees from the arsenal of *Kanea*. About the middle of June, the whole *Turkish* fleet arrived at *Gogna*, a place about eighteen miles from *Kanea*, where landing their forces without opposition, they defeated the *Venetians* in several skirmishes; and although powerful succours were sent by the pope, as well as other *Italian* princes, yet having been too long delayed, and the commanders disagreeing among themselves, nothing was done of any service to prevent the loss of *Kanea*, which the *Turks* forced, with great slaughter of the besieged.

Retino ma-
stered.

A. D. 1646.

HAVING thus had the fortune to take the second city the first year, they were encouraged to proceed in the conquest of the island the next year; when they had the success to make themselves masters of *Retino*, where general *Cornaro* lost his life with a musket ball. Nor were the *Venetians* more successful at sea this year, than the former; for the quarrels among the commanders still subsisting, they grow negligent in the affair, and suffer the *Turkish* vessels to pass freely, as if they had not been at war. Nay, when the *Othmân* fleet lay half disarmed, and ill provided, at the isle of *St. Theodore*, opposite to *Kanea*, where it is thought they might easily have burnt them, they made no use of the opportunity: so that towards the end of the year, *Molino* returning home, was dismissed from his employment, and *Capello* appointed in his room.

Venetian in-
dolence.

THE general, with a very good fleet under his command, in the spring, arrived at the city of *Kandia*; whence *Morofini* the admiral, with twenty-two ships, sailed to the *Dardanelis*, in order to draw the enemy to an engagement: but finding they would not accept the challenge, he returned, and importuned the general, with the proveditor *Grimani*, to engage the *Turkish* fleet, promising them the victory: but while they were debating the matter, the fleet, consisting of three hundred sail, arrived at *Kanea*, and landed forty thousand men, which quite turned the scale. The *Venetians* in the mean time, being joined by the gallees of the pope and *Malta*, left port *Suda*, to attack the enemy at *St. Theodore*: but failing in that design, *Capello* sailed with some gallees and galleasses, to intercept thirty *Turkish* gallees, with men and provisions, in their way to *Kanea*.

Morifini slain.

IN the interim *Mostafa Pâshâ* left that port with fifty-seven light gallees, four large ships, and many saiks, in order to return to *Constantinople*: but in his passage, meeting with a storm, he lost seven gallees, and several other vessels; being forced into *Zia*, followed by some other ships, under the command of *Mohammed Cbelebi*. Here the soldiers landing and roving about, *Micrisini* and *Grimani* came up and took two of their ships; but *Morifini*'s vessel being by a storm separated from the rest, forty of the enemy's gallees attacked, and at length boarded her; in which dispute, the valiant admiral was slain. For all this, the men made so brave a defence, that the *Turks* were forced to leave her, especially when they saw two gallees come up to her relief.

Successes in
Dalmatia.

HOWEVER, the republic had good success this year by land: for in *Dalmatia*, *Foscolo* took *Ali Bey* prisoner, besides the towns of *Salcovar*, *Polisano*, *Issan*, and other places: he also recovered *Novigrade*, and reduced *Obraozzo*, *Curino*, *Ottissona*, *Vellino*, *Madino*, *Uzana*, *Tino*, *Salona*, with several other forts and castles, all which he plundered, and to them afterwards added *Scardano*. 'Tis true, the *Venetians* lost a great part of their fleet in a storm, at the

^a RICAUT, ubi sup.^b CANT. p. 254.

a isle of *Pfara*: but this misfortune was recompensed by the ill success of the *Turks*, who at this time had laid siege to the city of *Kandia*, which was defended with such bravery, that they were constrained to raise it. *Foscolo* likewise going on victoriously, took *Gliffa*, and overthrew *Tekbeli Pâshâ* in battle: but seven thousand *Albanians*, who had a design to surprize *Kroja*, being set upon by a body of *Turks*, were routed, and many of them slain, while the rest fled to the mountains for refuge ^P.

WHILE these things were doing in the fields of *Mars*, *Soltân Ibrâhîm* was making fierce war in those of *Venus*. A woman, whom he called *Sukbir Para*, that is, *a little lump of sugar*, was the principal instrument of his amours: for as she visited the public baths, she gave him an account of all the beauties in the town; and he, falling in love with the *Soltâna*, his brother *Morâd's* widow, made use of her to pander for him with that princess, who rejected his suit. Mean time *Sukbir Para*, having informed him that the *Mufti* had a beautiful daughter, he thought it better to propose taking her for a wife, than attempt debauching her: but as that prelate knew his inconstant humour, and that he had several sons already, he artfully replied, that he dared not to force the inclinations of his daughter, because it was contrary to the *Korân*; but that in case she complied, he was very ready to give his consent to so great an honour. *Ibrâhîm* hereupon makes his addresses to the fair lady; but she, by the instructions of her father, rejects the motion.

THE *Soltân*, enraged at this slight, banishes the *Mufti*; and finding afterwards that all the persuasions of *Sukbir Para* were in vain, he orders the *Wazîr* to cause her to be seized coming from the bath, and brought to his palace; where having enjoyed her by compulsion for a few days, he sent her back with scorn to her father. The *Mufti*, filled with grief at this injury, dissembled it for a while; but at length telling his tale to *Mehemed Pâshâ*, a principal member of the *Divân*, and to the *Janizari Aga*, they resolve to depose *Ibrâhîm*. Into this conspiracy they prevail on the *Valade Soltâna*, or queen mother herself, to enter, so far as to consent that her son should be confined for a while, in order to his reformation; and that the seal should be taken from *Abmed*, and given to *Mehemed Pâshâ*.

AFTER this, several other great men being drawn into the plot, on the seventh of *August* 1648, the *Janizaries*, having in a manner forced the *Soltân* to confer the seal on *Mehemed*, and strangled the other *Wazîr*, next day demanded of the *Mufti*, whether *Soltân Ibrâhîm* himself, as a fool and tyrant, ought not to be deposed. That prelate answering in the affirmative, they thereupon required him to appear the next day at the *Divân*, to administer justice to his soldiers and subjects. *Ibrâhîm* laughed at this citation; and the same being seconded by a *Fetva* from the *Mufti*, importing, that as the *Soltân* was called to account, he was obliged to appear before justice, he tore the paper, and threatened the author of that sentence with the loss of his head. The *Mufti*, far from being terrified by the menace, backed that *Fetva* by another of a higher nature, which declared, that whosoever obeyed not the law of God was not a true believer, although the person should be the *Soltân* himself: but that being become a *kafr*, or infidel, by his actions, he was ipso facto fallen from the throne, and no longer capable of authority or government.

c IBRAHIM, on hearing this new *Fetva* pronounced, immediately ordered the prime *Wazîr* to take off that prelate's head; but this command was not obeyed, for by the last *Fetva* he had lost all authority. In short, the *Janizaries*, about five the same evening, hastening in a tumultuous manner to the *Saray*, the *Soltân* lost all courage; and flying to the arms of his mother, begged her protection. She being a resolute and subtle woman, employed all her eloquence to persuade the soldiery to offer no violence to their sovereign; promising that he should abdicate the government, and retire with a guard to his old lodgings; which was accordingly performed. *Ibrâhîm* for a few days bore his imprisonment with great patience: but at length growing desperate and furious, he often beat his head against the wall of his apartment; wherefore, on the 17th of the same month, he was strangled by four mutes ¹.

f THE *Turkish* historians, come to our hands, say nothing either of this *Soltân's* deposition, or the manner of his death: they only tell us, with equal brevity and obscurity, that while he was making great preparations for the reduction of the city of *Kandia*, he was, on the 18th of *Rajeb* 1058, removed out of the world, and crowned with martyrdom. But, whatever motives induced them to suppress the circumstances which attended the end both of his reign and life, we are told by prince *Cantemir*, that the manners of this *Soltân*, as well as those of his predecessor *Morâd*, are fully described by the *Turks*, though at the peril of their heads. As *Morâd* was wholly addicted to wine, so *Ibrâhîm* was abandoned to his lust. They say he spent all his time in sensual pleasures; and used potions and art to restore nature, when exhausted. Every *Friday*, the *Turkish* sabbath, he dedicated to *Venus*, and had a beautiful virgin, richly dressed, brought him by his mother, the prime *Wazîr*, or some other great man. He

P RICAUT, in Ibrahim.

9 RICAUT. ubi supra.

A. D. 1648.



covered the walls of his chamber with looking-glass, that his love-battles might seem to be acted in several places at once. He ordered his pillows to be stuffed with rich furs, that the bed designed for the imperial pleasures might be the more precious : nay, he put fable skins under him, in a notion that his amorous desires would be inflamed, in case his love-toil was rendered more difficult by the glowing of his knees.

*His amorous
frolics.*

IN the palace garden called *Kbâs*, he frequently assembled all the young maiden ladies, and having made them strip themselves, and him, ran naked, neighing like a horse, among them ; and, as it were, ravished one or other, kicking and struggling by his order. Happening on a time to see the privy parts of a wild female heifer, he sent a model of them in gold all over the empire, with orders to make enquiry whether a woman, made just in that manner, could be found for him ; which at last, they say, was done, and she received into the *Harâm*. He made a collection of great and voluminous books ; expressing by pictures the various ways of coition, and by their help was sure to invent some new posture never thought on before. Thus the public treasury, diminished by *Morâd's* drunkenness (D), was quite exhausted by *Ibrâhim's* luxury and lust^r.

*For a while
impotent.*

THE Christian historians tell us, that the continual apprehensions which he entertained of death, during his brother *Morâd's* reign, had so frozen his constitution with a strange frigidity towards women, that all the dalliances of the most beautiful ladies in the *Harâm* could not for a whole year thaw it effectually. This was what at first occasioned the report of his impotency : and during that time, he attended to the affairs of government with much assiduity ; which gained him a great deal of reputation. But after his natural warmth had returned, as if it had acquired force from its long suppression, he quickly plunged himself wholly into sensual pleasures, and gave up the reins of government to his ministers.

His person.

As to his person, he had a large forehead ; a quick and lively eye ; his complexion was ruddy, and his features well proportioned : yet he had something in the air of his face, which promised no great abilities of mind. However, he was by nature of a gentle and easy temper^s.

His children.

HE left nine sons, *Selîm* and *Othmân*, born in 1054 ; *Mohammed*, *Abmed*, *Soleymân*, *Morâd*, *Jebân Ghîr*, born in 1056 ; *Bâ-yezîd* and *Orkhân*, in 1058. Of these, *Mohammed*, *Soleymân*, and *Abmed*, came to the throne : the rest were excluded by an untimely death^t.

^r CANT. p. 254.

^s RICAUT, ubi supra.

^t CANT. p. 254.

(D) This is contrary to what the Christian writers say. See before, p. 363.

CHAP. XX.

The Reign of Mohammed IV.

SECT. I.

Transactions during this Soltân's minority ; with the conquest of Kandia and Kaminiek.

19 Soltân
Mohammed
IV.
A. D. 1649.

IBRÂHIM being thus removed, the *Janizaries*, in the year 1058, and on the 8th of ^d *Râjeb*, proclaim his son *Mohammed* (E), then but seven years old, and place him on the throne. In this tender age, he gave very sensible proofs of his future greatness, and of the hopes the *Othmâns* ought to conceive of him. The treasury, exhausted by his father's luxury, being replenished by the management of the *Wazîr*, *Kioprili Mehmed Pâshâ* (F), and all intef-

(E) His mother was the daughter of a Greek priest, brought from the *Morea*, before the law, by which the children of Christians were collected by way of tribute, was abolished. *Cant.*

(F) The founder of the present most noble family among the *Turks*, of *Kioprili Oglî*. In the beginning of *Mohammed's* reign, he, by reason of his poverty, lived very private, and seldom appeared abroad. Shortly after the *Spahis* having in a sedition murdered the prime

Wazîr and all the *Pâshâs*, excepting this *Mehmed*, who escaped by his obscurity ; the *Kissar Aga* and other officers confer on him the *Wazîrship* ; but the first thing the old fox did, was to lay a snare to cut off his benefactors. He likewise destroyed in two years all the mutineers. He enjoyed the post seven years, and at his death recommended his son *Abmed* as the fittest person to succeed him. *Cant.*

tine

a fine commotions appeased, he strangles his grandmother, who had been privy to the rebellion of the *Janizaries*, and puts many of their accomplices to death. He recovers *Tenedos* and *Lemnos* from the *Venetians*; takes and beheads the rebellious *Pâshâ* of *Halep*, with his associates; and sends the *Wazîr* against *Yanova*, which after a siege of a few days is reduced.

WITH the same success he wages war in *Hungary*, where, in the year 1070, *Ali Pâshâ* assaults and takes *Waradin*. In 1074, the *Wazîr*, *Fazil Ahmed Kioprili Oglî* (G), subdues *Vivar*. He likewise declares war against and vanquisheth *Rakofi* (or *Ragotski*), who died of wounds received in the battle; and over-running *Transilvania*, appoints *Mikhael Apafi*, prince of that country, under a certain tribute. The emperor of *Germany*, terrified at the progress made by the *Othmâns*, sends ambassadors to the *Wazîr*, suing for peace; and promising to quit claim to whatever the *Turks* were possessed of, it is at length granted for twenty years, on the *Soltân's* own terms.^c

IN this cursory manner the *Turkish* historians relate the transactions of the first fourteen years of *Mohammed's* reign; suppressing those in which they met with bad success, and barely mentioning such as turned out to their advantage apparently, that they might hasten to the siege of *Kandia*; the conquest of which is reckoned of so much honour and importance to their nation. But, to acquit ourselves as impartial historians, it will be necessary, before we proceed with them, to lay before our readers what the Christian authors take notice to have happened within that interval.

SOLTAN Mohammed was during his minority (which was to continue ten years longer) under the government of his mother, assisted with the council of twelve *Pâshâs*: these resolved to continue the war against the *Venetians*, who yet conceived some hopes of an accommodation, from the jars, attended with frequent skirmishes, which at this time happened between the *Janizaries* and the *Shapis*, so much to the disadvantage of the latter, that none for a while dared to own that name within the walls of *Constantinople*. But their hopes soon terminating with those disturbances, they diligently applied themselves to preparations for war, which was to be carried on not only in *Kandia*, but also in *Dalmatia*, *Bosnia*, *Albania*, and the *Morea*: for though *Foscùlo* was beaten off again to his shipping, near *Castle Nuevo*, yet he had better fortune in *Bosnia*, where he repulsed the enemy to the very gates of *Saray*, capital of the province, and took *Bisano* upon articles: but the *Turkish* army being at length reinforced, the *Venetians* were obliged to quit their new conquests, and retire home.

MEAN time the *Turks* in *Hungary*, making incursions into the emperor's territories, were overthrown by *Forgatz*, near *Buda*; the *Pâshâ* of which was taken prisoner, and his son slain. Nor had they better fortune in their attack on *Kliffa*, which they left with dishonour, after the loss of five thousand men. The *Kosâks* also, during this interval, did much mischief in the *Black Sea*. Thus was the *Othmân* empire afflicted with misfortunes abroad, as well as intestine troubles at home; and the blame of all being thrown on the prime *Wazîr*, he was first displaced, and then, at the demand of the *Asiatic Spahis*, put to death.

BUT, for all these disturbances, the *Turks* were very active to carry on their war in *Kandia*, whither they sent considerable supplies to *Husseyn Pâshâ*, the commander in chief there. The city of *Kandia* was at this time in a very bad state; when 600 men, with sixty knights, arriving from *Malta*, mounted the guard at fort *Martinengo*, which was the place of most danger; and although the *Turks*, in the fourth desperate attack, carried it by dint of sword, yet the knights returning, bravely recovered it, with the destruction of all the intruders. However, the *Turks* prevailing again in their turn, the *Venetians* sprung their mines, and blew up the fort, with two thousand *Turks*, into the air.

THE *Janizaries* and *Spahis* were still at ill terms together at *Constantinople*: and the *Kâpudân Pâshâ* was so beaten and cooped up by the *Venetians*, within the *Dardânels*, that he could not get out with his fleet; which so enraged the ministry, that they sent all the subjects of the republic, and even the *Bailo* himself out of their dominions. At length winter obliged the *Venetians* to withdraw, and leave the *Turkish* fleet at liberty to relieve their army in *Kandia*, which stood in great need of provisions. They were so intent on the war there, that next year they sent 1100 sail of all sorts with necessaries. This fleet was followed by the *Venetians*, who forced several of their galleys into *Scio*, with the loss of *Mohammed*, *Pâshâ* of *Anatolia*, sent to succeed *Husseyn*, who was made prime *Wazîr*.^d

ON the tenth of *July*, the *Turks* gave a signal of defiance to the *Venetians*, who presently came to an engagement; in which the *Kâpudân Pâshâ* being slain by a cannon ball, it threw

^c CANT. p. 255.

^d RICAUT, in Mohammed IV.

(G) He was prime *Wazîr* seventeen years; famous among the *Turks* for learning, prudence, and fortitude. He is said to have excelled all those of his time for eloquence. They say also, that if he had not been general in the expedition, *Kandia* could never have been

taken. He is dignified by the *Turks* with grand titles. He was the only *Wazîr* who received that dignity from his father, and transmitted it to his son and grandson.

Cant.

A. D. 1651. the *Turkish* fleet into such disorder, that they fled. Mean time the gallies, which were towing off a the heavier ships, being chased to *Mocenigo*, the captain-general quickly left them to shift for themselves: but the *Turks*, rather than fall into his hands, blew up five; the rest were taken. In short, not a ship remained in sight, but what was either seized, sunk, or burnt. A few days after they had no less success against another fleet, of which they took thirty-nine gallies, twenty-three ships, three galleasses, with three thousand soldiers on board.

Another defeat. A. D. 1652. MEAN time the dissention increased among the soldiery, which was hardly quieted when news arrived of two rebellions at the same time, one at *Damaskus*, the other at *Grand Kairo*. How to suppress these dangerous commotions, employed the thoughts of the *Divân* this year and the next; which gave the *Venetians* some time to breathe, and reinforce themselves in *Kandia*.

A. D. 1654. But in 1654, the *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, being made captain *Pâshâ*, fitted out a good fleet; and although in an encounter with the *Venetians*, at the mouth of the *Dardanel*s, he lost six thousand men, with seven of his vessels; yet he broke through their fleet, and landed twelve thousand soldiers in *Kandia*. On this occasion, the admiral so extolled his own merit, and vilified the *Wazîr* to the council; that they sent an officer to take off his head, and put the accuser in his place. Yet the latter falling sick and infirm soon after, the *Pâshâ* *Hâlep* was pitched on to succeed him in the command in *Kandia*; but in his way thither his fleet, fitted out with great expence, was overthrown by the *Venetians*.

Sedition of the Janizaries. A. D. 1656. HEREUPON a treaty was set on foot with the *Bailo*; but the ministry insisting on the intire surrender of *Kandia*, it broke off. However, on the tumults raised by the merchants and tradesmen, in which the *Wazîr* fell a sacrifice, the negotiation was renewed; yet came to nothing a second time, by the *Turks* demanding the payment of ten millions for the charges of the war. Mean time the *Spahis* and *Janizaries* at *Constantinople* joined together, pretending to reform the abuses of the state. Entering armed into the *Divân*, they deposed the prime *Wazîr*, turned out several other officers, made the *Mufti* flee to *Jerusalem*, and went so far as to propose dethroning the *Soltân* himself. Then entering the palace, they broke open the treasury, and carried two millions away with them. At length the sedition beginning to subside, *Soltân Mohammed* advanced to the *Wazîrship* the *Pâshâ* of *Damaskus*: this was the famous *Kuperli* (or *Kyuprili*); the *Pâshâ* of *Silistria* was made captain *Pâshâ*; and *Husséyn* confirmed in his government of *Kandia*.

Fleet destroyed. AND now, to prosecute the war in that island, the *Turks* fitted out a great fleet; but as soon d as it sailed out of the *Dardanel*s, the *Venetians*, who waited for them, began the attack, whence ensued a terrible fight. And although the captain-general *Marcello* was slain, yet the provedor so vigorously prosecuted the victory, that of sixty light gallies, twenty-eight ships, and nine galleasses, none escaped being either taken, sunk, or burnt, excepting eighteen gallies.

Lemnos taken and recovered. The *Venetians*, animated by this success, in four days time took *Tenedos*, and afterwards *Lemnos*. The ministry, considering the loss of these islands, especially the first, would be attended with great inconveniencies, sent a numerous fleet to besiege the fortress: but putting into *Scio*, to wait for ten gallies from *Barbary*, with a great number of *Saiks* under their convoy, the *Venetian* general intercepted and burnt the ships, with many of the *Saiks*; and killed one thousand *Turks*. Hereupon another fleet was fitted out; but although the *Venetians* defeated e that also (with the loss, however, of their own valiant captain-general *Mocenigo*) yet they repaired it again; and coming before *Tenedos*, in the end of *July*, it was deserted by the besieged, who thought it not tenable. But *Lemnos* held out two months, and then was surrendered on articles. Hereupon, *Soltân Mohammed* proposed to make peace with the republic, on surrendering *Kandia*, with the fortress of *Kliffa* in *Dalmatia*, and paying three millions for the expences of the war: but those conditions were rejected.

Rebellion in Asia. A. D. 1658. THE brother-in law of the *Pâshâ* of *Halep* arriving with his troops at *Adrianople*, which was the rendezvous of the army destined for *Dalmatia*, the prime *Wazîr* put him to death: hereupon the *Pâshâ*, in great fury, sets forward, at the head of forty thousand men, to demand the head of *Kuperli*, and four others; at the same time carrying with him a young man, f whom he affirmed to be the son of *Soltân Morâd*, and whose right to the throne he undertook to establish. The rebels at length drawing near to *Skutari*, and by this time fourscore thousand strong, the *Wazîr* passed over into *Asia* with a numerous army: but being met by the *Pâshâ* was totally routed, and all his cannon as well as baggage taken. This alarm made it necessary for the *Soltân* himself to go over, and join the *Wazîr*, whose united forces making seventy thousand men, the *Pâshâ* proposed an accommodation: but imprudently consenting to meet in a private place, at some distance from his camp, *Mortâza*, who was sent to treat with him, overpowered and strangled him, with seventeen of his accomplices, which was no sooner known in his army than they dispersed.

THE *Venetians* all this while were not idle in *Kandia*; for having received a reinforcement g of four thousand *French* foot, after the peace of the *Pyrenees*, they quickly took *Kalamo*, *Kalegro*, and *Epikarno*. After this, they proceeded to besiege *Kanea*; but the place being reinforced

a forced with three thousand men, they gave over the enterprize, in expectation to beat the *Turks* out of *New Kandia*, lately built by them, near the old city of that name, in order to strengthen it; where we shall leave them for a while, to see how the affairs of the *Othmâns* went on in other countries ^y. A. D. 1659.
State of Kan-
dia.

THE rendezvous for the army designed against the emperor of *Germany* was at *Belgrade*; where the prime *Wazîr* falling sick, he sent orders to *Halil Pâshâ*, general of the forces in *Hungary*, to hasten the siege of *Waradin*, which was begun the 4th of *July*; but although the *Turks* soon approached to the counterscarp, and made breaches in the walls; yet they found the ditch so wide, and full of water, that they could not get to storm them, till a woman captive shewed them how the citizens used to drain it. However, they bravely repulsed their attacks till the 20th of *August*; when, being reduced very low, they surrendered on articles, and marched out with ensigns of honour. The *Transylvanians*, resenting this loss, depose *Barklay* their prince, a favourite of the *Turks*, constituting *Kemenius* in his room, and crave the assistance of the emperor, to whom they give up *Zekelid*, *Khowar*, *Giula*, and other places. A. D. 1660.
Affairs of
Hungary.

HEREUPON *Montecuculi* joining *Kemenius* with a considerable army, would have drawn *Ali Pâshâ* to a battle. This the *Pâshâ* for the present declined: but having set up *Mikbael* ^{son of} *Apafi* for prince of *Transylvania*, to whom the people revolted in great numbers, he took the opportunity to attack the *Imperialists*, discouraged by that event, with such success, that he slew and took fifty thousand persons, and drove *Kemenius* out of the country; who, gathering more forces, was defeated a second time. This animated the victors to besiege *Clausenburg*; but on the approach of the general *Schemidau*, out of *Hungary*, they raised it as hastily. A. D. 1661.
Germans de-
feated.

THIS year a great plague happened at *Constantinople*: and towards winter the prime *Wazîr*, *Kioprili* ^{dies.} *Kuperli*, being in a declining state, obtained a grant of the *Soltân*, not only that his son *Abmed* should assist him, but also (what was unusual) succeed him in his office, as he in fact did, on the 15th of *October*, on which day his father died. While the new *Wazîr* was taken up with removing some officers, who were his enemies, and banishing the *Musti* to *Gallipoli*, the war went slowly on against the *Venetians*, who on their side destroyed five galleys at *Milo*, and took the fortress there. A. D. 1662.

NEXT year the *Algerines* complained to the *Porte* against the proceedings of the *English* fleet, under the earl of *Sandwich*, before *Algiers*; but were baffled in their suit by the earl of *Winchelsea*, then ambassador at *Constantinople*; where the *Soltân* proved very burthensome to his subjects, by his extravagant way of hunting, in which thirty or forty thousand men were appointed to beat the woods for him, for three or four days together. Mean time the *Wazîr* *Abmed* was employed in removing his enemies, among whom none disturbed him more than *Mortâza*, *Pâshâ* of *Bahadâd*. *Mortâza* being at length displaced, retired to the king, or prince, of the *Kurdi*, whose daughter he had married: but while the *Wazîr* prepared to force that king to surrender him up, unexpected troubles broke out in *Georgia*. When *Soltân Soleymân* had taken *Arzerûm*, it was agreed, that of the seven princes of *Georgia*, three should be tributary to the *Turks*, and three to the *Persians*, all governed by *Achik Pash*, as supreme prince, to whom the seventh should also be subjected, without being dependant on either of the two powers. But at this time the governor dying, his widow married again, and, to oblige her new husband, was content to have her own son set aside, and his eyes put out. Hereupon the three provinces under the *Persians* chose a new governor, which the *Turks* being offended at, they elected another, descended from the former. But this storm blowing over by the establishment of a person to the liking of both parties, the *Turkish* forces were turned against *Mortâza*, who was then in the castle of *Zizri*, belonging to those *Kurdi* called *Yezîdi* (A). The army arriving at the pass commanded by that castle, five hundred *Turks* entered it: but were quickly put to flight by the *Kurdi*; who, pursuing them, left the pass open; hereupon the *Turks* seized it, and laying siege to the castle, required *Mortâza* to be delivered up. The *belieged*, to free themselves from the danger, soon complied, and the *Pâshâ's* head was immediately struck off. His son suc-
ceeds.
A. D. 1662.

THE Christians having rebuilt the churches burnt down at *Constantinople*, in the great fire in 1660, contrary to the prime *Wazîr's* command, and the *Turkish* laws, under pretence of dwellings and warehouses, that minister in a rage ordered them to be demolished, and the restorers imprisoned. About this time also he reformed the coin, which had been greatly clipped by the *Jews*, *Armenians*, merchants, and others. This year the *Turkish* fleet, bound to *Alexandria*, consisting of seventeen ships, and thirty-seven saiks, richly laden, under the convoy of six galleys, in its passage near *Rhodes* was encountered by the *Venetians*, who sunk and took twenty-eight saiks, and four of the ships, with many prisoners of note. Mortâza Pâ-
shâ slain.

^y CANT. ubi sup.

(A) They have a religion of their own, and are reckoned atheists by the *Mohammedans*.

ALL

A. D. 1663.
 War in Hun-
 gary.
 A. D. 1663.

ALL this while the preparations for war against the *Germans* went on: but the emperor ^a not inclined to embroil himself, sent to treat with the *Pâshâ* of *Buda* about continuing the peace. Yet when all points seemed to be agreed on, in *February* following the horsetail was erected before the prime *Wazîr's* gate, and next month the *Soltân* and he set forward with the army towards *Sofia*; where a messenger who arrived from the emperor was refused an audience, and detained in the camp. The *Tatars* were ordered to send one hundred thousand men to *Hungary*; but had great difficulty to obey that command, on account of the *Kosîks*, who infested them, and threatened *Asak*, or *Asof*, their capital city. They had likewise one hundred and fifty sail in the *Euxine Sea*, where they carried all before them; but most of them having been cast away on the coast of *Mingrelia*, the rest were forced to retreat into the *Boristhenes*, by twelve *Turkish* gallies. ^b

Germans de-
 feated.

THE *Wazîr*, *Abmed*, being come to the *Danube*, began to pass his army: but the bridge of boats breaking, when about four thousand had gotten over, *Forgatz*, governor of *New Heusfel*, marched in the night with eight thousand men to attack them; which he did with great slaughter: but the noise reaching the grots of the army, which, unknown to him, had now gotten over, they drew up, and surrounding this small body, cut them all off, only the commander and a few more escaping. *Montecuculi*, governor of *Raab*, being informed by *Forgatz* of this defeat, sent him a thousand men; who would have been intercepted by the *Turks*, had not that officer deluded them, by erecting a white flag, as if he designed a treaty: but when the succours were safely gotten into the place, the white flag was changed to colours of defiance, to the great surprize and anger of the enemy. ^c

New Heusfel
 taken.

HEREUPON the *Wazîr* invested the city, and having from two batteries, mounted with one hundred pieces of cannon, terribly annoyed the place, they made a furious assault on the 14th of *August*, but were repulsed with great loss. On the 28th, a breach being made in the walls, they attempted a second storm, but were forced to retire, after a very great slaughter of them: and although, ten days after, they planted an ensign on the rampier, yet they were beaten back, and five thousand slain. But in the middle of *September*, the chief magazine of powder happening to blow up, the officers agreed to surrender, on condition of being conducted to *Komorra*, after they had held out about forty-three days, and destroyed fifteen thousand of the enemy; among whom were the *Beglerbegs* of *Romania* and *Anatolia*, with two other *Pâshâs*, the *Aga* of the *Spahis*, and twenty-five captains. ^d

Serini's
 bravery.

AFTER this the *Othmâns* took *Leventz*, which so terrified *Presburg*, that it seemed inclined to submit. It was expected that the *Wazîr* would have done still greater things this year: instead of that he failed in his attempt on *Schinta*, the imperial magazine of arms and artillery. However he presently reduced *Novigrade*, and then returned to winter at *Belgrade*; sending thirty thousand *Turks* and *Tatars* to ravage *Stiria* and *Kroatia*. Count *Serini*, on their sudden approach, with four hundred and eighty men, who were all he could raise, posted himself at the river *Muer*, if possible to stop their passage. On perceiving two thousand who had gotten over, he fell on so vigourously, that they were soon routed; and missing the ford, most of them who escaped the sword perished in the water; which so amazed those on the other side, that they made no farther attempt that way. ^e

Burns Essek
 bridge,
 A. D. 1664.

THE count, having after this gotten together an army of twenty-five thousand men, in the beginning of the year 1664, took *Berzenkhe* and *Bakokza*. He then marched to *Essek*, and having defeated six thousand *Turks*, took the *Palanka*, at the foot of that famous bridge, and burnt the bridge itself; which however, to their surprize, the *Turks* rebuilt in forty days time.

Takes Five
 Churches.

After this, on the 5th of *February*, he took *Five Churches* by storm, and put all the inhabitants to the sword: then laid siege to the fortress of *Sigeth*, or *Ziget*, famous for the attempt made on it by *Soleymân the magnificent*, with six hundred thousand men: but when he had reduced it also to the last extremity, the approach of a considerable body of *Turks* and *Tatars* to relieve it made him draw off his forces. On advice of these successes, the *Wazîr* detached part of his army to besiege *Serinswar*: but the count, with all the force he could raise, lying in ambush, surprized and defeated them, killing about two thousand, and taking many prisoners.² ^f

His castle
 razed.

SERINI, on the first of *May*, laid siege to *Kanissia*, which he pushed with great vigour: but *Montecuculi*, the *German* general, delaying to support him, on the approach of the *Wazîr* by the bridge of *Essek*, he retreated towards *Serinswar*, leaving some ammunition to the enemy; who presently, with thirty thousand men, invested that place. Mean time the count joined *Montecuculi*, and urged him to fight the *Turks*; but that general, instead of complying, entering into *Serini's* fort, dispossessed the governor, and cleared the garrison of the count's forces; which so offended him, that he left the camp, and retired home. The *Turks*,

² RICAUT, *ibid.*

a taking advantage of these delays, on the 9th of *June* blew up a half-moon; which so terrified the besieged, that in their fright they left a sally-port open; whereat the enemy entering, the garrison, consisting of nineteen hundred men, fled over the bridge; which breaking, many were drowned, and the rest slain. As for *Serinſwar*, it was razed to the ground. A. D. 1664.

To counter-balance this loss, count *Soise* recovered *Nitra*, lately taken from the *Imperialists*: and having twice defeated above fourteen thousand *Turks* with great slaughter, *Levintz* surrendered also. This last place the *Walakhian* and *Moldavian* forces, joining with some *Turks* and *Tatars*, determined to recover: but after losing two thousand men, on the approach of count *Soise*, the 16th of *July*, they marched off to fight him. The *Imperialists* having in the first volley poured a shower of shot on their main body, they fled, leaving the two wings to an unequal battle, who quickly after fled also, and left their cannon as well as baggage. They lost many more by the pursuit; and those who escaped being denied a passage at *Gran*, over the *Danube*, the *Moldavians* and *Walakhians* forced their princes to return home; while *Husseyn Pâshâ* fled to *New Heusel*, after he had lost six thousand men, out of eight and twenty thousand, to one hundred and fifty of the *Imperialists*. There were taken four thousand carts, with ammunition and provision; one hundred colours, and twelve pieces of cannon; besides tents, arms, horses, camels, and other booty. They gave no quarter to any, except seven hundred *Moldavians* and *Walakhians*, in order to hang them with their muskets about their necks. After this, count *Soise* took and burnt *Barkam*, a *palanka* opposite to *Gran*. Count Soise's success.

MEAN time the two main armies under the *Wazîr* and *Montecuculi*, did nothing but observe each other's motions. At length, on the first of *August*, one half of the *Turkish* army crossed the *Raab*, the *Wazîr* designing to pass over with the rest the next day: but although the great rains which ensued prevented his passage, by swelling the river, he was not uneasy, as the troops which had crossed were equal at least to the *Imperialists*: however they proved not to be their match; for *Montecuculi* not giving them time to intrench, fell on them the third in the morning with great fury, and continued the fight till four in the afternoon with various fortune. During that time, the waters being abated, the *Spahis* forded them in several places, and charged the imperial left wing, while the *Janizaries* threw up earth, to secure the passage of the rest. Overthrown again, by Montecuculi.

THIS being observed by the general, he thought at first to sound a retreat; but perceiving that the trench was only just begun, he drew up the body of his army in form of a half moon, and furiously attacked the *Janizaries*, while the horse encountered the *Spahis*, with such bravery, that the *Turks* began to give ground. At this instant an outcry being heard that count *Serini* had assaulted the *Wazîr's* camp on the other side, they were so terrified, that they betook themselves to a shameful flight, after they had lost eight thousand men on the field of battle, and above as many more were drowned in the river. Nay, the *Turks* themselves acknowledged, in our author's hearing, that since the *Othmân* empire came to its greatness, the *Turks* had never suffered any slaughter or disgrace equal to this. They lost sixteen pieces of cannon, one hundred and twenty-six colours, with the grand *Wazîr's* standard, five thousand scymitars, with many horses. The *Imperialists* on their part had near three thousand men slain; among whom were the count of *Nassau*, and some others of note.

THIS victory inclining the *Wazîr* as much to a peace, as the *Germans* were before inclined to it, a negotiation was set on foot, and soon concluded, with the imperial resident in the camp. The chief articles were; "That prince *Apafi* should hold *Transilvania*, paying the *Soltân* six hundred thousand dollars for the expences of the war: that the emperor might fortify *Gutta* and *Nitra*; and the provinces of *Zatmar* and *Zaboli* to revert to him; *Zekhelid* to be demolished; and *Waradin* and *New Heusel* to remain to the *Soltân*." *Mohammed* all this while resided at *Adrianople*, the disgust he had taken to the imperial city increasing every day; and having now a son of his own, would have put his brother *Soleyman* to death, had not the *Mufti* refused to grant a *Fetva* for the purpose. Peace concluded.

WE must not omit to inform our readers, that while count *Serini* besieged *Kanissia*, a kind of rebellion broke out at *Kayro*, in *Egypt*, among the *Beys*: who having very great power in that country, seized *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, when his three years government were nearly expired; and having imprisoned him, demanded no less than three thousand purses for his release. Hereupon the *Soltân* sent over the master of his horse, who soon brought matters to an amicable agreement, and obtained *Ibrâhîm's* liberty. Rebellion at Kayro.

NEXT year count *Lesley*, the imperial ambassador, arriving at *Buda*, in *May* he set out with the *Wazîr Ahmed* for the *Porte*; and on the last of *June* came within six hours of *Adrianople*, when *Soltân Mohammed*, who seemed to doat on the *Wazîr*, sent his favourite to meet him, with a present of five horses richly adorned, and feasted him on the way. He was so impatient

A. D. 1664. *The Wazîr honoured.* for his company, that he ordered him to come privately before the day of his public entry, a kissed him on the shoulder, and honoured him with a *Topûz*, or mace of gold, studded with precious stones, besides a sword, dagger, and other things of value. In the ambassador's retinue there came a nobleman of *Genoa*, to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce with the *Porte*, which was granted, much to the displeasure of *M. de la Haye*, the *French* ambassador ^a.

Great preparations against Kandia. LET US now, after a long respite, return to the *Turkish* historians. According to them, the peace with the emperor being concluded, *Mohammed* resolves to renew, with more vigour, the *Kandian* war, which, on account of other affairs, had hitherto proceeded but slowly. His father *Ibrâhîm* had reduced the whole island, as well as expelled almost all the old inhabitants, excepting the city of *Kandia*; which being exceeding strong both by nature and art, had often baffled the attempts of the *Musulmân* forces. But as the possession of the country could not be reckoned sure, so long as a port was open to receive the enemy, whenever they pleased to invade it, *Mohammed* resolved to employ the whole forces of his empire to make himself master of that place.

Hej. 1076. A. D. 1663. THE care of this expedition was intrusted to the *Wazîr Ahmed Kioprili Oglî Pâshâ*, who having prepared every thing for a long siege during the winter, in the spring of the year 1076 assembles all the forces, with which he marches to *Termis* (I), where he embarks for *Kanea*, and landing his army, places them in winter quarters ^b.

A. D. 1666. *Sabatay Sevi, a counterfeit messiah.* HERE let us leave them a while, to speak of certain transactions not mentioned by the *Turkish* authors before us. The year 1666 affords a remarkable instance of imposture and superstition, in the case of *Sabatay Sevi*, the pretended messiah of the *Jews*. This man, the son of a broker of *Smyrna* (K), being banished for a tumult in the synagogue there, wandered over *Greece* for a time, and then went to *Jerusalem*. There he met with one *Nathan*, a subtle fellow, who taking upon him to be *Sabatay's* prophet, had the impudence to declare, *That, within a twelvemonth, the messiah should appear before the Soltân, and take the crown from his head.* At the same time *Sabatay* preaching repentance to the *Jews* at *Gaza*, his fame spread far and near among that people, who flocked to him in multitudes on the way to *Smyrna*, where he openly assumed the title of messiah, and published his declaration thereof to all the nations of the *Jews*. The mortifications and other extravagancies committed by that infatuated people were astonishing. They believed the most improbable stories of him. Some invented miracles in his favour, and others swore to be witnesses to them; while almost all believed them, and were ready to tear in pieces those who did not: for there are, even among the *Jews*, some men of understanding and discernment.

AT length the impostor declared that he was called by God to visit *Constantinople*: but, at his arrival, the *Wazîr* had him seized and clapped up in prison. Yet this did not cure the frenzy of the *Jews*; whose numbers and madness daily increased to such a degree, that the *Soltân* at last ordered him to be brought into his presence. No pen can describe their confidence on this occasion, in asserting the power of their pretended messiah, and the wonders which he would perform. But here the farce at one ended; for *Mohammed*, demanding a miracle in proof of his mission, put it to this issue, that he should be stripped naked for his archers to shoot at, and promised, in case the arrows did not pierce his body, that he himself would acknowledge him to be the messiah. This was a very fair proposal; but *Sabatay* chose rather to confess himself a cheat, and turn *Mohammedan*, than stand the trial. Yet even this could not convince his incorrigible followers: for most of them, through stupidity or perverseness, affirmed that it was only his shadow which appeared in a *Turkish* dress, but that his body was taken up into heaven, there to reside till the time appointed for the accomplishment of those wonders was come.

Peace with Poland. THE *Tatars* having, about the beginning of the next year, made incursions into *Poland*, the republic sent an ambassador to make complaint to the *Porte*, where it was quickly agreed, that no compensation should be demanded on account of those incursions: that the *Poles* should not make war on the *Kosâks*, lately revolted from them to the *Soltân*: that they should forthwith declare war against the *Russians*: and that the *Turks* should have free trade to *Poland*. This affair being over, and the rebellion raised by the *Pâshâ* of *Basrah* (L) suppressed, the

^a RICAUT, *ibid.*


^b CANT. p. 258.

(I) A poor town in *Thessaly*, on the coasts of the *Archipelago*, called by the modern *Greeks* *Thermas*, and by the ancient *Therma*, giving name to the *Sinus Thermaicus*. CANT. According to *Ricaud* he embarked his army at *Malvasia*, in the year 1666.

(K) The history of this impostor, written by Sir Paul *Ricaud*, was first published in 1669, in a book, intituled,

The history of the three late famous impostors; Padre Ottomane and Mohammed Bey being the other two. It was reprinted, with some useful matters prefixed, in the *Two journies to Jerusalem*, 12°.

(L) Corruptly in the text called *Balsora*, by others *Bassora*.

- a *Wazîr* began with vigour to prosecute the conquest of *Kandia* ^c. But before we proceed with A. D. 1666. the Christian historians, let us hear what the *Turkish* say concerning this important expedition. 

WHEN all things were ready the next year, on the 18th of *Zilkaadeh* 1077, the *Wazîr* sails from *Kanea*, and landing his men without opposition at the village *Kawlokbhor*, near *Kandia*, marks out the ground to encamp in. Next day he views the places about the city: then in a council of officers it was determined to undermine the *Red Tower*, and after battering the walls, make the first attempt on that side.

- HEREUPON, in the end of the next month, the last in the year, the city is invested, and the siege begun, the like whereof never had been seen, nor perhaps ever will. Many years ^{City of Kandia surrenders to the Wazîr. Hej. 1077.} preparations are employed: fresh troops supply the place of the slain: while the soldiers, declining the danger, are compelled by threats and blows to renew the charge. For the besieged, joining all their courage to the strength of the place, fought like determined men for nineteen months incessantly, being frequently relieved with fresh supplies by the *French* and *Venetians*, to which latter it belonged. Every inch of ground is gained by the blood of many heroes slain on both sides. When the walls are battered down and mounted by the besiegers, new walls are instantly raised by the enemy. And thus the *Othmâns*, who imagined that in entering the breaches their dangers were at an end, are almost reduced to despair, by the sight of new obstacles, no less difficult to surmount than those which they had just then, with so much loss, subdued.

- c AT length, the *Othmâns* being now quite tired out and spiritless, what could hardly be effected by force of arms, is brought about by *Panaiot* (M), the *Tarjimân*, or interpreter, of the court, who, by an artful speech, persuaded the governor (N) of the city to surrender, on certain conditions, the last but strongest fortrefs to which the garrison had retired. The *Wazîr*, in the beginning of the month *Jomazio'lawel* in the year 1080, takes possession of *Kandia*, A. D. 1669; deserted by the *Venetians*, and annexes to the *Othmân* empire a city renowned for many ages, the eighth wonder of the world, and which nature seemed to have fortified against all assaults, after a war of twenty-four years; wherein, according to the best *Turkish* historians, above two hundred thousand (O) *Othmâns* were slain ^d.

- THIS is the *Turkish* account, which does great honour to the Christians, and ascribes the *Its strength.* *Wazîr's* success at last not to force but artifice. But we must have recourse to the Christian authors for the particulars of this remarkable siege. The city was then fortified with seven great bastions, *Sabionera*, *Vetturi*, *Jesus*, *Martinengo*, *Bethlem*, *Panigra*, and *St. Andrea*. These were all encompassed with a broad and deep ditch, defended by ravelins, of which the first was that of *St. Spirito*: the ravelin of *Panigra*, flanked to the right with the half-moon of *Mocenigo*: next followed the ravelin of *Bethlem*, bordering on the work of *St. Mary's*, which to the left had the ravelin of *St. Nicholas*, and this joined to the fortification of *de Palma*. Next to *de Palma* was the ravelin of *Priuli*, with the redoubt of *Crepa-cuore*: and over all was the royal fort of *St. Demetrio*, which commanded the work of *Molino* and *Sabionera* to the very sea.

- c THE 14th of *May* the *Turkish* army, consisting of about seventy thousand men, encamped ^{The siege begins.} over against *St. Mary's* along the valley of *Gioffiro*, on which side began the first traverses, which were carried on to the sea-side. The grand *Wazîr* took his quarters over against *Panigra*; the *Janizar Aga* opposite to *Martinengo*; and the other *Pâshâs* at other places. After this they raised three batteries, facing the bastions of *Martinengo*, *Panigra*, and *Bethlem*, shooting bullets of sixty, ninety, and one hundred and twenty pounds. The besieged within posted themselves accordingly: the marquis *Villa*, governor and general of the infantry, had his quarters at the bulwark of *Jesus*; the proveditor-general of the kingdom at *Martinengo*;

^c RICAUT, in Mahomet IV.

^d CANT. p. 258.

(M) His true name was *Panagiotes*. No Christian before ever did, or after him it is thought ever will, enjoy so much credit as he did in the *Turkish* court. He was to the *Wazîr* what *Ulysses* was to the *Greeks*. He was never known to have been mistaken in his advice or judgment of things. His bringing the brave and wise *Morofini* to surrender *Kandia*, after holding out 24 years, was a proof of his great dexterity in managing affairs. By these means he acquired such favour with the *Turks*, that he ventured to dispute before the *Wazîr Ahmed*, about the law, with *Vanli Effendi*, the most learned among the *Turks*, and no less skilled in the Christian than the *Turkish* religion, formerly tutor to the *Soltân Mohammed*. The dispute is inserted in *de la*

Croix's commentaries on the eastern churches. He is also famous for his skill in astrology, and knowledge of future events, of which our author *Cantemir* gives two or three instances.

(N) This was *Francisco Morofini*, mentioned in the preceding note; afterwards famous for subduing the *Morea*. On his return he was created doge of *Venice*. *Cant.*

(O) That is, soldiers on the list, exclusive of others, who might have amounted to as many more. The *Venetians* own this war cost them above an hundred millions of gold crowns. *Cant.* The Christian writers compute 900,000 *Turks* slain during that time. *Ricaud.*

A. D. 1667.

Carried on
with various
success.

A. D. 1668.

and *Giacomo Contarini*, duke of *Kandia*, in the fort of *Sabionera*; and the other officers at a proper posts.

THE city being thus invested on all sides, but that towards the sea, the besieged began to disturb the enemy with their sallies and mines, six of which were sprung with good success, at the angle of the half-moon of *Mocenigo*. Notwithstanding this, the *Turks* advanced so well to the borders of *Panigra*, that they sprung some mines likewise, tho' to little effect, except one, and then made a most furious assault at the breach, but were repulsed, as they were afterwards at another breach made in the half-moon, by a dreadful mine, which opened a gap for eight men to enter abreast. Both parties went on mining and attacking with various success; and the besieged having received three reinforcements, of about five hundred men each, made some successful sallies. At length, towards the end of *October*, the *Wazîr*, urged by a letter and presents from *Soltân Mohammed*, caused a furious assault to be given, chiefly on the side of *Panigra*; so that the *Turks*, having planted six of their colours on the ruins of that work, ventured to descend into the ditch. But many of them being blown up by three mines, which contained seventy barrels of powder, their progress for that time was stopped.

Now winter coming on, hostilities began to flag, and some proposals of peace to go forwards: but as these came to nothing, the *Turks*, in the spring following, made great preparations in all their ports to furnish their camp with provisions, and recruited their army with seventy thousand men. The besieged likewise being reinforced with some men, the garrison were reckoned to be four thousand strong. Mean time the besiegers raised a battery on the side of *Lazaretto*, which so offended the port, that ships could neither enter nor abide there. They likewise erected another by fort *St. Andrea*, which much annoyed *Tramata*, another harbour for small craft. After this, in a dark night, passing along the sea-side, they fixed a cable to the pallisade of *St. Andrea*, and having tore it down with an engine, continued to advance their lines that way. But the besieged making a sally, forced them to retreat to their trenches, and overthrew certain redoubts and traverses; for which piece of service the general rewarded every soldier with fifty *Chekîns*.

St. Andrea
bastion closely
pressed.

THIS success gave the besieged an opportunity to finish their platform on the side of the ditch adjoining to the bulwark of *St. Andrea*. However the *Turks*, with invincible patience, battered the little tower of *Priuli*, with the curtain and ravelin of *St. Andrea*, as well as employed all their power to fill the ditch: and altho' a very successful sally was made on the 29th of *February*, yet they still went on with their works against that bastion. This was the state of the siege, when the brave marquis of *Villa* being recalled by the duke of *Savoy*, the command was conferred on the marquis of *St. Andrea Montbrun*, a *French* nobleman. By this time the earth was grown so porous with the number of works, mines, and traverses, that the light of the mines on one side, glimmering into the traverses of the other party, discovered where they were; so that it became a trade to steal powder from each other. However the besieged sprung a mine on the 1st of *December*, which overthrew the enemy's battery against *St. Andrea*, and buried all their cannon.

AMONG the many volunteers which the length and fame of the siege brought to *Kandia*, one was *M. la Fueillade*, duke of *Roanez*, with a body of men divided into four brigades, under so many noblemen. These made so brisk a sally, headed by the duke, who behaved very gallantly, that they broke through the main body of the enemy's force; but penetrating too far, were obliged to retreat with considerable loss. About this time also the besieged received a reinforcement of three thousand three hundred *Lunenburg* troops; yet they were so hard put to it for want of men, that the captain-general *Morosini* disarmed several galleys to supply them. Mean while they sprung a great many mines with good success; and towards the end of the year made a sally at *Sabionera*, wherein they slew near three thousand *Turks*; and taking a battery, dismounted and nailed their cannon.

General as-
sault.

THE besiegers having gained considerably on the fort of *St. Andrea*, to the east, pressed hard, with ten thousand men, on the bastion of *Sabionera* to the west; and one night gave a general assault, with all their forces on those two bastions, that of *Panigra*, and the great fort of *St. Demetrio*; but received three repulses with great confusion and slaughter. Not long after, the marquis of *Cornaro*, with baron *Spar*, arriving with a recruit of three thousand men, they made a resolute sally, in which they killed above two thousand of the enemy.

MEAN time the *Soltân* having removed to *Larissa*, to be nearer the seat of war, Signor *Molino* arrived from *Venice* with proposals of peace: but he was told nothing would do unless he had brought the keys of *Kandia* with him; for *Mohammed* was resolved to have that city at all events, and his *Wazîr* pressed the siege exceeding hard. He caused it now to be twice stormed at four several bastions, which cost the lives of thirty thousand *Turks*, and such a number of mines was sprung, that the ground lay open like a vast abyss.

a BUT St. *Andrea* and *Sabionera* being reckoned the most weak, because not fortified by any considerable outworks, or encompassed with deep ditches, the *Turks* pressed upon them more earnestly than any other parts. Having raised some batteries on the heaps of earth, they advanced foot by foot upon the ravelin of St. *Andrea*, which at length they blew up; and penetrating into the ditch with four traverses, came to the very foot of the wall of the bulwark. This was defended by eighteen pieces of cannon, six of which being fifty pounders, shot into the ditch; for all this, they stormed the walls in nine different places, and in short penetrated almost to the gate of St. *Andrea*, laying open a breach ninety paces wide, as far as the sea. So that at last the besieged were forced to quit the outworks, and confine themselves within the walls of the city; which was still more distressed by an unlucky shot that set a magazine of ammunition on fire. Thus ended the year.

A. D. 1668.
The out-works taken.

b NEXT spring the *Turks* renewed the assaults upon fort St. *Andrea*, and penetrated forty paces within the city walls; but the besieged knowing the weakness of the place on that side, made it part of their winter's work to draw another wall from fort *Panigra*, across almost to the *Tramata*. Mean time the enemy fortified themselves as strongly without; and advanced so far on the bulwark of St. *Andrea*, that there remained nothing of it but the ruins. In effect, this post was become so weak, that *Montburn*, and all the chief officers, took their quarters here.

St. Andrea battered down
A. D. 1669.

c THINGS were in this posture in *Kandia*, when the dukes of *Beaufort* and *Noailles* landed there with seven thousand *French*: and it being determined in a council of war, that the place was no longer to be maintained but by some extraordinary enterprize, it was resolved to make a grand sally on the 27th of *June*, while the fleet, by the duke of *Beaufort*'s order, drew near the shore to annoy the enemy with their artillery. The troops marched out silently in order, and at day-break the forlorn hope assaulted two redoubts, which they took, putting all the *Turks* therein to the sword. Hereupon the other regiments entered the lines; and having mastered the trenches after much slaughter, by storm carried a fort, wherein was a battery which played upon St. *Demetrio*, and nailed the cannon. Mean time the *Turks* began to draw into order, and then a most terrible fight ensued. But while the success of the day seemed to smile on the Christians, a magazine lately won, containing one hundred and thirty-four quintals of powder, accidentally blew up, and destroyed many men. This blow so amazed the rest, that they began to fly in disorder; having in the attack lost a good number of men, and some considerable officers, among whom was the brave duke of *Beaufort*, supposed to have been blown up. At the same time the fleet, consisting of eighty ships, fifty galleys, and six galleasses, were driven by the winds at some distance from shore; and a *French* man of war of 70 guns, blown up.

A grand sally.

d HEREUPON, disputes arising between the *French* and *Italians*, who threw the blame upon each other, the duke *de Noailles* ungenerously sailed off with his forces, and left *Kandia* in the utmost distress. The *Turks*, encouraged by the departure of the *French*, assaulted the quarters of *Sabionera* and St. *Andrea* afresh, and advanced to the pallisades of the new retrenchment; but although some stop was put to their fury here, yet the gross of the army was so weak and broken, that they refused to advance against the enemy. Mean time the captain-general sprung a mine of one hundred barrels of powder, under the thickest croud of the *Turks*, which made such destruction among them, that the rest retired hastily to their redoubts. Neither was the storm less furious at *Sabionera*, nor the advantage less considerable on the side of the besieged.

The French depart.

e BUT notwithstanding this success, and that a small reinforcement arrived under the duke of *Mirandola*, yet the town was so weakened by the departure of the *French*, with the battalion of *Málta*, and the rest of the volunteers, that the captain-general at length called a council of officers, to deliberate what was fittest to be done in this extremity. *Grimani* and some others were for blowing up the place: but the captain-general urging the difficulty of embarking the soldiers, they came to a resolution of treating with the *Wazír* about a surrender. For this purpose they sent colonel *Thomas Anand*, and *Stephano Cordili*, an understanding young man of twenty, secretly to the *Wazír*'s camp. A treaty being here agreed on, the plenipotentiaries met under *Paleo Castro*. Those on behalf of the *Turks* were *Ibrâbîm Pâshâ* of *Halep*, *Abmed Aga* the *Kabîyabeg* of the *Janizaries*, the *Spabiler Agasi*, and *Panaiotti* the *Wazír*'s interpreter. The plenipoes for the besieged required some place in exchange for *Kandia*: but that being rejected, they were at last contented that the *Venetians* should embark (P) with all their arms, provision, and baggage, together with such cannon as had been brought thither during the war^f.

The city yielded.

^f RICAUT, *ibid*.

(P) There embarked not above 2,500 soldiers, sickly, ill accoutered, and half naked. All the inhabitants departed likewise, excepting two *Crack* priests, one woman, and three *Jesus*, besides about thirty decrepid *Jesus* and *Greeks*.

A. D. 1669.
A Turkish
fiction.

THERE is nothing in this account of the surrender inconsistent with that given before from ^a the *Turkish* historians: for *Panaïotti* might at this time have first proposed it, and *Morofini*, through policy, seem to have been persuaded by his arguments, although no mention is made of any such matters here. But the account which prince *Cantemir* gives in a note, of the manner in which *Panaïotti* duped *Morofini*, as related to him by *Masbûd*, the messenger of *Panaïotti* on that occasion, must needs be a fable; since it is all grounded on the false suggestion, that the *French* fleet, which the besieged long expected, arrived; but being by *Panaïotti*'s address introduced into port as friends to the *Turks*, *Morofini* gave up the city to prevent their landing; concluding from thence that they came to act as the interpreter had informed him (Q): for we find that all the *French* succours which were expected did come, and that all which came did actually land. ^b

THUS ended the famous siege, which had continued 25 years, yet went on but languidly, excepting for the last two years and four months, in which great numbers of men were destroyed, and vast quantities of warlike stores consumed (R). But it is now time to return to other affairs.

Affairs of
Hungary.

THE *Hungarians* were all this time very uneasy, as thinking themselves not well used by the emperor; more particularly count *Péter Séreni* (whose brother had been killed by a wild boar), *Nadisti* and *Frangipani*, who after some consultations resolved, if possible, to gain the *Turks* on their side: but not being able to agree with *Kâra Mostafa*, the *Kaymakân*, because he insisted that they should become tributary like the *Transilvanians*, they sent their agents to the *Wazîr*, *Ahmed Kyoprili*, at *Kandia*, in hopes of better terms: but he, not being yet willing ^c to entertain thoughts of another war, civilly dismissed them. However, he ordered their proposals to be taken in writing, and promised to refer them to the ministers then at the *Porte*. But the machinations of these three lords being at length discovered, they were all seized, tried, and executed the next year.

Peace with
Venice.
A. D. 1670.

THE prime *Wazîr* being arrived at *Adrianople* from *Kandia* with great applause, signor *Molino* was sent ambassador from *Venice*, to confirm the peace; which at length was effected; and the dispute about the limits in *Dalmatia* adjusted. This year wine was prohibited on account of the *Janizaries*, with such strictness, that the *English* ambassador could scarce obtain leave, with much trouble and charge, for his family and merchants to make use of it. But the *French* ambassador *dè Nointel*, was more sensibly mortified by the prime *Wazîr*, who, under ^d various excuses, put off renewing the capitulations this year and the next: towards the end of which, *Orkbâh*, the *Soltân*'s brother, was poisoned by his order. Let us now return to the *Turkish* historians, from whom we have been long absent ^e.

Kosâks
submit.

WHILST *Soltân Mobammed*, under pretence of hunting, removed to *Yenishahr* (S), that he might be near at hand to send supplies to *Kandîa*; the *Sâri Kamîsh Kosâks* (T), then subject to *Poland*, submit themselves to him by their ambassadors; among whom was the *Hetman* himself, *Doroshenko* (U): him the *Soltân* presents with a robe, and dismisses, adorned with a *Tâg*, or horse-tail (X), and an *alem sanjâk*, in token of dominion. The *Kosâks* had hitherto been of service both to *Poland* and *Russia*, as well by their daily ravaging the *Othmân* borders, as because their country, abounding with straits and marshes, was accounted the bulwark of ^e

^e *RICAUT*, *ibid*.

(Q) The narrative relates, that the *Wazîr* getting intelligence that the *French* fleet drew near, *Panaïotti*, at a secret meeting, told *Morofini* that the admiral had sent to inform the *Wazîr*, that he was sent by his king to carry away the *Venetians* prisoners, and deliver *Kandia* up to him: that next night twelve *Turkish* ships sailed out of port, with orders to return next day with *French* colours; and that as soon as they appeared in sight, twelve more were sent out under *Turkish* colours, who, instead of fighting the counterfeit *French*, saluted and accompanied them into the port: that *Morofini*, convinced by this, that what *Panaïotti* told him was true, explained the mystery to the besieged, who stood astonished at what they saw: and having persuaded the soldiers that it was safer to trust enemies than faithless friends, surrendered the city to the *Wazîr*.

(R) During the last two years and four months of this siege (which from the beginning held 25 years), we are told by *Ricaut*, that of the *Venetians* there were killed and wounded 30,985; of the *Turks* 118,754. The assaults given by the latter were 56; the combats underground 45; the sallies made by the *Venetians* 96; the mines and *fornelli* sprung by the besieged 1,173; by the *Turks* 472; the *Venetians* spent 50,317 barrels of pow-

der; bombs; from 50 to 500 weight, 48,119; grenades, of brass and iron, 100 960; of grâls. 84,877; cannon-bullets 276,743; pounds of lead 18,044,957; pounds of match 13,012,500. They left behind about 300 small cannon.

(S) So *Larissa*, a noted city of *Thessaly*, and at present the metropolis, is called. *Cant*.

(T) That is, *Kosâks of the Yellow Reed*; so are called those who inhabit between the *Boristhenes* (or *Nieper*) and the *Tyras* (or *Nießer*) formerly subject to *Poland*; now vassals partly to the *Poles*, partly to the *Russians*. They have several times changed their names among the *Turks*. *Doroshenko* called them *Kazagbi*: and when he revolted to the *Russians*, they took the name of *Serke Kazagbi*, from *Sirke*, also their leader. *Cant*.

(U) *Ricaüt* says, the reason of this revolt was, the court refusing to annex *Ukrania* to the crown, which would have intitled that country to the privileges of other free provinces, and given that general an opportunity of becoming absolute over the *Kosâks*.

(X) This was taken away, when the country was given to *Duka*; the *Wazîr* thinking it too great an honour for an infidel. *Cant*.

both

- a both kingdoms ; which being now removed, they had cause to fear from them no less damages, than what the *Turkish* provinces had formerly suffered. Hereupon the king of *Poland*, to destroy their new allegiance, before too deeply rooted, sends a great army, which, joining with those who still favoured his interest, make great devastations in their country. A. D. 1670.

THE Soltân, on this advice, sends a *Chausb* with a threatening letter to the king ; and on his continuing hostilities, declares war against the *Poles*. Pursuant thereto, in *Safer* 1083, he sets forward with a great army (Y) ; and running a bridge over the *Danube* at *Sackebe*, (Z), passes his forces. At length, after long marches through *Moldavia*, he encamps near *Khotin* (or *Khochim*). Then he sends over the *Tyras*, in boats, a strong party, who at the first assault take *Zwaniecz* ; and being now joined by the *Tatars*, headed by their *Khân*, *Selîm* prince of *Moldavia*, refusing timber, is discovered to favour the enemy, and to be bribed to delay the building of the bridge : wherefore he is deposed, and stripped of his treasure ; after which, *Peter* is chosen prince by the nobility of that country. War with Poland. Hejrah, 1083, A. D. 1672.

AT length passing the *Tyras* on the 3d of *Rabio'lakhbîr*, he appears with his army before *Kameniek*, three hours distant from the river. This city being strongly fortified both by nature and art, is very difficult to be assaulted. It is surrounded by the rapid torrent *Smotricz*, the banks whereof, every-where full of craggy rocks, afford a strong bulwark to the place. Besides these, a castle stands in the middle of the town, environed with walls of a great height, and not to be shaken. The *Poles* depending on these fortifications, and the strength of the garrison, hoped to blunt the edge of the *Othmân* fury with this siege ; and therefore, appeared not in the field. But the walls were so vigorously battered on all sides, that in ten days time they are beaten down ; and the garrison finding themselves unable to sustain the assault, relinquish the outer walls, and retire into the inner castle : yet not thinking themselves safe even there, they surrender (C), on condition of having life and liberty. taken.

THE *Poles* were quite astonished to see a fortress, thought capable of holding out many years, taken in so few days ; and to confound them the more, *Kaplân Mehemed Pâshâ*, governor of *Hâlep*, and the *Khân* of *Tartary*, were sent with the light armed forces to reduce *Leopolis* ; whilst the Soltân, intending to follow with the main army, encamps near *Buchach* (D). When the city was at the last extremity, ambassadors arrived in the *Tatar* camp, offering in the name of the king and kingdom, to deliver up forty-eight towns and villages, in the territory of *Kameniek* ; to pay a yearly tribute of twenty thousand rix dollars (E), and never more quarrel with the *Kosâks* under *Doroshenko*. The *Khân* having heard the proposals of the ambassadors, sends them to the Soltân, who grants a peace on those terms ; and then disbanding his army in *Shaabân*, returns to *Adrianople* ^h.

^h CANT. p. 263, & seq. RICAUT. ubi supra.

(Y) Of one hundred and fifty thousand men, according to *Ricaut*.

(Z) Formerly called *Obluciczia*, a town on the south side of the *Danube*, not far from *Galacz*, in *Moldavia*. By the very old buildings there, it seems to be a work of the *Roman* colonies, or the *Daci* ; as are *Falca*, *Babadâgli*, and other very antient towns of that region. *Cant.*

(A) The most famous *Khân* of the *Tatars*, in the present age ; a prince equally brave and prudent. *Cant.*

(B) He was thrice prince of *Moldavia*, and once of *Walakhia* ; originally a *Greek*, and servant to a merchant of *Jassi* : he was illiterate, but very prudent in managing affairs, and reckoned the most excellent of his age. *Cant.*

(C) Prince *Cantemir* observes, that this was the last victory by which any advantage accrued to the *Othmân* state, or any province or city was annexed to the empire ; and that since then, the strength of the *Othmân*s has been weakened, by the destruction of several kingdoms and provinces, by the loss of whole armies, and by intestine wars and dissensions, as he proceeds to relate in the words of the *Turkish* historians.

(D) According to the *Polish* orthography, *Buczacz*.

(E) The *Poles* do not deny that this was promised, though it was never paid ; and in time was abolished by the peace made at *Zuranno*. *Cant.* According to *Ricaut*, the king of *Poland* was to quit claim to the *Ukrain*, *Podolia*, and *Rusland* ; *Leopolis*, and the adjacent country, to pay 70,000 dollars, yearly tribute.

S E C T II.

The war with Poland, Russia, and the Emperor ; with the siege of Vienna.

- e BUT whilst *Mohammed* expected the arrival of the *Polish* ambassadors, who were to bring the promised tribute, and ratify the peace, he is informed that *Doroshenko*, general of the *Kosâks*, had revolted ; and with a large body of men was laying waste the borders of the empire. This bad news was followed by worse ; that the *Poles*, animated by the promises of the emperor of *Germany* and the pope, were preparing again for war. Not long after, the *Wazîr*, *Kyoprili Ahmed Pâshâ*, receives letters from the high chancellor of *Poland*, importing, that the states of the kingdom considered as null the conditions to which the king had submitted, The peace broken.

A. D. 1672.

The Polish
army defeats
the Turks
under John
Sobieski.
Hej. 1084.
A. D. 1673.

mitted, without their consent ; and that they would rather suffer death, than the infamy of a paying one farthing by way of tribute.

THE *Soltân*, finding himself deceived by the *Poles*, determines to take a severe and memorable revenge. The *Wazîr* answers the letters of the states, reproaching them with their perfidy, and threatening the total destruction of the kingdom, unless they submitted without hesitation to what was agreed upon. As these remonstrances had no effect upon the *Poles*, the *Soltân*, in *Rabio'lakhir*, 1084, sets out at the head of an army, not inferior to the former ; flattering himself with the hopes of subduing them at once, weakened as they were by the last year's ill success, and to annex *Poland* to his empire. But the *Poles*, grown wise by their misfortune, having composed those domestic broils, which had opened the way to the *Turkish* victories the former year, assemble all their forces (F), and before the *Soltân* could reach them with his army, pass the *Tyras* at *Khotin*, under the command of *John Sobieski*.

A FEW days after *Mohammed* arrives, and finding the place where he designed to cross the river, seized by the enemy, is surprised at the boldness of a people lately vanquished ; and imagining that, led by their evil genius to destruction, they had shut themselves up between the *Tyras* and the *Danube*, commands his forces to attack them. Hereupon the two armies engage, and a fierce and bloody battle ensues, which lasted with doubtful success till the evening : at which time, *Petreczeicus*, prince of *Moldavia* (G), and *Gregory* (H), the son of *Chika*, prince of *Walakbia*, deserting to the *Poles*, the left wing of the *Turks*, commanded by *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, cried out they were betrayed ; and quitting their ranks, refuse to obey the orders of their leader. The right wing likewise is soon broken by the valour of the *Poles* ; and at first, indeed, retreat gradually ; but being vigorously pressed by the enemies troops, they quickly take to flight, and abandon their cannon, with all their warlike provisions. When the *Soltân*, who had remained four hours march behind, saw his soldiers flying in disorder, he endeavoured all in his power to make them return to the charge : but finding neither his commands nor sword had any effect, he is forced at last to have recourse also to flight, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemyⁱ.

THE Christian historians say, that *Sobieski* broke into the *Turkish* camp, and wounded the general *Husseyn* with his own hand : that the fight continued fifteen hours ; and that of the *Turks*, *Soleymân*, *Beglerbeg* of *Bosnia*, fought best ; who having had six horses shot under him, was afterwards slain in the pursuit : that all the *Janizaries*, to the number of eight thousand, were cut to pieces ; besides twelve thousand other soldiers : that they lost all their baggage ; twenty-five thousand waggon-loads of provision and ammunition ; with two thousand purses of money for payment of the troops^k.

He is chosen
king :

THE *Othmân* army being thus defeated, there appeared nothing to hinder the *Poles* from recovering what they had lost, and even extending the limits of their kingdom. *Kameniek*, which they found to be a check to their progress, was pressed with a severe famine ; which would probably soon force the garrison to abandon that fortress : but all these hopes were suddenly destroyed, by the death of *Mikhael*, king of *Poland*, which happened soon after, and drew off the nobles from the care of the war, to the election of a new king. After long deliberation, the crown is conferred on *John Sobieski*, great marshal of the kingdom ; who, besides the nobleness of his family, and his own personal merits, by his late victory against the *Turks*, had procured the votes of the states of *Poland*.

not well
assisted.

THIS choice was by no means agreeable to the *Othmân* court ; and as it seemed to threaten the vanquished with some greater calamity from the same hand, the *Soltân* therefore prepares a very powerful army to oppose him, and commands *Selîm Gyeray Khân* to join him, with numerous troops of *Bujâk*, and *Krîm Tatars*. The king of *Poland*, suspecting what was really the case, admonishes the states of the realm to assemble all their forces : but they were deaf to his advice, under pretence that the *Othmân* power, broken by the loss it had lately sustained, could scarce recover itself in many years ; and that therefore the forces already raised were sufficient : but the true reason was, that the nobles were afraid, lest the heroic king, when he found all *Poland* united under his command, should make the crown hereditary in his family.

ⁱ CANT. p. 275, & seq. RICAUT, ubi supra.

^k RICAUT, ibid.

(F) Consisting, according to *Ricaut*, of 50,000 men.

(G) He was disgusted at *Husseyn*, the *Turkish* general, who struck him on the head with his pole-ax, because he had not brought troops according to his expectation ; yet the same night intrusted the care of the guards to him ; who thereupon corresponded with *Sobieski*. *Ricaut*.

(H) A very great man, and adorned with many virtues. This was the second time he revolted from the *Turks*. *Cant. Ricaut* says, he was forced away to the *Poles*, by his own troops, and soon after escaped back to the *Turks*.

^a HOWEVER, *Sobieſki*, to overcome the enemy by art, ſince he could not by force, ſent what forces he had ready to block up *Kameniek*; which reduced that city to ſuch ſtreights, that the gariſon had ſcarce proviſion enough for a few weeks: but the *Soltân* being informed of their diſtreſs, aſſembles his forces, and marches them with ſuch ſpeed, that about the tenth of *Rabio'lakbir*, 1085, the foremoſt of his troops appeared about *Khotin*. The *Poles*, who did not expect the *Turks* ſo ſoon by a month or two, on the news of their approach, in haſte abandoned the ſiege. Hereupon the *Soltân* quickly recovers the city of *Khotin*; and then ſupplying *Kameniek* with neceſſaries, goes and reduces *Human*, a town of *Podolia* (I). Mean time *Doroſhenko* comes unſent for, with four thouſand *Koſáks*, to the aſſiſtance of *Mohammed*, and offers him his whole army: but the *Soltân*, ſuſpecting perhaps the *Hetman's* integrity, commands him to return; alleging, that he had no occaſion for the aſſiſtance of the *Koſáks* againſt the *Poles*. This highly exaſperated *Doroſhenko*, and proved afterwards very detrimental to the *Othmân* affairs, by their revolt to the *Czar* of *Ruſſia*.

A. D. 1673.
Kameniek relieved.
A. D. 1674.
Khotin taken.

^b MOHAMMED, conſidering that he could not be ſure of *Kameniek*, whiſt inhabited by Chriſtians (ſince they might both inform the enemy of every thing which paſſed, and put them in a way to take the city) commands all the inhabitants of that territory to be removed beyond the *Danube*, and mount *Hæmus*, into the province of *Kirk Ekkleſiá* (K), and lands to be aſſigned them; dividing their country among two thouſand *Spahis*, who were before ſeated in the diſtricts of *Bender*, *Akkierman*, and *Kili*. The ſeaſon being ſpent in theſe affairs, he returns to *Adrianople*, where, deſpiſing now the enemy, of whom he had before been a little afraid, he devotes all the next year to his pleaſures; and ſolemnizes the circumciſion of his two ſons, *Moſtafa* and *Abmed*, with the nuptials of his daughter (L): on which occaſion he amasses a greater treaſure (M), than half the revenue of the whole empire would amount to.

Inhabitants removed.

^c THE *Poles*, imagining the long ſilence of the *Turks* to be only a ſtratagem, were cautious of making any attempt: but in 1087, the king diſcovering the true reaſon of their inactivity, raiſes freſh troops, and paſſing by *Kameniek*, enters *Moldavia*, in order to attack them within their own territories. *Soltân Mohammed*, who had reſigned himſelf wholly to luxury and hunting, upon the death of *Shiſhman Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ* (N), ſends *Shaytân Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ* (O), with the dignity of *Seraskier* (P), at the head of an army againſt the *Poles*; who immediately offer him battle. But he, as a man of great policy and military ſkill, at firſt amuſing ^d the king with pretences of peace, renders the enemy more negligent: then breaking off the treaty, on ſome ſlight occaſion, circumvents the *Polish* army by a thouſand artifices, and renders all their efforts ineffectual. At laſt on a ſudden he beſieges the king ſo cloſely in his camp, (Q) that he could neither ſend a meſſenger into his kingdom, nor receive any from thence.

The Poles circumvented.
A. D. 1676.

^e AFFAIRS being reduced to the moſt deſperate ſituation, the king ſends ſome perſons into the *Turkiſh* camp, to try whether the former treaty of peace might be renewed. *Ibrâhîm Pâſhâ* would ſcarce have conſented to their deſires, if he had not diſcovered that a mutiny was ready to break out among his troops. The *Janizaries*, uneaſy at the quick marches they had been obliged to make, to reduce the king to thoſe ſtraits, declared it great injuſtice to be compelled to contend with the enemy and ſeaſons; whiſt the *Soltân* diverted himſelf with hunting and other pleaſures. On the other hand, the *Khân* of *Krim Tartary*, perceiving he loſt more than he gained by the war, did not ceaſe to perſuade the *Seraskier*, that it was better to accept of the conditions which the *Poles* would offer, to ſave themſelves from imminent deſtruction, than to hazard the defeat of the *Othmân* army, by driving them to deſpair. *Ibrâhîm* at length approving of this advice, hoſtages were given on both ſides: but the report of peace making the *Othmâns* grow remiſs in guarding the paſſes, the king of *Poland* privately retires out of his camp, and unexpectedly attacks a body of *Tatars*, who were incamped near *Mobilow* (R), and eaſily puts them to flight.

Peace proposed.

(I) *Ricaut* ſays, the *Turks* alſo forced the *Ruſſians* to retreat; and by help of the captain *Pâſhâ*, rebuilt *Aſak*, or *Aſof*, which the *Ruſſians* had deſtroyed. After this, falling on that part of the *Koſáks* which had not ſubmitted, they ſwept all away into ſlavery.—Perhaps this has reference to the removal of the Chriſtians from about *Kameniek*, mentioned lower down.

(K) A province and town, formerly called *Teffaracenta Ekkleſiai*, or the forty churches, but now it has none, and very few Chriſtians; being inhabited by *Polish* Jews, tranſplanted thither by *Soltân Mohammed*. It is 38 hours from *Conſtantinople*, and 12 from *Adrianople*. *Cant.*

(L) To his favourite *Kûl Ogli*, *Pâſhâ* of *Magneſia*. *Ricaut, Cant.*

(M) All officers whatſoever belonging to the government, are obliged to make preſents on this and the like occaſions. *Cant.*

(N) *Shiſhmân* ſignifies the fat. He was a very brave general. The *Turks* ſay, he kept a *French* ſurgeon, who opened his belly every year, and took out the fat: but at laſt increaſing ſo, that it could not be taken out, he burſt. *Cant.*

(O) Called *Shaytan*, or *Devil*, from his ſkill and cunning. *Cant.*

(P) Vulgarly *Bâſhbog*, that is, the head, or general of the whole army. *Cant.*

(Q) The *Poles*, whoſe army amounted to ſcarce 15,000 men, were ſurrounded near *Zorawno*, by well nigh 100,000 *Turks*, who yet gave them peace, when they leaſt expected it. *Manley.*

(R) A town of *Polish* *Ukrania*, on the eaſt ſide of the *Tyras*, twelve hours from *Soroka*, and twelve from *Kameniek*. *Cant.*

A. D. 1676.

and concluded.

AN account of this defeat being brought to the *Seraskier*, when at dinner with the ambaf-
sadors, he severely reproaches them for this breach of the law of nations, and immediately
sends his cavalry to assist the *Tatars*; who, on the 19th of *Râjeb*, finding the enemy under
Zerauna, rush upon them full of resentment: but, after a fierce and bloody conflict, both
parties at night retire to their camps, where they skirmish for seventeen days continually, with
doubtful fortune. At last peace is concluded in the midst of arms, and signed on the 6th of
Shaabân. The *Poles* on their return assembling the states, notwithstanding the endeavours of
the emperor of *Germany* to the contrary, ratify the conditions, and send the palatine of *Kulm*
as ambassador extraordinary to the *Porte*¹.

Vanity of a
Polish am-
bassador.

H. J. 1088.

A. D. 1677.

THE ambassador being arrived near *Constantinople*, with 700 attendants, demanded by a
letter, what had never been done before, that the *Wazîr* should meet him at the city gate. b
This being refused, he would not enter the city (S), but retired to *Daud Pâshâ* (T); by
which unseasonable pride the negotiation is protracted, from the month of *Rajeb* 1088, to
that of *Safer* next year. However, the peace is at last ratified in the aforesaid village, and
afterwards drawn up in such a manner as the *Wazîr* thought proper (U). By these articles,
the *Poles* not only renounced claim to *Kameniek*, but likewise engaged to give up all authority
over the *Kosâks* of *Podolia*, as subjects, and resign it to the *Othmân* court: and allowed the
Lipkâ-Tatars (X) leave to depart. In short, the whole treaty was worded not as if a king
was treating with a king, but a lord with his vassal. However, this did not cure the vanity
of the *Polish* ambassador: for, that he might not seem to have brought so magnificent a retinue
with him to no purpose, he, after the peace was confirmed, desires leave of the *Wazîr* to c
make his public entry.

ON this occasion, besides other marks of magnificence, he orders his horses to be shod with
silver, and the shoes to be fastened with only two nails, that they might the more easily fall off
in the streets, which were paved, and strike the *Turks* with admiration at the riches of *Poland*.
But what he had designed for his honour turned to his disgrace: for the *Wazîr* (Y), when
one of those shoes was brought him, is reported to have said, *that the infidel had indeed shoes*
of silver, but a head of brass; since it was incredible that any person in his senses could be guilty
of such a ridiculous extravagance^m.

Affairs of
Hungary.

HUNGARY was all this while full of discontents and troubles. However, the *Turks* being
at war with the *Poles*, did not interfere; but count *Strazoldo* having taken from the mal-con- d
tents *Debrezin*, which paid tribute to the *Porte*, the *Othmân* governor interpreted it as an open
breach of the peace. For this reason it was thought fit to give it up to the *Soltân*. Thus
matters stood, when *Kara Mostafa* succeeded the famous *Kuperli*: this new *Wazîr* being
wholly bent on a war in *Hungary*, gave the frontier *Pâshâs* liberty to assist the mal-contents
as they saw occasion; and the *Turks* accordingly made some incursions, which gave the *Impe-
rialists* great alarms. About this time also, *Apafi*, prince of *Transilvania*, having discovered
a conspiracy against his life, began to declare himself, more than ever, in favour of the mal-
contents, who were now grown pretty formidable.

Mal-contents
strengthened.

THEIR army consisting of sixteen thousand men, was commanded by count *Wezelini*, their
palatine, who designed to besiege *Zatmar*; but *Smith*, the *German* major-general, marching e
to oppose him, was defeated there. After this, they sent to excite the *Soltân* to turn his arms
against the emperor: but being then at war with the *Russians*, he declined it, yet assisted them
with troops under-hand. While *Leopold*, by his ambassador, complained of this at the *Porte*,
the states of *Hungary* assembled at *Altenburgh*, in order to induce the mal-contents to return
to their duty, resolved that the churches which had been taken from the protestants, should be
restored to them: but this article being eluded by the clergy, the parties concerned were the
more exasperated; neither could they endure to see the crown of *Hungary*, as it were, here-
ditary in the house of *Austria*.

Hostilities
continue.

HOSTILITIES between the *Imperialists* and the *Turks* still continued, notwithstanding the
negotiations. Five hundred *German* horse marching to *Erlaw*, were cut to pieces by a party f

¹ CANT. p. 279, & seq.^m CANT. p. 284, & seq.

(S) The obstinacy and pride of the ambassador would have put an end to all hopes of peace, had not the *Wazîr* been at this time meditating the *Vienna* expedition.

(T) A place about an *Italian* mile on the west side of *Constantinople*; where are palaces of the *Soltân*, and houses for the courtiers. There is a *Daud Pâshâ Mekimessî* in the midst of the city. *Cant.*

(U) The articles of this peace are inserted in a note, by prince *Cantemir*, from *de la Croix's* history of the war between the *Poles* and the *Turks*.

(X) *Lipka* is the *Turkish* name for *Lithuania*; whence the *Tatars* living there are so called. They are *Mohammedans*, and though derived from the *Krim Tatars*, yet they are naturally weaker and more infirm. *Cant.*

(Y) *Abmed Kioprili Oglî* made this peace a little before his death. He died of a dropsy and jaundice at *Churlâ* (or *Chyurli*), on the way to *Adrianople*, the 23d of *October*, 1676, in the 47th year of his age, and 16th of his government, and left not his fellow behind him; having been an excellent minister both in peace and war. *Ricaut.*

a of the enemy; and two hundred more, by the garrison of *New Heusel*. Hereupon the *Imperialists*, by way of reprisal, fell on the new *Pâshâ* of that city, sent thither by the *Porte*, and defeated his convoy of two hundred *Spahis*. The *Beglerbeg* of *Buda* so resented this injury (the new *Pâshâ* having had no hand in those violences before-mentioned), that he sent a party towards *Butrak*, who returned with two hundred prisoners. About the same time, count *Paul Wefelini* dying, he is succeeded in the command of the mal-contents by *Tekeli*, who, though young, was very vigilant and braveⁿ.

But let us leave the affairs of *Hungary* for a while, to look into those of the *Russians*, as related by the *Turkish* historians. As soon as the peace was concluded with *Poland*, a fresh war broke out with *Russia*. *Doroshenko*, *Hetman* of the *Sari Kamish Kazaghi*, to revenge the affront lately offered him by the *Seraskier*, as well as for other reasons (Z) of disgust against the *Turks*, with the consent of all the chief officers, offers to submit themselves to the *Czar* of *Russia*; to whose father, his predecessor *Bogdân Kiemielniski* (A) had many years before promised fidelity; but afterwards was obliged by force of arms to abandon their engagement. Nothing could happen more agreeable than this offer to the *Czar*; since, by this means, not only *Ukrania*, which was always liable to incursions from the *Kosâks*, was secured, but his territories were extended also beyond the *Boristhenes*, and his army increased with above sixty thousand men of approved valour.

THE *Othmân* court was strangely disturbed at the news of this revolt; when the *Soltân*, to avoid the war if possible (not on account of the *Czar*'s power, but of the difficulties attending such an expedition) and by policy recover the *Kosâks* to his obedience, releases *George Kiemielniski* (B), son of *Bogdân*, from the *Seven Towers*, and appoints him *Hetman*, in the room of *Doroshenko*; hoping those people, out of affection to his family, would submit to him: but the *Kosâks*, who had found the *Turkish* yoke too heavy, resolutely reject all offers in their favour. Hereupon the *Soltân*, finding it necessary to use force, sends *Shaytan Ibrâkîm Pâshâ*, *Seraskier* of *Silistria* (C), with his whole army, to reinstate *George* in the country of the *Kosâks*; with orders to subdue *Chebrîn* (D), the capital of the province, and seat of the *Hetman*.

IBRAHIM passing the *Danube* on the 6th of *June*, 1678, marches through *Moldavia* and *Podolia*. When he came to *Chebrîn*, he is surprised to find sixty thousand *Russians* and *Kosâks* strongly entrenched; so that not having force enough to attack them (for he had scarce forty thousand men) he was resolved to wait for the *Tatars*, who were three days march behind. But the *Russians* getting intelligence of their approach, plant themselves in an advantageous post, between both armies, and fall on the *Tatars* as they drew near, with such vigour, that in a few hours there were slain the *Khân*'s son, eight *Mirzas*, and ten thousand men; the rest were either taken prisoners or dispersed. The *Turks* beholding such a slaughter, and fearing that it would be their own case if they stayed, threw away their arms, and fled with such precipitation, that they stopped not till they had passed the river *Bog* (E).

THIS ill success made the *Soltân* still more desirous of peace: however, to prevent any blemish on his honour, he sends an ambassador to *Russia*, in the *Khân* of *Tartary*'s name, to persuade the *Czar* to make peace with the *Soltân*. This ambassador required, that *Chebrîn* should be restored to the *Turks*, as they had an undoubted right to it; and that the *Czar*

ⁿ MANLEY contin. of Ricaut in Mah. IV.

(Z) Among the rest, for their resigning to the *Poles Bialocerkiew*, and *Parwoloczs*, the chief bulwark of their country; also for passing over in silence the prohibition of commerce, and other *Polish* arts, by which they were daily exhausted, with a view the more easily to impose their tyranny on them, when they should think proper.

(A) *Hetman* of the *Kosâks*, who was a terror not only to the *Poles*, but also to the *Turks* and *Tatars*, who call him *Kbmil*. He was slain in battle with the *Poles*. Cant.

(B) He was the eldest son of *Bogdân*; who having been slain by the *Poles*, *George* succeeded, and carried on the war with reputation for three years: then finding the *Kosâks* diminish, and fearing his father's fate, he changed his name and dress, resolving to retire to a monastery in *Ukrania*. In his way, he fell among a party of *Poles*, who stript and beat him; but was rescued by *Tatars*, who carried him into *Krîm*. Being at last discovered by a *Kosâk*, the *Khân* sent him to the *Porte*, where he was imprisoned in the *Seven Towers*. From thence he strangely escaped, but was taken and cruelly beaten. He lay there from 1670 till 1677; and then, against his will, was made *Hetman* of the

Kosâks; but could never engage them on his side, most of them saying he was a counterfeit. Three years after he was slain at the mouth of the *Nieper*, as is related lower down. Cant.

(C) So the *Pâshâs* intrusted with the defence of the northern provinces are called; but they reside at *Bâbadâgbi*. *Silistria* stands on the south side of the *Danube*, opposite to *Walakhia*, and is still called in *Greek*, *Drissa*. It is inhabited mostly by Christians, and has a *Greek* metropolitan: but *Bâbadâgbi* lies nearer the *Euxine Sea*, about twenty hours from the *Danube*, directly below *Sakzen*, called formerly *Oblucziza*. Cant.

(D) The *Russian* merchants who were going into *Turkey*, were on this occasion detained at *Nisna*, a mart in *Ukrania*, subject to the *Hetman* of the *Kosâks*. 'Tis situated in a very large plain near the *Wustrow*, and defended by a good castle. Cant.

(E) Or *Buh*, formerly *Hypanus*, between the *Tyras* and *Borysthenes*; though so deep as not to be fordable, yet it is not navigable, being full of cataracts. It falls into the *Euxine*, near the town of *Ozi*, (*Ozia*, or *Uffia*) commonly *Oczakow* (or *Ochakow*) and by the *Greeks*, *Olbiopolis*. There is another *Bog* which rises near *Lemburg*, and falls into the *Vistula*. Cant.

should

A. D. 1678.

should abandon the *Kosáks* to their own evil genius : for he pretended to know for certain, that the *Soltán* would rather continue the war for twenty years, at all hazards, than lose one foot of land to which he had a right. But the *Czar*, who was not ignorant by whom the ambassador was really commissioned, sends an officer of his court with letters to *Mohammed* and the *Wazír*, in which he advised them, not to flatter themselves that he could be imposed on by the same artifices as the *Poles* had been ; since their example had made him more cautious, and taught him how to deal with them : adding, that they ought to desist from an unjust war, and leave *Ukrania* undisturbed, to which he had an undoubted right, by *Bogdán Kiemielniski's* resignation, confirmed lately by *Dorosbenko* : but that, in case they resolved to prosecute hostilities, they might be assured he would not agree to a peace, till he had recovered the rest of *Ukrania*, unjustly taken from his ancestors, as far as the *Tyras* and *Asof*.

The war revived.

HAVING read this letter, the *Wazír*, *Kara Mostafa Páshá* (F), sends for the *Mufti*, the *Kaymakán*, the *Kadhi'laskers*, and *Aga* of the *Janizaries* ; and enquires what the law and reason advised to be done. The majority declare for peace, since there were little hopes of doing any thing for the *Othmân* interest, in those difficult and remote quarters. The *Wazír* alone opposed these pacific sentiments ; declaring, that so great a slaughter as the *Russians* had made of the *Tatars*, ought not to pass unrevenge. To this opinion, the rest assenting out of complaisance, it is determined to renew the war with the utmost vigour ; in consequence of which, the *Russian* ambassador receives an answer, breathing nothing but fire and sword^a.

Chebrin besieged.
Hej. 1090.
A. D. 1679.

THE *Othmân* army being arrived at *Tatar Pazarjik* (G), about the end of *Rabio'lawel*, in 1089, *Mohammed* invests the *Wazír* with the full command ; who, passing through *Moldavia* in the following month, reaches the *Bog*. From thence he marches with eighty thousand *Turks*, thirty thousand *Tatars*, and four thousand *Kosáks*, whom *George Kiemielniski* had drawn to his party ; and on the eighth of *Jomazio'lawel*, comes in sight of *Chebrin*. The garrison of *Russians* and *Kosáks*, who were at that time employed in building a new fort without the city, on the unexpected approach of the *Othmáns*, retire in confusion into the town. The *Wazír* observing their disorder, ordered his *Kyebaya* (H) forthwith to attack the place, in hopes to terrify them into a surrender : but after fighting bravely for four hours, they are forced to retire with dishonour, and the loss of their commander, besides two thousand *Janizaries*. Hereupon *Kara Mostafa*, before the soldiers had pitched their tents, orders the city to be surrounded, and trenches to be dug, ramparts thrown up, and batteries to be planted. When he found these endeavours did not succeed, by reason of the sandy soil, he, by advice of a *Pole*, causes bridges to be made on the other side, where the town was defended by a morass : but this work also failed of the desired effect.

The Turks defeated.

ABOUT the same time the *Russian* army, under the command of *Romadanowski*, having passed the *Boristhenes* before the *Wazír* had any intelligence of it ; that minister, to obviate their designs, sent *Kara Mehemed Páshá*, governor of *Hálep*, with great part of his army to fight them, in case he found a good opportunity : but as he could not draw the *Russians*, tho' superior in number, to a battle, the *Wazír*, suspecting that the enemy's intention was either to destroy the *Othmân* forces by delay, or reinforce the garrison of *Chebrin*, commands *Koplán Páshá* (I) to encamp with the rest of the army, between that city and the *Russians*. When *Romadanowski* perceived that all communication with the town was cut off, he, on the 22d of *Jomazio'lakbir*, attacks *Koplán Páshá's* troops with such vigour, that the foremost ranks being broken at the first onset, the rest fly for safety through the midst of the morass : while the *Páshá*, finding it impossible to rally his terrified soldiers, sets fire to the bridges, to prevent the enemy from pursuing and destroying the whole *Othmân* army.

The city taken with great loss.

AT last winter approaching, the *Wazír*, in order either to conquer or retire, causes three mines to be sunk under the walls of the castle ; and springing them on the 21st of that month (K), commands the men to surround the city, and enter the breaches. Hereupon the garrison, finding it impracticable to defend the place since the walls were demolished, fly out of the gate towards the *Boristhenes*, after they had laid a train under the magazine of powder ; by which means, several thousands of the common soldiers, who had flocked in to plunder,

^a CANT. p. 288, & seqq.

(F) A man of great capacity and valour, but the most covetous of all the *Wazírs*. He was first *Páshá* of *Silistria*, and *Damaskus* ; then admiral ; afterwards *Kaymakán*. CANT.

(G) A pretty large town of *Thrace*, towards the northern foot of the mountains *Chenghe*, or *Hæmus*. CANT.

(H) Or more elegantly *Ketchudabeg*, that is, the *Wazír's* deputy. His office is the most considerable in the *Othmân* empire, and his authority very great ; for

nothing can be done or ordered, but it must pass thro' his hands, and be confirmed by his letters. CANT.

(I) Called *Koplán*, that is, *Tyger*, from his courage. He is celebrated for his bravery in the *Polish* wars ; and of so great authority among the *Turks*, that the *Wazír*, though his mortal enemy, could never destroy him. CANT.

(K) Perhaps it should be the next month, for the 22d is mentioned before.

were

- a were blown up (L). Next day the *Wazîr*, accompanied by the chief officers, views the city, which had cost so much labour and blood : but, as it appeared very difficult to repair, as well as to defend it, he commands the walls and houses to be levelled with the ground ; then giving his soldiers some days refreshment, he endeavours to provoke the *Russians* to a battle ; but they being unwilling to quit their trenches, and at the same time preparing for their retreat, he orders *Koplân Pâshâ*, with some light troops, to follow and attack them in their march. But as the *Russians* retired with close ranks, and were defended by a chain of waggons, they vigorously repelled the assaults of their pursuers. At length the *Wazîr* himself is obliged for want of provisions to return ; and in his march loses, besides almost all his baggage and larger cannon, a greater number of men than had been destroyed by the enemy ; so that at his entrance into *Adrianople*, in the beginning of *Ramazân*, the army appeared rather to have been defeated than victorious.

A. D. 1679.

- b FAR from being inspired, by the conquest they had made, to renew the war in *Ukrania*, they rather considered those who mentioned it to be their enemies. Their having taken the ruins of *Chebrîn*, and seen some hundreds of their enemies heads placed round the *Wazîr's* tent, could afford them but little joy, after the loss of thirty thousand of their companions, and the fatigues they had sustained in their march. The *Wazîr* himself, finding how difficult it was to carry on war, in places unknown, barren, and full of marshes, as well as rivers, repented too late that he had opposed the motions for peace, and would have desisted from the war, had not the perpetual incursions of *Kosâks*, who laid waste all the countries along the *Euxine Sea*, prevented his pacific designs.

- c HE resolves, therefore, to build a town and castle at the mouth of the *Boristhenes*, not far from *Ochakow* (M), in hopes, that by this means, the *Kosâk* ships might be hindered from entering the *Euxine Sea*, and the *Zaporovi Kosâks* be obliged, for want of salt, to submit to the *Othmân* empire. The execution of this affair he commits to the *Mimar Aga* (N), for whose defence, till the work should be finished, he sends *Koplân Pâshâ*, with six regiments of *Janizaries*. But this politic design of the *Wazîr* is ruined by a sudden and unexpected accident : for the foundations were scarce laid, when *Cirko*, general of the *Zaporovi Kosâks*, returning from an expedition into *Tartary*, with fifteen thousand men, by chance passed thro' the neighbouring parts, and hearing that a new fort was building, approaches to view it, and see who were the projectors. When he finds them to be *Turks*, he immediately surrounds and kills all the workmen and their guards, with *Kielmielniski* (O), who had been made *Hetman* of the *Kosâks* by the *Turks* : then pitching his camp on the spot, sends a messenger to inform the *Czar* of what had been done. Hereupon, that prince dispatches orders to *Dolhoruki*, who succeeded *Romadanowski* in command of the army, to join all his forces as soon as possible with *Cirko's*, in order to oppose the attempts of the *Turks*.

Another misfortune.

- d THE *Wazîr*, judging it madness to exhaust in those countries the strength of the *Othmân* empire, which might be employed to advantage in other parts, agrees to a peace, which was extremely desired on both sides : not that the *Soltân* wanted either inclination or force to carry on the war ; but he had not an army inured to cold, hunger, and other hardships, too severe for mortals : besides, fortune seemed now inclinable to abandon the *Othmân* arms. However, all this could not have diverted the *Porte* from prosecuting their first design, if new commotions in *Hungary* had not induced them to turn their arms that way °.

Peace concluded.

e EMERIK TEKELI (P) had about this time revolted from the emperor of *Germany*, and in a few months drawn into his rebellion almost all the people in that part of *Hungary* which belonged to the imperial crown. But finding himself unable to withstand that monarch, who having

Count Tekeli revolts to the Turks;

° CANT. p. 292. & seq. MANLEY, ubi supra.

(L) Manley says, the *Turks* took the city by springing eight or nine mines, and then put the garrison to the sword. But the *Turks*, we think, ought to be believed in this case.

(M) In the year 1679, the captain *Pâshâ*, *Kara Kiaja* (who, next to the *Wazîr*, made the greatest figure at the *Porte*) was sent with sixty galleys, to build two castles upon the *Borysthenes* (or *Nieper*) ; the *Czar* complained of this by letter, but was not answered. Manley.

(N) The *Mimar Aga* is the chief architect ; his chief business is to oversee all the new buildings in *Constantinople*, and take care that they do not exceed the height allowed, or come out the least further than they ought into the street. In this case he can punish the common builders, who are called *Kalfa*, or *Khalife*. It often happens that this officer knows nothing of his art ; the place being given by the *Wazîr* to whom he pleases. Cant.

(O) This is *George Kielmielniski*, before-mentioned, sent to cover the workmen.

(P) After he had lost his estate in *Hungary*, he received a daily pension of 80 *Leonines* from the *Turks*. And being released from his imprisonment, by *Ancji Soleyman Pâshâ*, he was held in great honour by the *Turks*, all the while they were engaged in war. Whenever *Soltân Mostafa* was in the camp, he took him along for his companion, and generally made use of his counsel. After the peace of *Carolowitz*, (in which it was stipulated, that such persons as were inclined to raise commotions, should be hearkened to by neither party) he was sent away by the same *Soltân* to *Nikomedia*, where he was presented with a country house ; and being very much afflicted with the gout, he died there soon after. Cant.

A. D. 1680. made peace with the *French* (Q), had assembled all his forces to extinguish the flame, he applied to *Soltân Mohammed* for his aid; promising to pay forty thousand rix dollars yearly tribute (R), and assist him with thirty thousand *Hungarians*, whenever he should demand them. It was long deliberated at the *Othmân* court, whether *Tekeli* should be assisted openly, or only under hand, till the twenty years truce, made in 1075 should be expired. The latter opinion was approved by all the *Vlema*, with the *Valide Soltâna*, or queen mother (S); declaring it was unjust to wage war with a prince who had given no cause of complaint, but till then strictly observed the conditions of the truce.

THE *Soltân* and *Wazîr* were inclined to the former opinion, alleging, that so fair an opportunity of propagating the *Mohammedan* faith could never happen again, since *Hungary* submitted, and *Germany* was exhausted with the *French* and *Swedish* wars; so that nothing could hinder the reduction of all the countries formerly subject to the *Roman* empire. Farther, that the war might not seem too great a burden upon his subjects, the *Soltân* declares, that he has ready for this design, seventy thousand purses in his treasury, a complete army, and all other necessaries for several expeditions. The *Janizaries*, instructed by the *Wazîr* (T), demand a war, and the *Soltâna* mother, now gained by that minister, with the hopes that out of the conquests her *Pashmalîk* (U) would be increased to three hundred purses, votes likewise for it. Hereupon the *Mufti*, who had long concealed his sentiments, approves of the *Soltân's* designs by a *Fetva*: for all this, the opposite party disperse libels against the divân, advising the people not to consent to an unjust war.

who seek pretences to break the peace.

THIS made it necessary at least to find out some pretence to remove their scruples, and make them more readily engage in the expedition. The emperor having disturbed the peace with *Poland*, afforded indeed a plausible ground for breaking the truce: but because this had not been done openly, it was not deemed sufficient. At last they contrived that the emperor, and not the *Soltân*, should appear to be the aggressor. To this end, letters are sent in the *Soltân's* name to *Leopold*, declaring, that as *Tekeli*, and the other *Hungarian* lords, had been forced by his oppression to subject their country to the *Othmân* empire, therefore the emperor was required to recall his troops sent against them, and restore what he had taken from them, otherwise he would be considered as guilty of an infraction of the peace, and draw on himself the punishment due to his rashness.

Hejrah 1093.
A. D. 1682.

LEOPOLD, rightly suspecting that the *Turks* were only seeking an occasion of commencing a war, which he was not capable of supporting, sends count *Albert Caprara* as ambassador extraordinary to *Constantinople*; with orders to spare neither persuasions nor bribes, that the peace might be continued, and hostilities diverted. But the *Wazîr Kâra Mostafa*, without waiting that minister's arrival, in the same year 1093, sends *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ* (X), *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, with six thousand men, to *Tekeli's* assistance; and orders *Apafi*, prince of *Transylvania*, with his forces, to join the *Hungarians*. *Tekeli*, strengthened by these supplies, during the summer, takes (Y) *Kassovia*, *Epeies*, *Leutsch*, *Levent*, *Lipschet* and *Tillek*; whose garrisons retired, with design to reserve themselves for a more favourable opportunity.

They declare war.

THE *Othmâns* imagining from these beginnings that the expedition would prove fortunate, keep no farther measures, but by the *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, declare *Tekeli* king of *Hungary* (Z), and attack the isle of *Schut*, though not with the desired effect. Mean time the *Wazîr* amuses the imperial ambassador with false hopes of peace, in order to retard the enemy's preparations.

(Q) The Christian historians say, that in the year 1679, the emperor *Leopold* (notwithstanding an armistice and treaty the year before) retracts his former offers, thinking now he had secured a peace with *France*. However, *Tekeli*, out of love to the daughter of the princess dowager *Ragotski*, revolted to the emperor; but being slighted, returned again to his old friends, and returned to the command of his deserted troops; with three hundred of whom he surprised *Kremnitz*.

(R) *Manley* says, eighty thousand crowns.

(S) The title is appropriated to the mother of the reigning *Soltân*, who can lie with no women in the *Saray*, without her consent. Every day during the feast of *Bâyram*, she presents him a beautiful virgin for his use. Her revenue is 1000 purses.

If the *Soltân* lies but once with any woman, she is separated from the rest, has attendants given her, and called *Khafeki*; but has no access to him, unless sent for, not to her on whose head, out of love, he has set the crown. She has also guards, a revenue of at least 500 purses, and is called *Khafeki Soltâna*. *Cant.*

(T) They who are best acquainted with the counsels of the *Othmân* court, at that time affirm, that none but

the *Soltân* and the *Wazîr Kâra Mostafa*, were for a war with the emperor of *Germany*, till the rest were drawn in, by the motives of interest. *Cant.*

(U) This is the usual revenue assigned to the *Valide Soltâna*, and other *Khafeki*; the name is derived from *Pashmak*, a *Sandal*, because said to be granted to buy sandals (or as pin-money with us). In all towns taken by the *Turks*, some street is assigned for the *Pashmaklik*, as *Pera* in *Constantinople*. Hence the *Valide Soltâna's* revenue is very large. *Cant.*

(X) A man so very eminent both in war and peace, that he is reckoned by the *Turks*, one of the greatest men of his age. *Cant.*

(Y) He likewise took *Zatmar* first of all. Afterwards the *Turks* acting for themselves, *Tekeli* surrendered to them on their appearance, and the *Pâshâ* of *Waradin* took *Tilek*, *Leventz*, and *Neutra*. *Manley.*

(Z) *Tekeli* going to *Buda*, to take his measures from the *Pâshâ*, was received with great honour, and presented by him, as from the *Soltân*, with a sword, pole-ax, and standard. Some say he declared him king of *Hungary*, and invested him with the royal robes and crown. *Manley*

At

a At length, when he was informed of the new king's success, he sends for *Caprara*, and acquaints him, that the *Soltân* would grant the emperor peace on no other conditions, than the restoration of *Hungary* to the state it was in 1067; a yearly tribute of five hundred thousand florins; the demolition of *Leopoldopolis* and *Gutta*; the resignation of *Neutraschnita* and *Ekolt*, with the island of *Schut*, and the fortrefs of *Muran* to *Tekeli*; a general amnesty to the *Hungarians*, with the restitution of their estates and privileges. *Kara Mostafa*, on finding these terms rejected by the emperor, immediately proclaims war against him, and orders the horse-tails to be set up before the palace in the month of *Shawal*^p. A. D. 1682.

A FEW days after he departs for *Adrianople*, there to prepare for the *German* expedition. *The army* But at *Chirpiji Chayri* (B), a meadow one mile from *Constantinople* where he encamped, there *sets out*.
 b happened such a violent storm and whirlwind, mixed with rain and hail, that the tents of the *Soltân*, prime *Wazîr*, *Mufti*, and the *Pâshâs*, were overthrown. Five days after at *Silbebria*, on the sea shore, another tempest arose, while so great a torrent of water rushed from the mountains, that the tents, baggage, horses, cattle, and the very soldiers themselves were overwhelmed, or carried with the stream into the sea. These two accidents struck no small terror into the superstitious *Turks*; who, accustomed to judge of the success of actions from the beginnings, interpreted these accidents to be marks of divine vengeance, and God's displeasure against the *Othmân* arms: but the *Soltân* despising such vulgar reflections, as unworthy a great mind, pursues his intended march, and reaches *Adrianople* about the end of the year. At length having in the winter finished his preparations, he in *Rabio'lakbir*, 1094, sets out with his whole
 c army towards *Belgrade*; but altering his resolution, stops at *Hesarijik*, a town about eight hours from *Adrianople*. Here, after a second review of his forces, he delivers the command of his army to the prime *Wazîr*, with *Mohammed's* standard (C), and then returns to *Constantinople*, hunting all the way. Hej. 1094. A. D. 1683.

THE *Wazîr* pursuing his march, passes the *Save* at *Belgrade*, and at *Essek* is met by *Tekeli*, Tekeli's with about three hundred *Hungarian* nobles, who is received with great marks of respect. *arguments*. A few days after, although he had a full power of acting from the *Soltân*, yet he called a council of the chief officers, with a view not only to gain their affections by this condescension, but also to lay the blame on their advice in case any thing went wrong. As *Tekeli* was supposed to have the most perfect knowledge of the state of *Germany*, he was ordered to deliver
 d his opinion first (D), and declare what part of it ought principally to be attacked; and whether the siege of *Vienna* should be undertaken this year, or deferred till the next.

ON this occasion the new *Hungarian* king made a pathetic speech, wherein he shewed, *against be-* from cogent arguments, "That it would be greatly detrimental to the *Othmân* interest to *sieging* Vienna: "besiege *Vienna*; that being too remote from the borders of the *Othman* empire, the army
 "would be wasted by the garrisons of the country they were to pass through, before they
 "could reach the city: that if the siege should be prolonged by the bravery of the defend-
 "ants, the besiegers must be starved for want of provisions, which would be intercepted by
 "the enemy, who at the same time would weaken the army by their incursions: that in
 "case they should take *Vienna*, all the Christian princes, even the king of *France* himself,
 e "would unite to recover the city, which they consider as the bulwark of their religion: that
 "if the *German* princes found there were no other hopes of safety, rather than submit to the
 "Soltân, they would call in the king of *France*, and declare him emperor; who joining even
 "the remains of the *Germans* to his own army, would, he feared, become more powerful
 "than was imagined."

ON the other hand he urged, "That the war might be carried on in *Hungary* with less *for subduing* hazard and more advantage: that the part under his banner, now voluntarily offered to *Hungary*,
 "submit to the *Soltân*, and that the other part, subject to the emperor, was weary of the
 "German tyranny: that *Hungary* being once brought under, it would be easy to subdue
 "not only *Vienna*, but all *Germany*; and that the country would prove a magazine of pro-
 f "visions and stores for future expeditions into any other parts: that the *Wazîr* should encamp

^p CANT. p. 295, & seq.

(B) Near *Daud Pâshâ*.

(C) 'Tis a standard of green silk, long and large, made like all other *Sanjâks*. The Christians thought they had taken it at *Vienna*, but were mistaken, for the *Wazîr* himself carried it off. It is never brought out of the camp, or exposed in battle. 'Tis very old and tatter'd, rolled round a spear, on the top of which is the word *Alem*. 'Tis carried in a chest on a camel before the *Soltân*, or the *Wazîr*, when going to war. Whether *Mohammed's*, or another, I cannot say.

Cant.

(D) Though most of the Christian writers ascribe the siege of *Vienna* to *Tekeli's* counsels, yet prince *Cantemir* affirms it was not so; that *Aneji Soleymân Pâshâ*, when *Wazîr*, publicly demonstrated his innocence, and that *Haznader Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, governor of *Belgrade*, who was present at all the consultations, assured him, that *Tekeli* was against the siege, and gave advice, such as is set forth in the text. He adds, that *Tekeli* told him *Mau-rocordatus* invented that calumny, and also provoked the *Wazîr Kara Ibrâhîm Pâshâ* to imprison him.

" about

A. D. 1683. " about *Buda* or *Belgrade* with the greater part of the army, in order to march against the enemy, if they appeared in the field; and in case they retired into the cities and castles, to send the *Tatars*, and other light armed troops, to lay waste *Austria*, *Moravia*, *Bohemia*, and *Silesia*; that by this means, the imperial army being without difficulty dispersed, and unable to subsist for want of corn, the whole *German* empire would be reduced in a single campaign."

The Wazîr
dissembles.

THE *Wazîr*, too confident of his own power, and meditating greater designs, did not like this wholesome advice; but concealing his sentiments, lest he should disoblige the *Hungarians*, commands the other *Pâshâs* to declare their opinions. *Ibrâhîm*, *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, and *Abmed* *Pâshâ*, high treasurer, (both eminent for their warlike conduct, and of great authority in the camp) partly guessing at the general's opinion; and knowing he would prove an enemy to those who should be against the intended siege of *Vienna*, which they looked upon to be dangerous, as *Tekeli* had represented it, delivered their minds directly, neither on one side nor the other; saying, it ought to be left to the well-known wisdom of *Kara Mostafa*, to determine whether the war was to be carried into *Hungary* or *Germany*. The *Wazîr*, perceiving that even these two *Pâshâs* were not entirely of his opinion, the better to conceal his designs, pretends to approve of *Tekeli*'s advice; and ordering the army to march for *Yavarin*, (or *Raab*), sends the imperial ambassador, whom he had hitherto amused with the hopes of peace, to *Buda*, that he might not be an observer of his proceedings^a.

Besieges
Yavarin.

AT the same time all his forces being assembled by the arrival of *Selîm Gyeray*, *Khân* of the *Tatars*, the *Wazîr* passes the *Raab*, after the *Hungarians*, left to guard the ford, had shamefully abandoned their post (E), and encamps under the walls of *Yavarin*. But he had scarce began to batter the place, when he was informed by his scouts, that the emperor was fled from *Vienna* to *Lintz*, that every thing there was in confusion, the walls ruinous, the magazines empty, the garrison weak and seized with fear, as well as the citizens. This encouraged him to prosecute his design; and having by large promises gained over the *Janizaries*, with their *Aga*, he sends again for the chief *Pâshâs* to deliver their opinion: but they now perceiving the *Wazîr* to be wavering, unanimously advise against the siege of *Vienna*, till the cities in the way were all subdued. *Tekeli* above all opposed that scheme, foreseeing that if the *Wazîr* persisted in it, all his hopes of the kingdom of *Hungary* would be destroyed.

Marches to
Vienna.

KARA MOSTAFA finding he could not prevail by his speeches, at last produces the *Soltân*'s *Khâtî Sharîf* (or order), by which he was empowered to act as he should think fit. On sight of this the *Pâshâs* having no more to say, promise to execute his commands with cheerfulness. The *Wazîr*, having thus gained his point, leaves a few troops under *Kior Housseyn Pâshâ* (F), to block up *Yavarin*; and taking the rest of forces, moves with the utmost expedition towards *Vienna*. In their march they seize the baggage of several imperial officers (G), kill the troops which convoyed them, and take a great many prisoners, with whom they appear before *Vienna* on the 18th of *Jomazio'lakbir*. The trenches being opened, and every thing necessary for the siege prepared, the *Wazîr* soon makes himself master of the out-works, beats down the walls with his cannon and mines; and then assaults the city with such vigour, that although the garrison, assisted by the citizens, bravely disputed every inch of ground, yet in all probability the place must have been quickly taken, had the general continued the siege as vigorously as he began it.

His ambitious
views.

BUT *Kara Mostafa*, though otherwise a man of great prudence and experience, being infatuated with ambition and the power he saw himself invested with, imagines it for his interest to prolong the siege. He fancied he was able to throw off the *Othmân* dominion, and having seized the metropolis of all *Germany*, found a *Mussulman* empire in the west (H), which should rival that in the east. He thought he had nothing to fear from the *Soltân*, since all the disciplined troops of the empire were under his command, and it would be difficult for *Mohammed* to bring such an army against him. The emperor of *Germany* seemed less formidable to him, as he hoped to be master of his capital city before the troops expected from *Poland*, whose proceedings were known to be dilatory, could possibly arrive. He had brought with him a great treasure, and resolved to increase them with the riches of the *German* princes, which he supposed to be repositied in the city besieged by him.

Corrupts the
Pâshâs.

HE knew that the *Pâshâs* and other governors in *Hungary*, appointed by him during his seven years *Wazîrship*, were attached to his interest, and imagined would prove no obstacle

^a CANT. p. 299, & seq.

(E) Some say count *Budden* treacherously gave the *Turks* a free passage; but his crime was never clearly proved. *Cant.*

(F) *Kior* signifies one who is blind, or has but one eye, in the *Persian* and *Turkish* languages.

(G) These were the duke of *Saxenburg*, prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, counts *Caprara* and *Montecuculi*. *Manley*.

(H) The Christian historians relate his aspiring to found an empire in the west, as one cause of his fall. See *Manley* in *Mab.* IV. ad ann. 1683.

a to his advancement. It remained only to gain *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, a man of great authority with the principal officers of the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*. These latter he prevailed on by large presents. He promised *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ* the kingdom of *Hungary* for ever; to divide all the provinces of it among the *Spahis*, by way of *Timâr* (I); and to settle the whole army in the cities and lands of that country, as new colonies, after driving out or enslaving the old possessors. But he reserved for himself, under the title of *Soltân*, all *Germany*, as far as the borders of *France*, *Transilvania*, and *Poland*, which he resolved the next year either to subdue or make tributary.

LET us now leave the *Wazîr*, big with these great designs, in the camp before *Vienna*, *Leopold* ^{pre-} and see what measures were taken by the emperor to repel the enemy. While count *Caprara* ^{parcs for his} was in vain waiting at *Constantinople* for a confirmation of the peace, *Leopold's* ambassador in *Poland* had much better success in his negotiations. The states of that kingdom, excited either by the common danger, or the pope's exhortations, laying aside their intestine divisions, unanimously resolve to raise an army, and oppose the enemy of the cross. Accordingly, an alliance is quickly concluded between the emperor and *John Sobieski* (K); of which one of the principal articles was, that in case the capital of either monarch should be attacked by the *Turks*, both princes should march in person with their whole army to its relief.

LEOPOLD being strengthened on that side, in the following year declares *Charles* duke of *Lorraine* general of his army; and as soon as he heard war had been proclaimed at *Constantinople*, ordered him to march with what forces he had ready into *Hungary*, and there, before the *Turks* could arrive, make himself master of some castle, which might serve as a bulwark to *Germany*. The duke first attempts *Gran*, the garrison of which he had been assured was very weak: but finding that a large reinforcement of *Turks* from *Wywar* had entered the city, he sets fire to the bridge, which joined the two places, and on the 7th of *Jamazio'lakbir* invests *Wywar* (L). There for eight days both sides fight with equal bravery, yet not with equal success; for the imperial general being informed that the *Wazîr* was advancing against him with a powerful army from *Belgrade*, on the 14th of the same month abandons the siege, though the city could not long have held out. Then supplying the garrison of *Vienna* with several regiments, he encamps with the rest of his army near the city, on the borders of *Hungary* and *Austria*, in such a manner, that he might provide for the exigencies of both countries, and safely wait for the forces of *Poland* as well as of other states. When *Leopold* heard that *Hungary* was abandoned by his troops, and that the *Turks* were preparing to besiege *Vienna*; not thinking himself secure within the city, he commits the defence of it to count *Staremburg*, a man of approved integrity, valour, and prudence, and retires to *Lintz* on the *Danube*, as before-mentioned, and from thence sends letters to all the neighbouring princes to desire their assistance.

THIS is in substance much the same with what is related by the Christian writers, from whom it will be proper to add a few particulars. According to them, *Tekeli*, in *February* 1683, blocked up all the emperor's towns in *Upper Hungary*, and the *Turks* in *March* posted fifteen thousand men to secure the bridge of *Essek*. On the 7th of *May*, *Leopold*, attended by the dukes of *Bavaria* and *Lorraine*, reviewed his army, which did not consist of more than forty-three thousand men: but in these are not reckoned six thousand hired *Poles*, commanded by prince *Luhomirski*, a great number of volunteers, and the forces of *Alsatia*, with those of the *Rhine*. The cannon consisted of seventy great pieces and fifteen mortars, under the care of count *Staremburg*, general of the artillery. The *Turkish* army, according to a moderate computation, amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand effective men, besides miners, gunners, sutlers, and other attendants, which might well make forty thousand more.

UPON the march of the *Wazîr* towards *Vienna*, and the emperor's retreat to *Lintz*, every thing was in the utmost confusion, till the duke of *Lorraine* arrived; who with count *Staremburg*, the governor, set all things in order for a vigorous defence. The whole garrison (including 2717 train'd bands, officers and volunteers) consisted of thirteen thousand men. The *Turks* beginning to approach the city, the duke on the 14th retreated over the bridges, and encamped: but the isle of *Tabor* in the *Danube* being judged no proper place for the cavalry, he passed that river, leaving the bridges to be defended by *Schultz's* dragoons. On the 16th, the *Wazîr*

* CANT. p. 303, & seq.

* Ibid. p. 305. & seq.

(I) *Timâr Spahi* are the nobles or old *Spahi*, who for their stipend have villages assigned them in the provinces, and are obliged, in proportion to their income, to carry slaves to the wars, but three at least.

(K) In the year 1679, both the czar of *Russia* and king of *Poland* offered to enter into league with *Leopold* against the *Turks*; but the emperor, though he ap-

prehended a war from that quarter, yet not having force enough to reduce the malcontents, he did not think proper to begin first with the *Porte*. *Manley*.

(L) The Christian historians say *New Hensel*, and that he raised the siege the 3d of *June*, and marched towards *Raab* to observe the enemy's motions.

A. D. 1683. entered the camp, and began to open his trenches about fifty paces from the counterescarp, in the suburbs of *Ulrick*; ordering a writing or summons, wrapped in a linen bag, to be thrown on the covered way, wherein he exhorted the governor and people to turn *Mohammedans* and surrender the city, otherwise to expect no mercy.

AFTER this, the *Turks* and *Tatars* obliged the troops which kept the bridges to retire. One of the first misfortunes which befel the besieged was, their governor's being wounded in the head with a brick bat. Mean time the *Turks* having drawn two parallel lines, and a third on the *lobel* bastion, with a line of communication between both, here raised their batteries of thirty pieces of cannon. The prime *Wazîr* took his station on the side of the ravelin, with his *Kyehaya*, the *Janizer Aga* and *Pâshâ* of *Rumeli*, who was killed with a cannon ball. The attack of the court bastion on the right was given to *Husseyn, Pâsha* of *Damaskus*; that of the *lobel* bastion on the left of the *Wazîr*, to *Abmed, Pâshâ* of *Temeswar*. But although they were disturbed in their lines by a brisk sally of the besieged; yet on the 23d of *July*, a strong gale of wind blowing towards the city, they threw several bombs into it, and the same day sprung a mine near the *lobel* bastion with very little effect: however, they made a furious assault upon it, but came off with loss. Next morning a messenger from the duke having swam four times over the water with a letter in a bladder, hung about his neck, with much difficulty got into the city, and gave the besieged hopes of relief, as the army was now daily encreasing¹.

The *Wazîr's* avarice.

MEAN time the *Wazîr Kara Mostafa* continues the siege of *Vienna*, not as prudence, but his vain imagination suggested: for in a persuasion that the city could not avoid falling into his hands, he would not suffer it to be closely blocked up on all sides, or the breaches to be attacked every-where with equal vigour; but orders the soldiers daily to assault in small parties only, that the garrison being exhausted with continual watching and loss of their men, might be obliged at length to surrender the castle. When the *Janizaries*, ignorant of the general's designs, began openly to complain of these proceedings, and that more were destroyed by the skirmishes than by a general assault of the whole army; he unwarily discovers part of his projects, telling those who acquainted him with what was said, that he could not satisfy the desires of the army, because he knew there were great treasures in the city, which it would be improper, and contrary to the *Soltân's* command, to give up for plunder.

Provisions fail in the camp.

BESIDES, lest the soldiers should happen to break into the city, and in the first heat to seize on those treasures, he commands proclamation to be made in the camp, that if any *Othmân* troops should force the walls, they should immediately secure themselves with a trench, and not presume to advance farther, or enter any house, before he should come and give them fresh orders. Lastly, that after taking the city, the want of corn should not oblige him to change or defer his designs; he very sparingly distributes the provisions, which he had brought with him in great plenty, alleging that good part of it was to be reserved for the troops to be left in garrison when the city should be reduced. In the mean while, all the provisions expected from *Hungary* were intercepted by the garrisons of *Presburg*, *Tavarin* and *Komorra*, as *Tekeli* had foretold the *Wazîr*. Hence so great a scarcity arose, that, a thing before unknown in the *Turkish* camp, ten drachms of bread, and even without salt, were sold for one *Rhub* (M), with other eatables, and liquors in proportion.

THE general, to remedy this inconvenience before the famine caused a sedition in the army, sends a *Pâshâ*, with twenty thousand men to the aid of *Tekeli* (N), with orders to attack *Presburg*, because that was the city least able to make resistance; and see the provisions, with the military stores collected at *Buda*, safely conducted to the *Othmân* camp. But duke *Charles* being informed of the *Wazîr's* intentions, sends prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, with several regiments, who first meeting with *Tekeli*, quickly disperse the *Hungarian* troops; which struck the *Turks* with such terror, that besides a thousand killed, and many taken, they leave a thousand waggons laden with provisions and warlike engines, as a booty to the victors.

The soldiers desert.

THE *Janizaries*, on the news of this defeat and loss, exasperated against their general, began to exclaim, that they came to fight, not against famine, but the enemy; and growing negligent in their duty, allow the garrison, now reduced to the utmost extremity, time to resume their courage, and repair their breaches. The officers likewise, discouraged by the obstinacy of the *Wazîr*, and difficulty of the siege, grow careless of their affairs; and would have been surprised by the imperial army, if one of the enemy's couriers, who was taken, had not shewn them to what danger they were exposed. But this indolence had taken such deep root in the minds of the soldiers, that they were heard frequently to say, "O! infidel; if thou wilt not come thyself, at least shew thy cap, at the sight of which we will fly in

¹ MANLEY, ubi sup. JONES in Mah. IV.

(M) It is the fourth part of a *leone*, as a *tult* is the third. *Cant.*

(N) The Christian writers reckon in the whole 28,000 men.

a “an hour.” And, on the approach of the *Polish* auxiliaries, although it was easy for them to have hindered the junction of the two armies, yet not a single man would stir, to divert that imminent danger. Shortly after, the night before the battle, almost a fourth part of the army dispersed themselves; and those who remained seemed to want resolution to fight ^{A. D. 1683.}*

By this account one would imagine, that the *Turks* remained quite inactive before *Vienna*, ^{The Turks advance on the court bastion;} after the defeat at *Presburg*; but according to the Christian accounts, they pressed the siege with great vigour. On the 26th of *July* they designed a furious assault, and ordered all their warlike musick to sound: but just as they were beginning the attack, the besieged sprung a mine, which blew up many of the enemy: and though the rest pressed hard to gain the ground, which the mine had laid open, they were valiantly repulsed with considerable loss.

b However, they gave the besieged no rest; and on the 6th of *August*, springing a mine, which opened the earth very much, as far as the counterscarp, towards the court bastion, they there began a terrible fight, which lasted five hours: and notwithstanding the great valour of count *Lesley* the younger (slain in this action) they at last, like a violent torrent, became masters of the ditch of the court ravelin; though with the loss of one thousand men, to one hundred and eighty of the besieged.

On the 8th, the *Turks* sprung a mine at the point of the court bastion, which they seconded with an assault; so that the governor judging it impossible to defend the ravelin, caused the cannon to be withdrawn from thence, and then in a sally, driving the enemy out of their galleries, burnt all their works. The *Turks* at length, by their assiduous labours, on the 13th c blew up the flanker of the ravelin: but the quantity of powder being very great, the mine reversed on themselves, with such execution, as abated the courage of the assailants. However, the besieged being much distressed with their daily losses, sent the duke of *Lorain* an account, by one *Kotlinski*; who disguising himself like a *Turk*, silently passed the pallisadoes, and went confidently, singing a *Turkish* air, through their camp. The same messenger returning with letters, promising speedy relief, they signified the receipt of them to the imperial camp, by firing three rockets, while they rung the bells for joy, and fired all the guns in the city on the enemy.

It would be tedious to relate every day's action. But while these things were going forward bravely repulsed before the city, divers rencounters happened abroad; in which considerable bodies of *Tatars*, ^{repulsed.} d *Turks*, and malecontents, were defeated with great slaughter, and convoys of provisions from time to time intercepted. Hereupon the *Wazir* orders *Tekeli* to repair with his forces to the siege; but he excused himself from that service. Mean time, although the *Turkish* camp began to be somewhat discouraged for want of forage, yet they still persisted vigorously to push on the siege. On the 23d of the same month, they carried a third part of the ravelin, where they made a lodgement: next day they sprung another mine, without success; at which time, a messenger brought news to the besieged, of speedy relief. Hereupon they made a sally on the 25th, with so much resolution, that they drove the *Turks* out of the ditch, overthrew their galleries and gabions, nailed six of their cannon, and discharged one of their mines of its powder.

e HOWEVER, the 27th in the evening, sixty rockets were fired from *St. Stephen's* tower, as a signal of their great distress: while the *Turks* fired incessantly upon the place, sprung a mine, and were within a little of taking the ravelin; which caused the besieged, for fear of the worst, to make another retrenchment at the foot of the court bastion. On the first of *September* they made a sally, though not with the desired success: but in another on the same day they burnt the enemy's galleries; and ruined so much of their works, that they could not repair the same in less than three days. However, on the third the governor thought fit to quit the ravelin to the enemy; who having sprung a mine next day under the court bulwark (which made a great breach, and shook the whole city) five thousand *Turks*, with their drawn scymiters, immediately entered, and crying *Allah! Allah!* planted four of their standards upon the f breach.

THE besieged here acted even beyond themselves; and after a fight all day long, repulsed the enemy with the slaughter of twelve hundred. They beat them also next day in the ditch: ^{Repulsed again.} and although, on the 6th, they with two mines made a breach in the *lobel* bastion, and vigorously assaulted it for two hours, yet they were beaten off; and in their retreat, lost two thousand men, slain by the cannon, grenadoes, and other engines. The joy for this success was increased by five rockets fired the same evening from the mountains of *Kalemberg*, as signals that relief was at hand. The *Turks* being not insensible hereof, took an account of their army, which from one hundred and sixty-eight thousand, was now reduced to one hundred and nineteen thousand four hundred and fifty-six. Therefore, on the 9th, they

* CANT. p. 306, & seq.

A. D. 1683. resolve to make their last effort against the city, which they judged was now reduced to the utmost extremity, as in reality it was.

Prepare for battle.

ACCORDINGLY they redoubled the firing of their cannon and mortars, though it was but like the last struggle before death: for in the afternoon the *Turkish* camp began to move, and their cavalry to ride in a confused manner from one side to another, in order to change their situation for fighting: while those who were left to carry on the siege, still went forward with their works, and sprung nine several mines under the *lobel* bastions, but without much execution. Other mines were discovered on the 10th; and next day they cannonaded the place, with as much violence as ever: but the noise, occasioned by the approach of the Christian army, at last silenced their roaring. This indeed happened very seasonably, for the besieged were now reduced to great extremities, as well as necessities; and the appearance of smoke, in three different places, on the *Kalemberg* mountains, cheered their spirits, as being the signal that the duke was hastening to their relief.

A council held.

BEING now come to the eve before the battle, it is time to return to the *Turkish* historians, and see what resolutions were taken in the *Othmân* army. While the desertion of their soldiers before-mentioned struck the *Pâshâs* with dread, the *Wazîr* alone continues fearless. However, he assembles the other officers to hear their opinions. *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, first delivers his thoughts, and advises the raising of the siege; then marching against the enemy, to make a rampart with the trees of the neighbouring woods, and fortify it with cannon, in order to receive the first attack: that afterwards, the horse should fall on the enemy in flank, as they retired, and thus obtain an easy victory. All the *Pâshâs*, excepting a few, approve this advice: but the *Wazîr* obstinately opposes their admonitions; alleging, that if he raised the siege, the garrison would destroy the works raised against them, repair their walls, and recover their strength: that the small forces of the enemy, which scarce deserved the name of an army, would refuse to venture a battle; which, as things then stood, they could not avoid, without hazarding the loss of their all: that even after a victory, it would be difficult to get the *Janizaries* to return to the siege, and again enter the trenches, where they had suffered so much already; and that in case it should not, yet the autumnal rains were approaching, which formerly obliged *Soleyman* to withdraw with his army from before the same place. For these, and other reasons, he concluded it best to continue the siege, without drawing off to fight the enemy.

The Pâshâ's opinion.

The Wazîr's obstinacy.

WHEN the *Wazîr* had done speaking, the *Pâshâs* answered, that the garrison being so much exhausted with sickness and labours, would be more solicitous to defend the fortifications still left than to recover what they had lost: and that as the trenches and other works were stronger than the city, if one or two regiments were left to defend them, it would be more difficult for the garrison to seize them, than for the *Janizaries* to take the city. But nothing could divert the *Wazîr* from his purpose, which he resolved to execute, by virtue of the power given him by the *Soltân*.

The battle fought.

THE Christian army therefore advancing on the 20th day of *Ramazân*, *Kara Mostafa* orders first all the prisoners, amounting to near thirty thousand, to be massacred. Then dividing his forces, which were not employed in the siege, into three parts, he gives the command of the left wing to *Ibrâhîm*, *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, and of the right to *Kara Mehmed*, *Pâshâ* of *Diyarbeker*; the body of the army, with the *Aga* of the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, he reserves for himself. The rest of the *Janizaries* he leaves under the command of his *Kyehaya*, in the trenches, to attack the city in the mean time. Although the officers seemed to execute these orders with great vigour, yet the *Wazîr* soon found what *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ* had told him was true, and now too late repented that he had not followed his advice: for, upon the first charge of the *Germaus*, those who were placed in both wings quit their ranks, and refuse to obey the orders of their generals. The *Janizaries* who were left in the works, observing what was done in the battle, of their own accord abandon the siege, and remove out of their trenches, under pretence of assisting their companions who were in distress, but in reality to withdraw themselves from the danger. The *Polish* forces soon after coming up, and attacking the body of the army, which was intirely unsupported, the rest of the *Janizaries* and *Spahis* betake themselves to flight with the utmost precipitation.

The Turks overthrown:

WHEN *Kara Mostafa Pâshâ* saw his soldiers scattered on every side, and no possibility of renewing the battle, he returns also himself to the camp; and finding no man in his tent, laments his ill fortune with a flood of tears, takes up alone the standard of *Mohammed*, and follows the remains of his army with all possible speed. Night coming on, the darkness covers the fugitives from the enemies sword, but does not remove their fears: which had so deeply possessed them, that insensible of hunger, and the fatigues of the way, they never stop till they reach their companions, who had been left at the siege of *Tavarin*, twenty-five

- a German miles from *Vienna*: thus travelling in one day and night, without meat or drink, the *A. D. 1683.*
space of fifty hours.

MEAN time the imperial army, finding that the *Othmâns*, after a short skirmish, retreated to their camp, and not knowing what passed there, imagined the *Wazîr* had laid an ambuscade for them; because they could not believe that such a numerous army would take to flight upon so slight an attack. As the darkness increased their apprehensions of danger, they resolved to stop, and to assault the camp next morning: but when they were informed by their scouts, that the *Turks* were fled (O), the *Poles*, chiefly induced by the hopes of plunder, enter their camp in the night, and find there, besides one hundred and eighty large cannon, with other warlike stores, a great booty, and provision enough for several months².

- b To this account of the *Turkish* historians, let us add some particulars from the Christian. *Order of battle.*
September 12, being the day appointed for the relief of *Vienna*, which could not have held out twenty-four hours longer; the confederate troops joined the *Imperialists* at the foot of the *Kalemberg*, or mountain of *Kalem*, amounting by computation in the whole to sixty-five thousand men. In their march over this mountain, the prince of *Saxe Lawenburg*, general of the cavalry, with eight regiments of horse, two of dragoons, and one of *Kroats*, belonging to the emperor, with all the cavalry and dragoons of *Bavaria* and *Frankonia*, marched on the right; and next to them the king of *Poland*, with his army. In the middle was the infantry of *Bavaria* and *Frankonia*, commanded by prince *Waldek*, near whom the elector of *Bavaria* kept all that day. The imperial foot, with the *Saxons*, under prince *Herman* of
c *Baden*, were drawn up on the left, and marched along the *Danube*, towards *St. Leopold*: next to these, on the left, marched count *Caprara*, with seven regiments of imperial horse, joined by the *Poles*, under *Lubomirski*; with all the cavalry and dragoons of *Saxony*, commanded by the elector himself.

- BOTH armies began with the opening of the morning, to take a view of each other; and the generals supposed by the disposition of the *Turkish* camp, that they intended to dispute every inch of ground with them. This they might easily have done, had they possessed themselves of the forest of *Vienna*, which could have hindered the descent of the confederate army from the mountains. Therefore the king of *Poland* got four battalions of *German* foot to flank his horse; and count *Lesley*, general of the artillery, having raised a battery at
d the coming out of the wood, the *Turks* early in the morning detached some forces to demolish it. In the mean time, the duke of *Lorraine*, observing the motion of the enemy from *St. Leopold*, sent some battalions under the duke of *Croy* to attack them; which he did with such gallantry, that he made them retire to their main body, although himself was wounded in the action.

- THE whole *Turkish* army beginning now to move, the duke of *Lorraine* ordered his left wing to advance; and the princes of *Waldek* and *Saxe Lawenburg*, to fall out of the woods upon their front, at the head of their intrenchment, while the king of *Poland* rode in among the ranks of his army, encouraging them to conquer, or die martyrs to their religion. By this time the *Kalemberg*, and neighbouring forests, resounded with the peals of cannon, and
e volleys of shot; which invited the inhabitants of *Vienna* to the tops of their houses and rampiers, to behold the long wished-for fight of their deliverance. However, they did not so neglect their own defence, but that the *Turks*, who attacked them now more closely than ever, were bravely repulsed.

- MEAN time the confederate army advanced boldly upon the enemy, who began to shelter themselves behind trees, rocks, and rugged places; and the *Imperialists* left wing, without
much resistance, possessed themselves of the post at *Holstadt*, while prince *Waldek* compelled them on the other side to give way. The king of *Poland* also detached several *Hussars*, to skirmish with the front of the enemy: but being overpowered, they were forced to retreat to a place where *Waldek* had seasonably ordered some troops to advance, who put a stop to the
f pursuit of the *Turks*. The king seeing the disorder of the *Hussars*, caused the first line of his army to march, who forced the gross of the enemy's to retire to the top of the hill. And now the whole *Polish* army moved, opposing the *Othmâns* in several places; while the duke of *Lorraine* advancing with the left wing, the *Turks*, to avoid the attack upon their right, drew into battalia before their line of circumvallation, and there fortified themselves

² CANT. p. 308, & seq.

(O) Happy is the Christian general who sustains three onsets of the *Turks*; for at the third, or at most the fourth repulse, they will certainly turn their backs: and if he advances upon them with a slow pace, they will not only abandon their camp and cannon, but also put the whole army in disorder, by the confused cry of

Gyâwr Ghildî, the infidel is coming. The *Janizaries* are not obliged to make above three charges: once indeed in a battle with the *Russians*, in 1711, they renewed the attack seven times; but it was because the *Russian* general dared not pursue them, when they gave way.

Cant.

A. D. 1683. with some cannon : but after all, making no resistance, the duke commanded the whole left a wing to wheel about to the right, without breaking their ranks, or falling to plunder.

The camp entered.

THE king and *Waldek* entered the *Turkish* camp about seven in the evening ; and the duke soon after mastered the counterscarp, and suburbs of the city. Night put an end to the battle ; which favoured the retreat of the *Janizaries*, and gave the confederates a complete victory : for the enemy abandoned all their tents, baggage, ammunition, and provisions, with all their artillery, and they so hastened their retreat, that the van of their army had passed *Raab* before next day in the evening. The *Wazîr's* rich tent fell to the king of *Poland*, who made the emperor a tender of one half of the booty (P), which he generously refused : but at the bishop of *Vienna's* instance, took down the crescent from the spire of the cathedral, and set up the cross. This crescent was erected in 1529, when *Soleyman* besieged the city, and was there by compact to remain, on condition that the *Turks* should not batter the steeple with their cannon ; which compact they had now broken.

Booty found there.

To give our readers a general estimate of the booty taken on occasion of this signal defeat ; there were 6500 tents ; 4500 barrels of powder ; 6000 weight of lead ; 20,000 granado shells ; 8000 hand granadoes ; 11,000 shovels and pickaxes ; 1600 weight of match ; 2500 fire balls ; 5200 weight of pitch ; 11,000 weight of oil of petroleum and tar ; 500,000 of linseed oil ; 9500 of salt-petre ; 5100 pieces of coarse linen ; 200,000 hair sacks, for carrying earth and sand ; 810 weight of iron bars and horse-shoes ; 100 ladles for melting pitch ; 200 weight of packthread, with thongs made of camels hides, and buffler leather, for binding ; 4000 sheep skins ; 52 sacks of cotton ; 1500 empty wool-sacks ; 2000 halberts ; 400 scythes and sickles ; 5600 barrels of guns, for the *Janizaries* ; 2000 plates of iron, for covering targets ; 123 hundred weight of grease and tallow ; 230 powder horns ; 2600 bags for powder ; four pair of smiths bellows ; 8000 carts ; 1000 great bombs ; 18,000 cannon balls ; 180 cannon and mortars^a.

^a RICAUT & MANLEY, ubi supra.

(P) We are told also that he sent one of the three standard to the pope : but it has been observed, in a former note, that it was not *Mohammed's* standard.

S E C T. III.

Transactions from the Siege of Vienna to that of Buda.

The Wazîr destroys the chief officers.

NOW let us break off, to return to the *Turkish* historians. While the Christian camp d resounds with joy at this so unexpected a victory, and all *Europe* congratulates the confederates upon the relief of *Vienna*, there appears a very different face of things among the *Turks* who had escaped from the defeat. The *Wazîr*, when he comes to *Tavarin*, earnestly studies not to repair his loss, but to turn upon others the danger, to which, according to the *Turkish* custom, himself lay exposed. He perceived it was not possible to do this, so long as *Ibrâhîm*, *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, and the rest, who were privy to his councils, were alive ; since they might, by their testimony, add great weight to the charge which would be preferred against him, and discover his designs against the *Othmân* empire. He therefore sends, on some pretence, for all those who had opposed him in the last consultation, and commands the *Pâshâs* to be strangled (Q), and the other officers of the army to be put to death ; giving out, that they, in conjunction with *Tekeli*, had first devised the siege of *Vienna*, and in a manner constrained him to undertake it, contrary to his inclination : that, notwithstanding, they were afterwards very dilatory in obeying his orders, and the first who in the battle betook themselves to flight. After this, he encamps under the walls of *Buda*, of which he makes *Kâra Mehemed Bâshâ* the governor ; a man who had always implicitly followed his opinion.

The Poles defeated.

In the mean time, the confederate army resolving to reap in *Hungary* some farther fruits of their victory, move towards the east. The *Poles*, who assumed the greatest share of that success, claimed the right of marching in the van, being farther puffed up with the pride of having routed some of the flying troops, wander about the country without any order, as if they had now subdued all the *Othmân* forces. In this manner ranging, they happen in the month of *Shawal*, to meet near *Gran* with six thousand horse, and two thousand *Janizaries*, f

(Q) They were the *Pâshâs* of *Buda*, *Esseck*, and *Posséga*, with the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*. The soldiers were mightily enraged hereat ; the *Pâshâ* of *Buda* being very well beloved by them, as well as the *Aga*. Manley. drawn

a drawn together by two *Pâshâs*. These they attack boldly, thinking to rout them at the first onset: but the *Turks*, who were at first inclined to fly, perceiving them to be separated from the rest of the army, make a stand, and after repulsing, hem them in: so that, had not the *Germans* seasonably come into their assistance, they must all have been destroyed by the *Othmâns*, who killed a thousand of them, with the son of general *Yablownowski* ^b. A. D. 1683.
 Seasonably relieved.

THE Christian writers inform us, that the design of the confederate army being to besiege *Barkan*, a palanka, or fort, opposite to *Gran*, the king of *Poland*, in haste to get thither, marched forward, leaving the infantry behind, contrary to the advice of the duke; who thereupon marched away, with most of the horse to attend him. The *Poles* being come within sight of some squadrons of the enemy, forced them to retreat: but being supported b by fresh troops, the king with all his cavalry came to be engaged; when six thousand *Turks*, concealed behind a hill, suddenly appearing, the *Poles* were charged both in front and rear with such bravery, that they were put to flight. The duke of *Lorraine*, on advice of this, hastened his march to the opening of a plain, where the *Turks* were in hot pursuit of the *Poles*; but on his appearance they retreated. The *Poles* were so discouraged with the repulse and loss they had sustained, amounting to 2000 men, that the duke had some difficulty to bring them to resolve upon another engagement ^c.

NEXT day, the *Polish* and *German* armies being united, attack the *Turks* near *Barkan*; and after a fierce battle, defeat them. In their flight, passing the *Danube* hastily, they with their weight break down the bridge, before one-fourth part could get over, and are carried away by the stream; the rest flying to *Barkan*, on the approach of the confederates, deliver up the town, and their arms, with both the generals. There fell in the battle about three thousand *Turks*: the remainder were either drowned in the river, or taken prisoners ^d. In this battle, prince *Lewis* of *Baden* commanded the right wing, *Dunewaldt* the left, and *Staremburg* the main body. The king of *Poland* posted himself on the right wing, between the imperial cavalry and dragoons; *Jablonski* in the left; and the rest of the *Polish* army made a third line. In this order, being come near the enemy, the *Turks* right wing charged the left of the confederates with such fierceness, as if they had a particular resentment against the *Poles*. At the same time, those on the rising of the hill advanced, as if they intended to attack the main body of the confederates; but they suddenly wheeled, and fell upon the left. This being d observed by the duke of *Lorraine*, he crossed the line of the cavalry on the left wing, and with all the first line which had not yet been engaged, charged the enemy in flank with such bravery, as to put them to a general rout, so that they could not rally again. *Dunewaldt* was ordered to pursue them; and with the first line, and *Poles* of the left wing, advanced to the very gates of *Barkan*; where many were killed, and perished in the marshes of *Gran*. Hereupon prince *Lewis* attacked and took the fort of *Barkan*; and of the vast multitude of people who were in that place, none escaped the sword or drowning, excepting about seven or eight hundred who were in a redoubt, and obtained quarter. The *Turks* in this battle lost above ten thousand of their best soldiers, and had about one thousand prisoners taken, among whom were the *Pâshâs* of *Hâlep* and *Silistria*, with several *Agas*. The *Poles* and *Germans* were ready to come e to blows about the plunder: but count *Staremburg* interposing, the place, with all the spoil, was yielded to the *Poles*.

THE *Turks*, on this defeat, grew very mutinous, so that the prime *Wazîr* himself dared hardly shew his head: while *Tekeli* and his associates sent deputies with proposals of accommodation to the duke of *Lorraine*, who would agree upon no terms, but an absolute submission. Soon after this, *Wesbrin* and *Leventz* received *German* garrisons: the countries also of *Trinschin*, *Tirnaw*, and *Nitria*, declared against the mal-contents. Mean time, the duke induced the king of *Poland*, after some hesitation, to undertake the siege of *Gran* ^e. The *Turkish* historians tell us, that the christian generals were at first diverted from this design, by a report, that the *Wazîr* was advancing with an army of fourscore thousand men, to wipe off his late f disgrace; but that the report proving false, they, in the beginning of *Zilkaadab*, attack this fortress with so much fury, that the *Turks* were seized with terror, and the governor *Bekr Pâshâ*, though he had above four thousand men, on the fourth day of the siege surrenders, upon capitulation, a city, which had resisted a much larger army for as many months ^f.

THE taking of this strong place was owing much to the bravery of the *Bavarian* troops. Three batteries raised against it, began to play on the 25th of *October* early, and much battered the castle on the side towards *Buda*; they threw in likewise many bombs, whilst the *Imperialists* advanced to the very ditch, and there made a lodgment, in spite of the great efforts of the besieged, to hinder them. They likewise stormed, and soon took the lower town on *Barkan* side, from whence the inhabitants retired to the castle. However, that night

^b CANT. p. 311, & seq. & MANLEY, ubi supra.

^c RICAUT & MANLEY, ubi supra.

^f CANT. p. 312.

^d CANT. p. 311.

^e RICAUT

A. D. 1683. they undermine the hill on which it stood, and there being also a wide breach made in the wall, the garrison was summoned to surrender, on condition of safety for their lives and goods, which next day, being the fifth of the siege, they, for fear of the utmost extremity, accepted of. The governor *Bekr Pâshâ*, and some others, having a great desire to wait on the duke of *Lorraine*, were treated by him with great civility.

Other advantages.

AFTER this success, the troops began to retire into winter quarters. In their way thither, *Leventz* yielded to them; the *Kroats* also took the castle of *Rabonitz*; the town of *Probenz* on the *Drave*; the castle of *Esseghet*, with the city and castle of *Brevenitz* near *Kanisia*. The citizens of *Setzin*, which was attacked by the *Poles*, opening the gates before the articles were agreed on, a miserable slaughter was made of them; among whom were slain twelve hundred *Janizaries* and two thousand other *Turks*. After this, the king returned home with his army. For all this separation of the confederate forces, the *Imperial* arms gained such reputation, that several castles belonging to the mal-contents surrendered at discretion; and count *Zabbar*, commander in chief next to *Tekeli*, submitted to the emperor^s.

Moldavian cruelty,

WHILE these things are doing in *Hungary*, *Petreczeicus* (O) prince of *Moldavia*, after the departure of the king of *Poland* for the relief of *Vienna*, joining those of his party with *Konikki* (P), general of the *Kosâks*, passed the *Tyras*, and marched into *Bessarabia*. When he found the country without any defence (for the *Bujâk* and *Krim Tatars* were almost all employed in the siege of *Vienna*) leaving the *Kosâks* to guard his camp, he, with his *Moldavian* troops, destroys the country on all all sides, with such cruelty, that he spared neither age nor sex. He empaled alive, or dashed out the brains of the *Tatarian* children; caused the virgins to be ravished and then murdered, the women with child to be ripped up, and the old men to be put to the most dreadful tortures, to make them discover their riches; in a word, he omitted no kind of barbarity which had ever been before invented.

severely re-
wenged.

WHILE the *Moldavians* (Q) are thus performing the part of executioners, rather than of soldiers, the *Tatars*, who had escaped from the battle of *Vienna*, return; and finding themselves inferior to the enemy, lie concealed in the borders, where being reinforced, they suddenly attack them, dispersed over the country, and take a severe revenge for the slaughter of their companions. Then they inclose the *Kosâks*, who not daring, on account of their fewness, to venture an engagement, defend themselves with a chain of waggons, and proceed slowly to the river *Hierasus*. But their number daily decreasing, and provisions failing, they are dispersed by famine and the snows, rather than by their pursuers. In their flight many are slain, and more taken prisoners: so that of the whole army, only a few troops of *Kosâks*, with *Petreczeicus* and *Konikki*, escape with great difficulty into *Poland*; nor could they have escaped, if the horses of the *Tatars* had not been quite spent.

Prince

Dukay's fate.

DUKAY, prince of *Moldavia*, underwent a much harder fate: for at his return from the *Vienna* expedition, when he sees the country in confusion (almost all the nobles having either revolted to *Petreczeicus*, or fled into the neighbouring provinces) and finds *Jassi*, his capital, desolate, he retires with a few followers to *Domnestim*, a village in the district of *Putna*, in expectation of better times: but here, while he is intent on settling the affairs of the nation, he is suddenly attacked by *Bainski* (R), a *Moldavian*, related to *Petreczeicus*, who takes and carries him into *Poland*; where soon after he dies in close confinement at *Warsaw*. In his room the *Turks* appoint *Demetrius Cantacuzenus* (S), a man of noble extraction, but weak, and fitter for times of peace than war; for which reason he did not long enjoy his dignity^h.

The Wazîr's
artifice to de-
stroy others.

LET us now see what was doing in the mean time at the *Othmân* court. The *Soltân*, who knew nothing of what passed either in the army or state, but as he was informed by the *Wazîr*, having been assured by that minister that *Vienna* could not hold out many days longer, as hath been before related, removed his hunting nearer to *Constantinople*, with design, as soon as news was brought him of its surrender, to celebrate his triumph with great magnificence: but when he heard of his army's defeat, he returned to his capital, to prevent any sedition which might be raised on that occasion. Not long after he received letters from the *Wazîr*, wherein he imputed his ill success to the artifices and treachery of his officers, especially *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, who first advised the siege, and then refused to obey his orders, prejudicing the rest by his ill example. With the letters he had sent rich presents to the *Valide Soltâna*, and all the officers

^s RICAUT & MANLEY, ubi supra.

^h CANT. p. 312, & seq.

(O) Who in the battle of *Chebrin* had revolted from the *Turks* to the *Poles*.

(P) He was, after the defection of *Doroshenko* and *Circo* to the *Turks* and *Russians*, made by the *Poles*, *Hetman* of the *Kosâks* dwelling between the *Tyras* and *Borysthenes*, who had not yet shaken off the *Polish* yoke.

CANT.

(Q) This was not the fault of all the *Moldavians*; for all the old and principal barons had retired to the

mountains, and into *Walakhia*; but it was done by some of the younger, who had been allured by the fallacious promises of *Petreczeicus* and the *Poles*. CANT.

(R) After *Petreczeicus*'s death, he returned to *Moldavia*, and was appointed *Sirdar*, or general of the army, which was beyond the *Pruth*, by prince *Cantemir*'s father, who was then *Vayvod* of *Moldavia*.

(S) The son of *Mikhael*, of the *Constantinopolitan* family.

a of the court in favour with the *Soltân*; who, by their representation of matters, was so fully persuaded of *Kâra Mostafa's* innocence, that he not only approved of his putting *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ* and the rest to death, but also confirmed him in the *Wâzîrship*, and the command of his new army. A. D. 1583.

THE *Wâzîr* had not ventured to put all the officers to death who were privy to his designs, for fear the great number of executions should raise a suspicion in the *Soltân*, without whose knowledge they had been done: but now, encouraged by the success of his presence, privately intimates to *Mohammed* by letters, that the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, and other *Pâshâs*, whom he named, had again shewed themselves disobedient to his orders; yet, that he was unwilling to use the power which his majesty had given him, lest his enemies should malign him, and therefore desired to know his pleasure concerning them.

b BUT this step, instead of obtaining his ends, proved his ruin: for the court was by this time much changed; and the other officers, who had been present at the siege of *Vienna*, had transmitted a more faithful account of the transactions, whereby the artifices and designs of the *Wâzîr* were discovered. This, with the news which arrived of the taking of *Gran*, and defeat of the forces at *Barkan*, gave the patrons of the persons accused an opportunity to set forth the treachery of the *Wâzîr* in such strong colours to the *Soltân*, that he orders the *Kyehaya* of the *Kâpiji* to go and put him to death. That officer finds him at *Belgrade*, in the hords of *Mohama*, intent on recruiting his army, and seizes him in his own house; where being shewn the mandate, and making no resistance, but affirming himself crowned with martyrdom, he is strangled by four executioners, and his head carried to *Constantinople*. The *Soltân* appoints in his room *Kâra Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, the *Kaymakan*, and charges him to take a severe revenge on the enemy, for the disgrace which the empire had suffered by his predecessor's ill conduct: but *Kâra Mostafa* had, by injuries offered to the Christian princes, raised too many enemies for the *Ottomân* empire to contend with.^a Hej. 1095. A. D. 1684.

c WE are told by the Christian historians, that this *Wâzîr* having in 1680 married the *Soltân's* daughter, a child of but eight years old, rapine and violence were necessary to support the charge. One way to raise money was by false demands or allegations against the ambassadors or residents of Christian princes. They began with the *French* minister, to whom they denied the privilege of sitting on the sofa when admitted to audience. But the ambassador, by his master's order, resolutely standing on his privilege, the *Wâzîr* called him to account for what some *French* men of war had acted against the *Tripolines* in the *Soltân's* port of *Scio* (T); and without so much as seeing, committed him prisoner to the custody of the *Chausb Bâshî*, demanding, besides satisfaction for the affront, two hundred thousand crowns reparation for the damage.

d WITH this the ambassador was forced to comply; although, to save his master's honour, the submission was made (U) by his secretary and agent of the *French* nation. Nor did the *English* ambassador, Sir *John Finch*, fare much better: for the *Wâzîr* demanded seventeen thousand dollars, under pretence that a great sum of money, which was imported to *Turkey*, was not good; and then having borrowed the capitulations from Sir *John*, under pretence of perusing them, would not part with them till the merchants paid him fifty purses, twenty of which were afterwards returned. The *Venetian Bailo*, thinking to run some goods, was detected, and fined thirty thousand dollars: but it cost the republick two hundred thousand to make amends for some damage done to *Dalmatia*. Lastly, the *Dutch* president having had a dispute with the customer, was obliged to pay seventy purses, in order to have his capitulations rendered more explicit.¹ The Christian ambassadors.

e THE affair of the *Venetian Bailo* is set in a more advantageous light by the *Turkish* historians. According to them, *Pietro Ciurani*, arriving at *Constantinople* with two men of war and three merchant ships, upon his landing, ordered the goods to be carried to his house. The receiver of the customs suspecting, from the quantity, that the effects did not all belong to the ambassador, visits the ships; and finding that great part of the freight was consigned to merchants, who refused to pay the customs, confiscates and sends them to the *Soltân's* warehouses. The *Bailo*, to recover what was taken from him, shews from publick records, that it was the privilege of all foreign ambassadors to bring to *Constantinople*, custom free, whatever goods they pleased, as well on the merchants account, as their own (X): but finding reasons were of no

^a CANT. p. 314, & seq.

¹ RICAUT, ubi supra.

(T) This affair is placed by *Manly* in the year 1682.

(U) These prostrated themselves with their presents before the *Soltân*, while the usher of the imperial presence proclaimed with an audible voice: Behold the agents sent from the king of France, to humble themselves before our magnificent emperor, and in the name of their king to offer their presents, in satisfaction for that affront and insult which the French ships offered at the port of

Scio. Then the presents were produced one by one, and rated at ten times the value each. Thus writes *Jones*; but *Manley* does not make such a farce of the matter.

(X) The Christian writers accuse the *Bailo* of running goods; the *Turkish* (perhaps to criminate the *Wâzîr*) acquit him.

A. D. 1684. effect, he redeems the ships which had been seized, by promising the receiver a large sum of money.

A FEW days after a *Venetian* nobleman, who had formerly been taken prisoner at sea, escapes to the ships sent to convoy home *Morofini*, the former *Bailo*. His patron, being informed of this, petitions the *Wazîr*, by an *Arzubal* (Y), that the fugitive might be restored to him. Hereupon the *Bostânji Pâshâ* is sent to search the ship; but the captain, denying he had any fugitive on board, opposes him by force. However, numbers prevailing over courage, the ship is searched, the captive found, and the sailors, who had taken arms, are partly killed, and partly left on board, under strict guard. The *Soltân* also, hearing that a *Venetian* ship had presumed to make use of arms in the very port of *Constantinople*, arrests both the ambassadors, *Ciurani* and *Morofini*; refusing to discharge them, till they had paid several purses to redeem the sailors, and atone for their crime.

Venetians declare war.

As *Vienna* was at that time besieged by the *Turks*, and the event doubtful, the republic of *Venice* take no notice of the affront: but when they hear of the defeat of the *Turks* before that city, they boldly demand satisfaction. This being refused, they make an alliance with the emperor of *Germany* (Z) and king of *Poland*, and then proclaim war against the *Othmân Porte*. The declaration is delivered to the *Kaymakân* by the *Venetian* ambassador, who afterwards changing his habit, flies from *Constantinople*. So unexpected a blow struck the *Turks* with more than ordinary terror: for since it was necessary to employ their whole strength against the *Germans* and *Poles*, they were at a loss how to supply all the maritime places with garrisons, which would require a number of men, equal to a powerful army: nor was there any fleet on foot, excepting six *Soltânas*, old and leaky; nor any hopes of procuring one soon; because the *Hungarian* expedition would employ all the money in the treasury.

Turkish preparations.

FOR these reasons, *Kâra Ibrâhîm Pâshâ* uses all his endeavours to pacify the *Venetians* (A); declares, that the injuries complained of were not done by the *Soltân's* orders, but through the avarice of his predecessor; and promises to restore what had been seized, in case they would desist from the war. But the *Venetians*, deaf to those flattering speeches, answered, that they had suffered injuries long enough already, and now the time of revenging them was come. The *Wazîr*, finding that the storm which threatened the *Othmân* empire cannot be diverted, applies his whole care to resist the shock. He appoints *Shaytân Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, a man of approved valour, *Seraskier* against the *Germans*, and *Ayneji Soleyman Pâshâ* (B), against *Poland*. He orders the high admiral to observe the motions of the *Venetians*; and continues himself at *Constantinople*, under pretence of indisposition, directing the general to inform him faithfully of the progress of affairs: but to acquaint the *Soltân* only with their good success, and conceal the bad as carefully as they could.

Vicegrade taken.

WHILE these things are transacting at *Constantinople*, the imperial army, under the command of the duke of *Lorraine* (C), in *Jomazi'olakkir*, marched into *Hungary*; and about the end of that month besieged *Vicegrade*, which in a few days surrendered on conditions (D). In their march from thence, they meet, and overthrow with great slaughter, the *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, sent to retard their progress; and then besiege *Vacia*; which *Badân Pâshâ* coming to relieve, he twice attacks the imperial camp, and is twice repulsed, with the loss of fifteen thousand men. Hereupon, the governor surrenders the city, upon the same conditions which had been granted to *Vicegrade*.*

The Turks defeated.

INSTEAD of *Vacia*, the Christian historians mention *Witzen*. They tell us, that after the reduction of *Vicegrade*, the imperialists having performed a difficult march, on the 27th of *June*, encamped near *Witzen*, in sight of fifteen thousand *Turks*, and eight thousand *Tatars*, drawn up on the side of a hill, of difficult access; for on the right they had the *Danube*, and on their left a morass. The *Imperialists* had their right rowards the *Danube* also, and left towards the mountain, extending largely in front. The way to the enemy was very rugged, and defended by four pieces of cannon; yet the prince of *Baden* and count *Staremburg*

* CANT. p. 316, & seq.

(Y) As much as to say, the opening of the cause; so those petitions are called, which are presented to the *Wazîr* in the *diwân*, about judiciary matters. They must be penned so concisely, though the cause be ever so great, or intricate, as not to fill up above half an octavo page: for the *Wazîr's* resolution, with the opinion and sentence of the judges, must be written on the other half of the page. Cant.

(Z) The emperor, by way of opening a door to a treaty, published a general act of pardon to the malecontents: but, as no mention was made of liberty of conscience, very few accepted of it; and *Tekeli* ordered count *Humanai*, who did, to be beheaded.

(A) He also restored to the *English* and *French* the privilege of sitting with him on the sofa. Manley-Jones.

(B) *Ayneji* signifies, the deceitful; a name given him on account of the many artifices he used, to deceive both friends and enemies. He was the son of *Bosnian Christians*. Cant.

(C) It did not exceed 40,000 men, although the emperor had in all, for garrisons and the like, 104,880 forces. Manley.

(D) In the middle of *June*.

forced

a forced their passage through. Hereupon the *Turks* attacked *Taaff's* regiment in the middle of A. D. 1694. the line, and the duke of *Lorraine* had his horse killed under him, by a pistol shot: yet not being able in three charges to break the *Imperialists*, who moved regularly, and kept close together, they began to give way: but, rallying again, made a fourth charge without success, so that the Christians pressing on them, they took to flight with considerable loss, although most of their cavalry escaped to *Pest*.

THE consequence of this victory was the surrender of *Witzen* at discretion; when, *July* *Witzen sur-* the 10th, the army passed the *Danube*, without opposition from twenty thousand *Turks*, who renders. were within three miles of the river, and might easily have hindered them. After this indeed, the *Seraskier* advanced against them, with all his horse, and some *Janizaries*; making so sudden an attack, that the *Imperialists* had scarce time to draw into order of battle: but the duke of *Lorraine*, at the head of his cavalry, leading the van, sustained the first shock with carbine shot; so that no breach being made in their ranks, and at the same time, the rest of the army having drawn up, the *Turks*, upon their motion, were terrified into a disorderly flight, to the place where the *Janizaries* and cannon were left, and pursued by the *Polish* horse, with no small slaughter¹.

THE *Turkish* historians before us do not speak of this battle previous to the siege of *Buda*: *Buda besieged.* they only say, that *Vacia*, and the neighbouring towns, having been reduced, the duke of *Lorraine* marched with his army to *Buda*, on the first of *Shaban*, and encamps under the very walls. The first attack was upon *Pest*, a town opposite to it on the *Danube*, which was taken in a few hours (E). But whilst they were intent on the siege of *Buda*, the *Seraskier*, *Shaytân Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, advances with the whole *Othmân* power (F), and endeavours to break thro' the lines, with which the *Imperialists* had fortified their camp; at the same time ordering a body of *Janizaries* to attack the enemy another way, and try to throw supplies into the gar- rison, by penetrating through their camp: but being repulsed in every attempt, he pitches his tent opposite to theirs, and annoys them with continual skirmishes^m.

FOR more particulars of the siege, we must have recourse to the Christian writers. Ac- *The Pâshâ* cording to them, the confederate army sitting down before *Buda*, on the 14th of *July*, the *Turks* burnt the lower town next day, situated on a hill, and defended by a strong castle, with regular works, and eight thousand men, furnished with all kinds of necessaries. On the 12th of *August*, the besiegers sprung a mine near the great tower, without much effect; and d *Kâra Mohammed*, *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, dying on the 14th of a wound in the face, he was suc- ceeded by *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*; who soon after was slain also. On the 16th the besieged made a fall, and were beaten off with some loss; but had better fortune in several others, which suc- ceeded. Mean time, endeavouring to open a wider breach in the wall, they were not a little disturbed by the approach of the *Seraskier*. But while the duke of *Lorraine* drew off part of his army to oppose him, some of his foremost troops fell violently into the trenches on the right, and were seconded by a fall of the *Janizaries* from the city on the left. Their charge was so furious, that they gained the two first posts, and proceeded to the third, even under one of the batteries: but they were at length driven back, and had a fort on the *Danube* *Turks de-* taken from them. At the same time the cavalry of their left wing was so warmly charged by *feated.* the *Imperialists*, that they fled in disorder, without staying for the foot to advance upon them. This done, the duke stormed the upper town, and carried it. Many of the *Turks* fled to the castle, which being shut against them, fell by the sword, whilst others, who retired to their houses, were burnt along with them. It is said that twelve hundred *Janizaries* fell on this occasion, to about fourscore *Imperialists*, killed and wounded.

THE same night batteries were raised against *St. Gerard's* mount: however, the besiegers *The Seraskier* began now to labour under many inconveniencies: and at the beginning of *September* the rains *attempts to re-* fell in such abundance, that in some trenches the soldiers remained a whole day up to lieve the city. the middle in water. This increased the diseases of the camp, and helped to give the *Turks* successful sallies. At this time, the *Bavarian* infantry coming to reinforce the *Imperialists*, the duke summoned the governor to surrender, threatening otherwise to give no quarter. The governor answered, that he expected none; and to shew that he resolved to give none, ordered forty prisoners to be slain on the walls. But, for all this boasted resolution, he depended not so much on the strength of his garrison, as the assistance of the *Seraskier*; who at length marched with about twenty thousand men to *Alba Regalis*, with an inten- tion to disturb the siege: but on the advance of the duke of *Bavaria*, he moved towards the bridge of *Esseck*, in order to hinder count *Lesley*, the general of *Kroatia*, to burn that bridge, or take the forts which defended it.

¹ RICAUT & MANLEY, ubi supra.

^m CANT. p. 318.

(E) Our historians say the *Turks* burnt it.

(F) Consisting of 80,000 men, besides 15,000 left to guard the bridge of *Esseck*. *Manley*

A. D. 1684.

To furnish this design, the duke of *Lorrain* went himself in person to oppose him. But the *Seraskier* declined fighting, and returned under the cannon of *Alba Regalis*: while certain regiments were posted on hills, to observe their motions; and several redoubts built, to impede his march to *Buda*. However, that general being resolved once more to attempt the relief of it, set forward on the 20th of *September*. Next day two thousand *Turks* attacked the lines in two places, in order to force their way into the city: but although they were beaten off with considerable loss, fifteen hundred horse and foot, making a sally at the same time out of the town, cleared all the trenches before them, killed two hundred men, and advanced to the very batteries: yet at length were driven back, with the loss of four hundred of their companions. To make amends for this, about the same number, on the 23d, waded over a marshy ground, up to the arm-pits, and got into the place, while the *Seraskier* appeared as if he would have attempted the lines himself. On the 25th, making the same feint, the besiegers drew out of their lines to oppose him. Mean time, a detachment of *Turkish* horse advancing under covert of the hills, before they were perceived, attacked a quarter of the *Imperialists*, were they cut off one thousand men, while a thousand *Turks*, under favour of the same hills, got into *Buda*: whereupon the *Seraskier* retired to *Alba Regalis*.

The siege raised.

THE siege now began to go on very heavily; and the *Imperialists*, having on the second of *October* battered down a little tower belonging to the castle, next day, with four thousand men, attempted to make a descent into the ditch; but were beaten off, with the loss of fifteen hundred. This encouraged the besieged to make several successful sallies; while the *Seraskier* kept the confederate camp in a continual alarm. Hereupon the generals, considering that the besieged were still ten thousand strong, well provided with necessaries; that without a greater force, it was not possible to cut off their communication with the *Danube*; and that their own mines, besides being ill managed, had been discovered, they raised the siege on the first of *November*, after they had lost twenty five thousand men, and retired to winter quartersⁿ.

To what owing.

THE *Turkish* historians impute the raising of the siege wholly to the last cause; and confess that all the efforts made by the *Seraskier* would not have relieved the city, if the garrison had not by accident, or treachery, discovered the mines, just as the *Imperialists* had determined to surround the place. For the generals, finding they must now begin their work again, and at the same time contend with a superior army, thought it more adviseable to raise the siege; which they did on the 23d of *Zulkaadeh*, after four months leaguer, without any opposition from the *Turks*, who were glad to see themselves freed from the fears of that formidable expedition.

IN the mean time count *Lesley*, sent by the duke to besiege *Wirrowit*, a considerable fortress in *Sclavonia*, defeated the *Turkish* auxiliaries in two battles, and assaulted the walls with such fury, that the garrison was obliged to surrender, on the 23d of *Sbaabân* (G). About the same time, *Tekeli* being routed by the *Imperialists* at *Eperies*, in *Upper Hungary*, his cabinet and baggage are taken by the conquerors.

Affairs of Moldavia.

WHILE the *Seraskier* of *Hungary* is thus engaged, to his loss, with the *Germans*, *Ayneji Soleyman Pâshâ*, with better success, fights the *Poles* at *Bâbadâghi* (H); where having assembled his army, he passes the *Danube* near *Sakza* (or *Sakcha*), and hearing that the *Polish* troops did not yet appear, thinks it more proper to settle the affairs of *Moldavia* and *Walakhia*, than march any farther. These provinces were at that time governed by the two *Cantakuzeni*, *Moldavia* by *Demetrius*, and *Walakhia* by *Serbân* (I), whom he resolves to depose; the first, because a weak man, and unskilled in military affairs; the latter, because he kept a correspondence with the emperor of *Germany* and czar of *Russia*. *Demetrius* he divested of his authority, and appoints *Constantine Cantemir* (K), *Serdar* of the province, in his room:

ⁿ RICAUT & MANLEY, ubi supra.

(G) By this means a way was opened for him to *Esseck*, whither he was bound, with 15,000 men, to burn the bridge.

(H) The seat of the *Pâshâ* of *Silistria*, as hath been observed before. There are found in the neighbourhood plenty of eagles, from their strength and largeness, called by the *Turks*, *Ghiujighien*. Their feathers are the best for arrows; but if an arrow, fledge with a quill of this eagle, be put into a quiver with arrows made with other feathers, that feather will eat all the other feathers to the wood. *Cantemir*.

(I) A magnanimous prince, who formed the design to drive the *Turks* out of *Europe*: for which purpose he had made leagues with the emperor, and czars of *Russia*, who promised to make him emperor, after *Constantino-*

ple was taken. He also cast 38 cannon, and raised 24,000 men. This the *Turks* knew; but, being harassed by the *Germans*, dissembled their resentment. However, they were delivered from him by death, being poisoned, as it was thought, at a feast, by his brother *Constantine Stolnick*, and *Brankovan*, his sister's son, that they might live at ease. He left one son, prince *George*, who lives in *Transylvania*, under the emperor's protection, and four daughters. *Cant*.

(K) Surnamed the old; he was prince of *Moldavia* eight years, and the father of our author prince *Demetrius Cantemir*. He died in 1693. *Serdâr* is general of the forces, appointed to defend the borders, that lie between the *Hicrafsi* and *Tyras*, against the *Kosâks* and *Tatars*.

but,

a but, being bribed by *Serbân*, with a large sum of money, conceals his treachery, and confirms him in his government. A. D. 1684.

DURING the *Seraskier's* stay in these parts, *John III.* king of *Poland*, on the 12th of *Ramazan*, assembles his forces at *Buchach*, and before any such design was suspected, at the first assault, takes *Quancze* (L), situated on the *Tyras*, opposite to *Khotin*, and about two hours distant from *Kameniek*. There he commands a bridge to be built over the *Tyras*, in order to transport his troops into *Moldavia*: but when it was just finished, the *Seraskier*, passing the *Tyras*, surprises the king, and shuts him up in his camp; where he harasses the *Poles*, and gives them no time to rest, or draw up in order, while the *Tatars* destroyed all the provisions in the neighbourhood. The king finding things desperate, escapes first out of the camp, with a few attendants, and is soon after followed by the officers; who, having burnt their baggage, and thrown their warlike engines into a lake, leads home the remains of the army (M), not without great loss. Polish invasion.

THE *Venetians* had much better success in the *Adriatic* sea: they begin the war at *Morlakki*, in *Dalmatia*, subdue *Urana*, *Obrowazzo*, and *Skardona*; burn *Dernis*, and take the castle of *Duare* by stratagem. Their fleet commanded by *Miorosini*, who surrendered *Kandia*, arriving at *Leukos* (N), lays close siege to the city, which *Behr Aga*, governor of the castle, after seventeen days defence, delivers up, on the 6th of *Ramazân*, and passes over to the continent. The island being subdued, the *Venetians* send part of their forces, under the command of *Strasoldo*, into *Akarnania*, a province of *Epirus*, and compel *Venizza* and *Saromero* to submit. In their progress forward, they defeat four thousand *Turks*, under *Seffer Aga*, who endeavoured to stop their passage; whereupon the inhabitants of the country voluntarily submit to pay them tribute. Venetian success.

IN the mean time the rest of the army had passed into the *Morea*, and so fiercely assaulted *Prevefa* (or *Prevefa*) that on the eighth of the same month of *Ramazân*, *Mehemed Effendi*, who commanded the garrison, was obliged to deliver up the castle (O). Besides these successes, there came an account from *Tina*, an island in the *Archipelago*, that several *Turkish* galleys, sent to seize it, had been repulsed with great loss. Prevefa surrendered.

KARA IBRAHIM *Pâshâ*, judging that it would be easy to recover those places from the republic, when once the *German* and *Polish* armies were repulsed; he appoints the generals, who had before been so successful, to be *Seraskiers* against those powers, and sends only a small army, with a fleet, against the *Venetians*.

MEAN time the *Germans* had so closely besieged (*Owar*, or *Newhausel*) during the whole winter, that the famine destroyed more than the sword. At length on the first of *Shaabân*, in the year 1096, the city is assaulted in form, and the siege pushed with such vigour, that the garrison, a few days after, was obliged to abandon the out-works. Viwar besieged, Hej. 1096. A. D. 1685.

ACCORDING to the Christian historians, besides famine, snows, and great rains, the *Germans* were afflicted with a pestilence, which spared neither man nor beast: the blockade was commanded by general *Schultz*, with four thousand horse and dragoons, besides *Hussârs*, who defeated six thousand men, coming to relieve the place, under *Tekeli*. However, this prince, adventuring a second time with three thousand horse, made way for as many more, and three hundred waggons, with provisions, to enter. After this two thousand sacks of corn got in: but while *Schultz* defeated another convoy, *Tekeli* defeated him, and took all his baggage. Being also forced to raise the siege of *Esperies*, he was, in his retreat, totally routed by *Tekeli*; whose troops, not long after, were routed in their turn, with the loss of the provisions sent to supply the garrison of *Newhausel* (*Viwar* or *Owar*). General *Heuster* was likewise successful in divers rencounters, and took two large convoys, going with provisions to that city.

MEAN time the duke of *Lorraine* having joined the imperial army at *Gran*, it was resolved to besiege *Novigrade*, rather than *Buda*, which had been strongly fortified by the *Turks*: but encouraged by a letter, sent from the Christian slaves at *Newhausel*, falsely setting forth, that the place might be easily taken, and that there were no more than twelve hundred men in garrison, they determined to invest it; and on the 7th of *July*, encamped on the *Nitra*, about cannon shot from the town. On the 11th, they opened their trenches. The 14th, the bat-

° CANT. p. 318, & seq.


(L) Or *Quanche*, the Christian writers say *Jaslowitz*.

(M) The Christian writers say, the king's actions this year tell very flat: and that the *Turks* laughed at them, and said, he had been bribed by the king of *France*, their only friend among the Christians; and so made no preparations against him, for the ensuing year. *Jones*.

(N) Or *Leucade*, called also *Santa Maura*, an island in the *Ionian* sea, north of *Cephalonia*, formerly joined

to the coast. It has no towns, but only the forts of *Demata*, and *Santa Maura*. The fleet arrived there on the 20th of *July*, which was surrendered on articles the 6th of *August*, when ready to be stormed. *Jones*.

(O) The *Venetians* attacked *Prevefa*, because *Sancte Maura* could not otherwise be secured. They began the siege the 21st of *September*, and had the place surrendered on articles, on the 28th.

A. D. 1685.  teries began to play against the bastion, near the gate of *Gran*, and by the 21st made a considerable breach; while the duke sent parties to observe the motions of the *Seraskier*, *Shaytân Ibrâhîm*, late governor of *Buda*. On the 22d, the town was set on fire; which yet was extinguished by the great rain that fell, and much incommoded the besiegers in their trenches. On the 25th, they endeavoured to fill the ditch with rubbish; but the *Turks* in a sally stopped the channel by which the water ran into the river. Yet being beaten back by the *Bavarians*, and the bank again open, the water fell so low, that they discovered a secret passage, by which the ditch was supplied from the marshes; the stopping whereof became a continual cause of contest.

THE waters still increasing in the ditch, the besiegers fell to make galleries, which being fired by the *Turks*, caught hold of the next batteries, and blew up their powder. Mean time advice arrived daily of the *Seraskier's* motions; who on the 26th, with 60,000 men, pitched his camp in sight of *Gran*^p.

The Seraskier marches to relieve it, but is overthrown.

Now let us return to the *Othmân* historians. On advice that the garrison of *Viwar* (or *New-hausel*) had abandoned the outworks of the town, the *Seraskier*, *Shaytân Ibrâhîm Pîshâ*, hastens to the relief of the city; and finding it dangerous to attack an army so strongly intrenched, has recourse to his usual artifices, and besieges at once *Gran* and *Vicegrade*, hoping by this means to draw off the enemy's forces from *Viwar*. Fortune indeed seemed to favour him: for in a few days he not only recovered *Vicegrade*, but so distressed *Gran*, not yet sufficiently repaired since the last siege, that it seemed in no less danger of being taken than *Viwar*.

BUT before the *Seraskier* could finish what he had begun, the duke of *Lorraine*, leaving sixteen thousand men to continue the siege of that place, marches with the rest of his army against him, and, on the 2d of *Ramazân*, appears in sight of the *Othmân* camp. The *Seraskier*, imagining he had now gained his point, immediately abandons the siege of *Gran*, and draws up his army so advantageously, that the enemy could neither surround, nor attack him in front or flank, without great danger. The right wing was defended by the rapid *Danube*; the left by a ridge of mountains, which extended for several leagues; and the front was covered with wide and difficult marshes. In this situation he continues four days, without motion; either, by delay, to elude the attempts of the enemy, or to destroy them in their passage over the morass, if they should venture to attack him. But the duke perceiving his design, and considering that his army could not, without extreme danger, be exposed in such difficult places, counterfeits a flight; and sounding a retreat, on the 14th in the night, retires with his whole camp.

THE *Turks*, imagining that the *Germans* were fled in earnest, boldly follow them; and though often repulsed, continue all night to attack them as they retreat: while the *Imperialists* proceed on, and leave a space for the enemy both to pass the morasses, and open their front. At length, when they perceived more were passed over than could return without loss, they halt, and so furiously attack their pursuers, who followed them in confusion, that they compel them to fly back to their camp, with great precipitation. The elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded one of the wings, follows them through the morasses, while the duke of *Lorraine* does the same on the opposite side, though neither of them knew the other's intentions. Upon this, the *Turks*, being seized with a panic, in spite of all the *Seraskier* could do, take to flight in such confusion, that the *Janizaries* killed and unhorsed their own cavalry, to fly with more speed; so that a greater number were slain by their companions than by the enemy. Their camp, baggage, treasure, provision, and a great quantity of warlike stores, fell to the conquerors^q.

Another account of the battle.

THE Christian historians differ somewhat from the *Turkish*. The duke of *Lorraine*, on the news of the *Seraskier's* being encamped in sight of *Gran*, as before mentioned, sent out a party; who, on the 4th of *August*, returned with news that he had besieged that city. Hereupon the duke set forward with 40,000 men; and on the 10th stopped within three hours march of the place. There next day they were surprised with the sight of the garrison of *Vicegrade*; since they heard nothing of the siege, although attacked for sixteen days, before the blowing up of the tower joining the castle obliged them to surrender. The 13th, he marched in quest of the enemy, who had raised the siege on his approach; and next day came in sight of them, encamped beyond the morass: but, finding the morass impassable, he feigns a kind of fear, and retreated back an hour's march. The *Turks*, thus deluded, on the 15th and 16th pass the marshy grounds, and coming up with him, hastily charge the right wing of the *Imperialists*, who repulsed them three times; while the duke caused the left wing to move slowly to their assistance. The *Seraskier*, perceiving the disorder of his left wing, advanced to attack the imperial right wing himself: but the duke doubling the forces of the

^p RICAUT & MANLEY, ubi supra.

^q CANT. p. 321. & seq.

a first line, *Donewaldt* reinforcing it, and the elector of *Bavaria* at the same time coming to their assistance, the *Turks* were put into confusion. A. D. 1685.

HOWEVER, as soon as they were out of reach of the *German* muskets, they rallied again, and charged as furiously as before: yet at length were routed. This being observed by their right wing, they wheeled that way, to try their fortune once more, and succour them. With this view, a considerable detachment advanced to attack the *Imperialists* in flank; but being repulsed, the whole army was put to flight; and retreating over the marshy grounds, in the pursuit, above two thousand of them perished there.

b MEAN time the imperial right wing, being acquainted with the passage over the marsh, pursued them that way, and made them abandon their camp; leaving tents, baggage, and all behind them. Although in the first action they lost not above four thousand men, yet double that number perished in the morass, and other ways; besides thirty-eight colours, twenty-three cannon, and two mortars, taken: whereas the *Imperialists* lost not in all above two hundred men.

In the interim, the besiegers had made such a progress before *Newhausel*, that on the 19th of the same month, they made a general assault: when the *Turks* defended themselves with great bravery, and never hung out a white flag, till three thousand of their enemies had entered the breach. But it being then too late, the soldiers put all to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. The governor died next day of his wounds, and out of seventeen hundred of the garrison, remaining out of three thousand, only two hundred were saved.¹

c THE *Turkish* historians say, this city was taken on the 19th of *Ramazân*, and several thousands of the garrison slain, with the loss only of a few men on the enemy's side. The *Ottomâns*, according to the same authors, were struck with such terror at the taking of this fortress, that not only the garrisons of *Novigrade* and *Vicegrade* abandon those cities, at the report of the enemy's approach; but the *Seraskier* himself, though in other respects a man of invincible courage, and a veteran soldier, sent one of his officers twice to the imperial general, to try whether any peace might be made with the emperor; but, as more advantages were expected from the present situation of affairs, he was both times dismissed with a downright denial.

d WHILE the duke of *Lorraine* was yet engaged in the siege of *Viwar*, count *Lesley*, with a small body of troops (P), had laid waste all *Sclavonia*, routed the *Pâshâ* of *Poshega* (Q), and on the 11th of *Ramazân*, burnt great part of the bridge over the wide morasses of the *Drave*, and taken *Essek*; but not being able to reduce the castle, he plundered the town (R), and then left it. *Schultz* had equal success in lower *Hungary*; where, on the 10th of the same month, after a long siege, he compelled *Esperies*, a city of *Tekeli's* party, to surrender (S); and took *Tokay*, with several other castles towns, which were garrisoned by the rebels. *Merci* and *Heusler*, joining their forces, had subdued *Zolnok*, *Ibraini*, *Kalo*, *Little-Waradin*, *St. Nicholas's Church*, and *Saraisa*. *Tekeli's* party, being every-where routed, retired to *Kassovia* (or *Kashaw*); and strongly fortifying the city, determine to wait there for the troops promised by the *Turks*, chusing to suffer the utmost extremities, rather than submit to the *German* emperor.

e Soon after, *Caprara*, on the 3d of *Zilkaadeh*, beginning to attack the city (T), *Tekeli*, to secure his troops from the danger, sends frequent messengers to the *Pâshâ* of *Waradin* for assistance. This the *Pâshâ* promises; but desires *Tekeli* to come and advise him how the place might best be relieved. *Tekeli*, putting too great a confidence in him, sets forward, with 7000 of his countrymen; and, before he reaches *Waradin*, is met by the *Pâshâ*, who receives him with great honour, quarters his soldiers in the neighbourhood, and desires him to enter the city, with his principal officers. Then he invites the prince to dinner; which being over, an officer, attended by several *Janizaries*, enters the room, and shews the *Soltân's* mandate to bring *Tekeli* in chains to *Constantinople*. *Tekeli*, unable to resist, suffers himself to be carried away bound; while his attendants, struck with surprise, and fearing for themselves, stood motionless, nor dared to ask the reason of such treatment.

f PRESENTLY after, the *Pâshâ* sends for *Petrozzi*, the principal person among them, bids him lay aside his fears, and take upon him the command of the *Hungarian* forces, till the

¹ RICAUT, ubi supr.

(P) About 8000 men.

(Q) The *Turkish* commander, according to the Christian accounts, was called *Siaaws* or *Sbaus Pâshâ*: which word, in prince *Cantemir's* history, is written *Sia-vas*. This defeat was on the 13th of *August*. He was killed here.

(R) And burnt it likewise, but did not think fit to attempt the castle. *Jones*.

(S) The siege began the 19th of *August*, and the city surrendered the 18th of *September*, on very honourable conditions.

(T) *Kashaw* was invested on the 6th of *October*, and surrendered on the 25th.

A. D. 1685. *Soltân's* further orders. *Petrozzi* artfully conceals his resentment, and replies, that although a he knew not *Tekeli's* crime, and had believed him a faithful servant to the *Soltân*, yet he did not doubt but his majesty had a very important reason for treating him in that manner: that, however, this affair would not shake the fidelity either of himself, or the *Hungarians*. These assurances he gave the *Pîshâ*: but, at his return to the camp, with the rest of *Tekeli's* attendants, he persuaded his countrymen to a very different conduct. After giving the officers an account how treacherously the prince had been ensnared at *Waradin*, he told them "it was in vain to expect the restoration of liberty to *Hungary*, from men who knew not what liberty was, and had no other rule of their actions but the arbitrary will of their governors.— That they should therefore consider what would be most for the interest of themselves and the kingdom, whether to continue in exile, see their country wasted, and be perpetually in fear of prison and chains; or to implore the emperor's mercy, whose troops had in two years subdued almost all the kingdom, excepting *Kassovia*, and embrace the amnesty offered them."

revolts to the emperor.

THIS last measure being approved by them all, *Petrozzi*, with the whole army, goes to *Caprara*, still engaged in the siege of *Kassovia*; and promising fidelity to his imperial majesty, joins his forces to those of the emperor, and orders them to make incursions upon the *Othmân* territories. The garrison of *Kassovia* hearing this, immediately follow their example, and open their gates on the 2th of *Zilkaudeh* to the imperial general^r.

With several places.

WITH regard to this arrest of *Tekeli*, our historians tell us, that the great success of the imperial arms in *Hungary*, as already related, had struck such a dread into the hearts of the *Turks*, and the malecontents, that they, without any difficulty, yielded *Potak*, *Regents*, *Ungwar*, and *Seraw*, all belonging to *Tekeli*; and that several other strong places (U) followed their example: so that the *Seraskier*, to cover his own ill success, caused that prince to be imprisoned at *Waradin* (X)^s.

Poles invade Moldavia.

MEAN time the *Poles* meet with a very different fate in *Moldavia*: for the king, taught by the ill success of the last expedition, that nothing could be done for his advantage in those countries, unless he could engage the inhabitants in his interests; tries, during the whole winter, by various arts, to gain the prince *Constantine Cantemir*, and induce him to revolt from the *Turks*. *Cantemir* let him know, "that he was willing enough to do as he desired him, could he but see, that, by his revolt, the least advantage would accrue to *Christendom*; whereas, at that time, it would rather prove detrimental to the king; and, that in case he should consent to revolt, yet the states of the province could never be persuaded to hazard the loss of their estates and children, who were hostages at the *Porte*, for their fidelity."

Prince Cantemir's advice slighted by them.

SOBIESKI, finding the prince inflexible to his persuasions, in the beginning of summer, sends his forces, under the command of *Potocky* and *Tablanowski*, towards *Moldavia*. *Cantemir*, informed of this, advises the generals by letter, "to take *Kameniek*, before they passed the *Tyras* (or *Niefter*); since otherwise, as they had experienced last year, their retreat would be cut off, in case they were defeated: and, if they obtained any victories, would not gain the more ground: that their eruption would only expose the inhabitants to captivity and torments; and that he himself was obliged by the severest threats to repair to the *Turkish* camp, and defend his principality to the utmost of his power."

THE generals, despising the prince's advice, answer, "that they are commanded by their king to endeavour to subdue *Moldavia*; and therefore cannot disobey his orders: that the siege of *Kameniek* was difficult and needless; since the neighbouring country being once reduced, the garrison must abandon the town for want of bread: and that they feared no defeat from the *Turks*, having an army with them sufficient to repel the forces of the whole *Othmân* empire: they concluded, by advising him to join his troops with theirs; and threatening otherwise to treat him as an enemy."

WITHOUT waiting for a reply, they run a bridge over the *Tyras*, and pass with their army into *Moldavia*: but had not marched far, before they were met, at a village called *Boyan*, by *Ayneji Soleyman Pâshâ*, with twenty-five thousand *Turks*, and *Selîm Gyeray Khân*, with fifty thousand *Tatars*, who were followed by the prince of *Moldavia*, with five thousand men. When the two armies came near each other, they stopped, and fortified their camps. The *Seraskier* and *Khân*, perceiving the *Poles* to approach, consult whether they shall attack them, or wait till the enemy either fall on the *Othmân* camp, or retreat. As they differed in their opinions, *Cantemir*, desirous of turning every thing, as far as possible, to the advantage of

^r CANT. p. 322, & seq.

^s RICAUT.

(U) As *Senetz* and *Valdecbin*, with the castles of *Sonna*, *Angein*, *Pallitz*, *Duron*, *Spadez*, *Joram*, *Hingen*, *Zatmar*, and others.

(X) Our author adds, that *Tekeli*, by his agents at court, so well acquitted himself that orders were quick-

ly dispatched to the *Pâshâ* to release him, and at the head of the army to proclaim him innocent: but a little lower the readers will find the *Turkish* account of this affair.

a the *Poles*, persuades the *Seraskier* to remain in his post, and prevent the *Poles* from making any farther progress; alleging, "that a battle was not rashly to be hazarded, since the enemy were numerous, and he (the *Seraskier*) had but twenty-five thousand men who could be depended on, as the *Tatars* would scarcely stand the first fire: that if any misfortune happened, all *Moldavia*, and perhaps *Bujak*, with the *Danubian* provinces, would become a prey to the *Poles*: that, in short, they might be subdued without the loss of a single man, if he would but surround his camp with strong works, and weaken them by continual skirmishes."

THE *Seraskier* approving this advice, *Cantemir*, by a trusty person, informs the *Poles* of all which had passed in the council; adding, that his troops were posted on the western bank of the *Tyras*, and that they had nothing to fear from that quarter. The *Polish* generals, on this advice, resolve first to defeat the *Moldavians*, imagining that they should afterwards meet with less opposition from the *Turks*. To this end, they immediately march towards the *Moldavian* camp, which lay one hour's distance from the *Turkish*. The prince, seeing them come on full speed, wonders, and thinking they had mistaken his directions, draws up fifteen hundred of his men; not to oppose, but to undeceive them by their colours, embroidered with crosses, and other marks of Christianity: but the *Poles*, regardless of these peaceful and friendly dispositions, fall furiously on them, as if they had been capital enemies.

THE prince, incensed at this treachery, commands all his troops to arm, and repel force by force. This they did with such resolution, that they not only repulse the first body of *Poles*, consisting of six thousand men; but, in their turn, attacking them, who retired when their first ardor was spent, at last put them to flight. The noise of muskets alarming the *Turks*, they immediately send several regiments to the assistance of the *Moldavians*; while the rest of their army unexpectedly assailing the *Poles* in the rear, within the space of one hour, six thousand of them are killed, and five thousand *Kosaks*, who were surrounded, obliged to surrender. The remaining troops, finding victory incline to the *Othmâns*, endeavour to retreat to their trenches: but being intercepted by the *Tatars*, they take to flight, leaving their camp and baggage, with all their warlike provisions, a prey to the victors.

THIS however was the only good fortune which this year attended the *Othmân* arms: from all other parts, there came nothing but accounts of the defeat of their forces, with the loss of cities, and even whole provinces. They early in the spring attack *Seromero*, which last year had submitted to the *Venetians*; but on the approach of their fleet, immediately retire.

HERE it may be proper to observe, from the Christian historians, that the *Maynottæ*, a people of the *Morea*, excited by the ill successes of the *Turks* on all sides, declared for the *Venetians*. Hereupon the *Soltân* having sent some forces to reduce them, they, with the assistance of signor *Delphino*, attacked three thousand five hundred *Turks*, with so much vigour, that no more than one hundred and forty escaped either the sword or captivity.

THESE things were the preludes to greater matters: for the captain general *Morofini*, with the *Venetian* fleet, joined by the galleys of the pope and *Mâlta*, both sailed to the waters of *Sapienza*; and having there prevailed on the *Maynottæ* to revolt a second time from the *Turks*, notwithstanding their late agreement, resolved to besiege *Koron*, as the most commodious place, to support and keep them firm to the republic. With this view, the captain general landed his forces, consisting of eight thousand foot, besides horse, under the command of the count of *St. Paul*, almost within cannon shot of that city, without opposition.

THE *Venetians* having, on the 23d of *Rajeb* (15th of *June*) according to the *Turkish* historians, closely besieged *Koron*, *Halil*, *Seraskier* of the *Morea*, marches to relieve it with the forces which he had ready; and having suddenly taken a redoubt, built for their defence on the top of a hill, from thence annoys their camp with his cannon. But the *Maltese*, appointed to guard that part, assault the *Seraskier's* camp, before he could secure what he had gained; and being reinforced by other troops, after a long and bloody conflict, force him from his post. A few days after, he advances a second time; but finding the enemy strongly fortified, after a few skirmishes retires. The *Venetians*, no longer in danger from the *Othmân* army, having demolished the walls, surround *Koron* on the 10th of *Ramazân*, and after an obstinate defence of the garrison, enter it by storm. The *Turks*, seeing no possibility of saving the city, offered to surrender: but as this was too late, after all the fortifications of the castle were taken, they were all put to the sword.

ACCORDING to the Christian writers, the suburbs, or out-town of *Koron*, was quickly taken; and the tower of the fort erected towards the sea, which much incommoded the fleet, effectually battered by two galleys. However, the *Turks*, on promise of relief, made an obstinate defence; and, *July* 7, about 6000 of them appeared under *Siaus Pâshâ* (Y): who,

¹ CANT. p. 323, & seq.

² RICAUT, ubi supra.

^{*} CANT. p. 325.

(Y) This is a mistake perhaps for *Halil* or *Khâlil Pâshâ*.

A. D. 1685. finding himself too weak to attack the besiegers, fortified his camp, and from thence much a
 incommo-
 dated them, with a battery of four cannon played cross-wise, as well as with his fre-
 quent skirmishes. However, the *Venetians* went on with two mines, one of which, charged
 with one hundred barrels of powder, being fired on the 24th, blew up part of the wall, but
 not moving the rock, vented itself another way. The *Turks*, taking this to be a signal for a
 general assault, as in fact it was, immediately invested the redoubt and battery, erected on an
 eminence by the besiegers, for security of their lines; and stormed it so furiously, that they at
 length took it, and planted thereon twenty of their colours.

they are de-
 feated.

THIS being observed by M. *la Tour*, who commanded the knights of *Mâlta*, and was
 posted nearest, he with great speed advanced, and was the first who leaped into the redoubt,
 where he killed two *Turks* who opposed him: but a third behind, tipping off his light helmet, b
 cut him down, while a barrel of powder which took fire blew him into the air. However,
 he was followed so close by the other knights, that although many of them fell, yet they
 recovered the fort, and slew the two hundred *Turks* who had lodged themselves there. They
 likewise repulsed the enemy, in another attempt which they made to recover it: but, to pre-
 vent being any more annoyed by them, it was resolved to attack their camp on the 7th of
August, by break of day. To this purpose, fifteen hundred soldiers landed out of the galleys,
 one part marching to the left, the other to the right of the trenches, while general *St. Paul*,
 with three thousand out of the lines, assaulted them in front. The signal being given, they
 all fell at once upon the camp of the *Turks*; who believing the *Venetian* forces to have
 been much augmented by the the *Maynottæ*, and other auxiliaries, were so terrified, that they c
 fled, leaving the ground covered with dead bodies.

The city sur-
 renders.

THE besiegers, no longer disturbed by the enemy's army, go on briskly with the siege;
 and on the 11th sprung a mine, which being charged with two hundred and fifty barrels of
 powder, found in the *Turkish* camp, overthrew the bulwark, and blew up all who defended
 it. The breach thus widened, they immediately assault it, yet go no farther than to make a
 lodgement there; while the forces of *Mâlta*, supported by those of *Brunswick* and the pope,
 attacked another breach, and gained the top of it, where a most terrible fight ensued: but
 although they were repulsed for this time, they in the afternoon marched out of their lines, to
 make a fresh assault. Hereupon the besieged erected a white flag: but as the captain general
 refused any treaty, unless the main tower was first delivered up, it happened that, while this d
 point was settling, a pistol was shot between two soldiers who fell out, and the bandoleers of
 another took fire; which so alarmed the besieged, that they cried out treachery! and imme-
 diately discharged one of their cannon, laden with small shot. By this means, several who
 were mounted thereon being killed, the enraged soldiers broke into the town, and put all they
 met to the sword, without respect to age or sex.^r

Zarnata
 yields.

THIS fortress being subdued, the *Maynottæ* (Z) likewise take up arms, and besiege *Zar-*
nata: but the garrison understanding that forces were coming from the *Venetians* to assist the
 enemy, they deliver up the city.^z

THE taking of this place is represented very differently by our historians. They tell us, that,
 on the loss of *Koron*, the captain *Pâshâ* sailed with his galleys in sight of *Cerigo*, hoping to e
 divert the *Venetians* from any farther attempts this year: but soon retired himself, for fear, to
Napolidi Romania. Mean while *Morosini*, reinforced at *Korfu* with the *Saxon* troops, set sail
 to the coast of *Zarnata*; which city was surrendered to him by the *Aga*, commanding there.
 His officer fearing to be put to death for his cowardice or treachery, remained in the *Venetian*
 camp, and had a pension given him by the captain general, of thirty pieces of eight a month,
 after he had received baptism, with twenty *Turks* more, who consented to the surrender.

Other suc-
 cesses.

WHILE these things were acting, the captain *Pâshâ*, leaving the command of his fleet to
Mezzamama, or *Mezzomorto*, came and encamped with seven thousand foot, and three thou-
 sand horse, within five miles of *Zarnata*; but, on news of the surrender of that fortress,
 withdrew his forces under the cannon of *Kalamata*: yet, when the *Venetian* forces landed, and f
 moved to attack him there, he set fire to the magazines, and made his retreat with some small
 skirmishes (A). The inhabitants also, finding themselves deserted, fired the place, and left
 it to the enemy; who, not judging it fit for a garrison, demolished the walls. After this, the

^r RICAUT, ubi supr.

^z CANT. p. 326.

(Z) They are the descendants of the ancient *Lacedæ-*
monians, and at this day the bravest people among the
Greeks. Though they are not reckoned to have above
 12,000 soldiers, yet they never were subdued, or made
 tributary by the *Turks*: neither could the *Venetians* ever
 give them law at pleasure. Their name is derived from
mania, *madness*; because they rush in battle upon the
 enemy as if they were mad. The country they inhabit

is on all sides surrounded with mountains, which are the
 chief defence of their province. *Cant.*

(A) The *Turkish* historians say the *Turks* were routed
 here with great slaughter, by the *Venetians* under *Degen-*
feld; and that hereupon *Kalamita*, *Passa*, and *Khielasa*,
 being abandoned by the *Othmâns*, were dismantled by
 the enemy. *Cant. Othm. hist.* p. 326.

a *Venetians* seized on *Porto Vitalo*; and *Hassan Pâshâ*, accompanied with a thousand people, A. D. 1685, brought the keys of *Kbielafa* to the admiral galley. To crown the campaign, the captain general, happening in his return with some galleys to put into the port of *Gommenizza* (B), he quickly obliged the garrison to leave him, in possession of the castle^a.

In the meantime, *Valier* had closely besieged *Zing*, in *Dalmatia*; but, after losing a great many men, on the approach of the *Pâshâs* of *Bosnia* and *Ercegovina*, retires from before it. The *Turks*, flushed with this success, attack *Duare*: but a few days after, are repulsed with greater loss by *Valier*, who had raised fresh forces^b.

Our historians say, that *Paolo Michael*, a noble *Venetian*, having with one thousand horse joined three thousand *Morlâkians*, made incursions into *Bosnia*; and that the *Pâshâ* being thereby diverted from his intended march into *Hungary*, sent eight thousand men to besiege the fortress of *Duare*, in *Dalmatia*: but that they were beaten off by *Valier*, in conjunction with *Michael*, while the *Morlâks* defeated four thousand others under the *Pâshâ* himself, as he was advancing to support the siege.

'Tis hardly credible how much the account of these ill successes disturbed the *Othmân* court, and especially the prime *Wazîr*, *Karâ Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*; who, continuing at home, under a real or pretended indisposition, was in fear of being divested of his dignity. To ward off this blow, he has recourse to the method used by other *Wazîrs* before (C) him, and the only one left: which was to destroy all who were eminent for their warlike abilities; that in case the *Soltân* should resolve to deprive him of the imperial seal, there might be none so worthy to possess it as himself. He begins the tragedy with *Shaytân Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, *Seraskier* against the *Germans*, whom he accused of negligence in the battle of *Gran*, and of converting the soldiers pay to his own use (D). The same fate befalls others, who could either justly or unjustly be charged with any crime. The only person who seemed out of danger, was *Ayneji Soleyman Pâshâ*, *Seraskier* against *Poland*, who had gained so great authority by his victory in *Moldavia*, that he was universally declared worthy of the *Wazîrship* itself.

KARA IBRAHIM therefore, finding it not safe to hurt him openly, persuades the *Soltân* to appoint him *Seraskier* against the *Germans*; by whose valour he hoped that *Pâshâ* would lose the glory he had obtained in the *Polish* war. *Soltân Mohammed*, having thereupon ordered him to be recalled from *Moldavia*, and *Buikkli Mostafa Pâshâ* (E), left in his room; The *Kisler Aga* (F), who knew the *Wazîr* to be *Soleyman's* mortal enemy, suspecting a snake in the grass, gave the *Pâshâ* notice to be upon his guard. As soon as *Soleyman* arrives at *Constantinople*, he waits on the *Wazîr*, as if he desired to receive his commands; and pretends so great a veneration for him, that *Kâra Ibrâhîm*, imagining he had caught the fox, acquaints him with the *Soltân's* design in sending for him.

WHEN he comes to the palace, *Soltân Mohammed*, after highly commending his service done that campaign, offers him the post of *Seraskier* of *Hungary*. The *Pâshâ*, seeming to

^a RICAUT, ubi supra.

^b CANT. p. 326.

(B) A town of *Akbaia*, opposite to *Kortcyra*. Ibid.

(C) Some of the most eminent *Wazîrs* have used this artifice. The most skilful in this practice, was *Kyoprili Mehemed Pâshâ*, who, in the seven years of his *Wazîrship*, put to death, under various pretences, almost all the old *Pâshâs* brought up under *Morâd IV*. The chief of these were *Seyd Oglî*, the defender of *Hungary*, against the *Germans*; and *Delli Huseyn Pâshâ*, governor of *Dalmatia*; two of the most excellent and invincible heroes who ever were in the *Othmân* empire. This *Wazîr*, after he had obtained a *Khatîsharîf* (or mandate) for putting the latter to death, sent for him, and with wet eyes pretended to lament his misfortune. But *Huseyn Pâshâ*, who knew his hypocrisy, answered, O! thou old wizard, like a crocodile, thou first killest a man, and then weepest over his body. Then pulling a gold box out of his bosom, in which he kept 24 pieces of bones, taken out of his wounds; he flung them in his face, with these words; I was raised to the office of *Wazîr*, and the happiness of dominion, not like thee, by magic arts, but for my fidelity, and effusion of my blood. Cut therefore my head off, if thou wilt, like an infidel: but lay my feet in thy mother's pudendum. This *Pâshâ* was *Selhadar* to *Morâd IV*, who never did any thing without his advice. He was famous for his invincible resolution, in all conditions of life. His ready wit, eloquence, and quick repartees, many excellent actions and sayings of his are recorded, of which our author *Cantemir* gives some instances.

(D) Our historians tell us, that differences arising in *Hungary* between the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, *Aremzâ-*

deb, a man of prudence, was sent to enquire into the cause, and made a report so much to the disadvantage of *Shaytân Ibrâhîm*, that an officer was sent to take off his head, which was brought to *Constantinople* the 6th of December. He died, pitied by all, in the 80th year of his age. Being an excellent accountant, he was first employed by Mr. *Daws* (afterwards Sir *Jonathan*) a factor in *Turkey*: during which time a tumult arising, this obscure person was in the hurry made treasurer. He immediately gave *Daws* notice of his advancement; and wanting money to appease the mutineers, was advanced all that *Daws* could raise, to the great advantage afterwards of him, and all the *English* in those parts. When *Pâshâ* of *Egypt*, meeting some *English* ships in his passage, he treated the officers; and on mentioning Sir *Jonathan*, said he was the best friend he ever had in the world. Jones.

(E) *Buikkli* signifies having long whiskers: he was under this *Soltân*, *Silhadar*, *Kapudan Pâshâ*, *Seraskier* of *Silistria*, and at length, for his victory over the *Poles*, made *Wazîr*. From this post he was removed by *Abmed II*. to the government of *Damaskus*. But he was recalled and made *Kaymakân*, by *Mostafa II*.; who, after the battle of *Zenta*, offered him again to the *Wazîrship*: but he desired not to be placed a second time again in that dangerous office, from which he reckoned it one of the greatest felicities of his life that he had before escaped. Cant.

(F) Chief of the black eunuchs. He then bore the greatest sway at court. Cant.

A. D. 1685. decline the honour, answered, that the disordered state of the public affairs, and the terror a still imprinted on the army by the *Vienna* defeat, required the presence, if not of the *Soltân* himself, at least of the prime *Wazîr*, in the camp; and that the authority of a *Serafskier* was not sufficient to oblige soldiers to do their duty, who seemed more inclined to fly or mutiny, than to fight. The *Soltân*, moved with this speech, stands musing for some time; which being observed by the *Kislar Aga*, who had been long the *Wazîr*'s enemy, as well as *S. leymân*'s friend, "Why (says he) O emperor! do you hesitate? if you think the *Serafskier*'s counsel "just and prudent, what hinders you from immediately applying the remedy to this evil? "Divest of his dignity *Kâra Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, under whose indisposition, whether pretended or "real, the empire languishes, and appoint this hero both *Serafskier* and *Wazîr*."

who is made
Wazîr.

THE suspicion which the *Soltân* had before entertained, that *Kâra Ibrâhîm* counterfeited b sickness out of fear, being increased by what the *Kislar Aga* had suggested, he removes the *Wazîr* from his post, and places in his room *Ayneji Soleyman Pâshâ*; who immediately seizes his predecessor; and finding him accused of many crimes, banishes him to *Rhodes*. Then he releases *Tekeli*, imprisoned by *Kâra Ibrâhîm*, and by the evidence of *Ibrâhîm Aga*, chamberlain of *Kâra Mostafa*, acquits him of the crime with which he was charged by that *Pâshâ*; whose villanies, as well as pernicious designs against the empire, he exposes to the public. By this means *Tekeli* is restored to his former honours; and all his effects, which he had been plundered of by the soldiers, returned to him. Affairs being thus settled, the *Wazîr*, with great diligence, raises an army, and orders all his silver and gold vessels to be turned into money (G), for support of the war.

Arad taken.
Hej. 1097.
A. D. 1686.

BUT before he could bring his forces into the field, the country being still covered with c snow, part of the imperial troops, under *Caraffa*, on the 18th of *Rabio'lawel* 1097, had taken *St. Nicholas*; and another party under *Merci*, had routed several *Turkish* regiments conveying provisions to *Arad*, taken that city (H), and burnt the stores laid up there by the *Turks*.

ACCORDING to our historians, hostilities began this year by general *Heusler* taking a convoy of 200 waggons, laden with provisions from *Transylvania*, for the support of *Buda*; which early action made *Apri Pâshâ*, appointed *Serafskier* in the room of *Shaytûn Ibrâhîm*, very active to supply the frontier garrisons with men and provisions.

Mongatz
blocked up.

AT this time *Caprara* having blocked up *Mongatz*, which was defended by the lady of d *Tekeli*, who could by no means be prevailed on to surrender the place, her husband made great preparations to raise the siege. As this motion of *Tekeli* alarmed all the country, *Caraffa* endeavoured to way-lay him in his march: but the other being informed of his design, directed his course toward *Giula*, to join the new *Pâshâ* of that place. *Caraffa*, having by this means missed of his prize, on the 9th of *February* invested the fortress of *St. Job*, three leagues from *Great Waradin*, and threw in many bombs to no effect; till at length one falling directly on the tower, in the middle of the castle, tore it to pieces: whereupon the *Turks* immediately capitulated.

St. Job taken. MEAN time *Caprara* carried on the siege of *Mongatz* with great vigour. But though e at last the besieged, by their great losses, were able to act only on the defensive, yet at this juncture did the princefs *Ragotski* take a new oath of fidelity from the soldiers, who cheerfully complied, assuring them from *Tekeli*'s letters, that he would in person shortly raise the siege. But although *Tekeli* was not as good as his word, yet *Caprara* was not able to take the town; for the great rains having rendered the ground so soft, that they could not maintain their works, he was obliged to withdraw about the middle of *April*. To return to the *Turkish* historians.

* CANT. p. 326, & seq.

† RICAUT, ubi supra.

(G) There was little money at this time; for after the treasuries were emptied with the expences of the last campaign, the *Soltân* in summer ransacked the treasury of the stables, causing the gold and silver stirrups, with other horse furniture, to be coined, with thirty per cent. alloy, to the value of 2000 purses. *Jones*.

(H) Our historians say the campaign in 1685 ended by the taking of this place (situated on the *Maroz*) by colonel *Heusler*.

S E C T. IV.

The Siege of Buda, and Battle of Mohatz, with Soltán Mohammed's Deposition.

a **A**FTER several other rencounters, at length, on the 26th of *Rajeb* (or 7th of *June*) A. D. 1686. the whole imperial army besiege *Buda* (I), which had been in vain attempted two years before; and on the 2d of *Shaabân* make themselves masters of the lower town, with less opposition than was expected. They next assault the walls of the city; and the strongest of all the forts being demolished by the cannon, on the 21st of the same month (*July* 2d) the breach is attacked with such success, that the besieged were compelled to abandon it: but the workmen who were to cover the victors with a rampart, not coming immediately, many of them are killed by the continual firing of the *Turks*; who al'o have an opportunity of springing the mines before prepared, which force the *Imperialists* to retire with great loss.

b THE besiegers, rather animated than discouraged by this repulse, on the fourth of *Ramazan* (*July* 15) having demolished several paces of the wall, they renew the assault in the same place. The contest was long doubtful, and so fierce, that above three thousand *Imperialists* were either killed or wounded (K), before they could mount the breach; and it was with great difficulty that, after a conflict of several hours, they forced the besieged to abandon the first wall. After this the batteries were directed against the second; the greater part of which was also demolished (L), before the arrival of the new *Wazîr*, with his troops: who, finding it in vain to attack the imperial camp, resolves, if possible, to reinforce the garrison, and amuse the enemy by delays, till he had an opportunity to attack them unexpectedly, when fatigued with the length of the siege. The Wazîr attempts to raise the siege, but without effect.

c WITH this view, on the 22d of *Ramazan* (*August* 3d) he sends four *Pâshás*, with eight thousand horse, and two thousand *Janizaries* (M), to try if they could pass between the quarters of the *Imperialists* and *Bavarians*, and throw in part, at least, of the *Janizaries*, to relieve the besieged: but the duke of *Lorraine* suspecting their design, sends a body of horse to encounter them, before they reached the camp; which they did with such vigour, that after a short opposition the cavalry fled, and left the *Janizaries* to the mercy of the *Imperialists*. On the last day of the same month (*August* 9th) the *Wazîr* sends two thousand *Janizaries*, with several troops of horse (N), to execute his former design. These proceeding with greater caution, surprise the advanced guards of the *Imperialists*; and then falling on the *Brandenburg* camp, with the fury of wild beasts, rather than of men, rush through fire and sword, and at once pass the rampart raised against them: but the *Brandenburg* troops, being seasonably d relieved by *Caprara* and *Heussler*, inclose the *Turks*, just ready to enter the city; and make such a slaughter of them, that scarce three hundred, and those almost all wounded, escape within the gates.

Two days after, the *Imperialists*, to shew the besieged how little they dreaded the *Wazîr*, assault the strongest part of the castle (O), and after a sharp conflict become masters of it. When they seemed, by this means, to be very near taking the city, the *Wazîr*, on the 19th of *Shawâl* (*August* the 18th) for the third time, obliges one thousand *Janizaries*, supported by one thousand *Spahis*, and fifteen hundred *Tatars*, to attempt the relief of *Buda*: but altho' they behaved with the same bravery as the former, and even penetrated to the trenches of the *Imperialists*, yet they were repulsed with great loss. The garrison, who to favour the attack e had made a sally with their whole strength, seeing their friends defeated, retire again, with great speed and ill success. By these losses the *Othmán* army is quite disheartened; and a report being spread, that, when the confederate forces had taken the city, they would attack them in their camp, the greater part of the soldiers, notwithstanding the *Wazîr's* intreaties, disperse themselves, and return home.

(I) Our historians say, the *Turks* had not the least intelligence of their design. For the general, their account agrees with the *Turkish*.

(K) Our historians say they lost near 1000 men, besides officers, and 50 volunteers, several of whom were noblemen, and among others divers *Englishmen* of quality; while the *Turks* had not above 200 killed, and 100 wounded.

(L) Owing to the blowing up of the principal magazine, near the castle: after which, *July* 27th, they in a general assault took the great tower; and in another, advanced as far as the inner tower, though not without great loss. Hereupon the governor *Apdi Pâshâ* offered

to surrender the town, provided a peace was concluded. *August* 3, the besiegers were repulsed in making a general assault, and alarmed with the approach of 60,000 *Turks*.

(M) Our historians make but 6000 in all, and say; the *Imperialists* took 3 pieces of cannon, and 40 standards, after slaying most of the *Janizaries*. They place this action on the 14th of *August*.

(N) The Christian writers say about 4000, on the 20th of *August*, made the attempt.

(O) The *Bavarians* having played their batteries against the main castle, on the 22d assaulted the tower and took it.

A. D. 1686.

The city sur-
renders.

THE besiegers, being thus freed from the danger which threatened them in the rear (P), on the 13th of the same month (*Agust* 22d) make the last effort upon the city; which the governor, *Apdi Pâshâ*, a man very famous for his warlike abilities, for several hours bravely repels: but he being at length slain, the garrison begin to lose courage, and make a faint resistance. At last, finding the match unequal, they display the white flag, and desire quarter: but before the ardor of the *Germans* could be restrained, a great number of the besieged are slain upon the very walls, so that scarce two thousand of them were received into mercy^a.

Number slain.

OUR historians say, that the *Imperialists*, after a bloody fight, for above three quarters of an hour, entered the town, and in the heat of their fury, put all to the sword: but that about sixteen hundred retiring within the trenches and works of the castle, begged for quarter; which, after holding a council of war, was granted them, in consideration of the near approach of night, and of the confusion occasioned by the fires in several parts of the city. In this action not above four hundred of the besiegers were slain, and two hundred wounded: but of the *Turks*, three thousand might have fallen, and two thousand been made prisoners, among whom were several officers of note^b.

BUDA being subdued, the prime *Wazîr*, who, during the assault, had with tears lamented his own and the empire's fortune, with the rest of his army flies, rather than retreats; while the garrisons of *Hatman*, and the other adjacent places, abandon their posts, and submit to the emperor.

Other succe-
ses.

THE duke of *Lorraine*, finding no army to oppose him, divides his forces, and sends part, under the prince of *Baden*, into lower *Hungary*, and part into the upper, under the conduct of *Caraffa* and *Heusler*. The prince of *Baden*, with his forces, on the 8th of *Zilkaadeh* (*September* the 15th) besieges *Simonthorn*, and in a few days obliges the *Turkish* garrison to surrender themselves and castle to his mercy. Then he attacks *Kapofwiwar* (Q), and takes the city, which he plunders and abandons, because he would not stay to reduce the castle. From thence, having received fresh supplies by *Scherfenburg*, he marches towards *Five Churches*; and on the 28th of the same month (*October* the 5th) arriving with his foremost troops within sight of the city, the garrison, on a belief that the whole army was come, set fire to it, and retired into the castle (R): but the prince ordered three hundred horse to dismount, and extinguish the flames, whereby the greater part of the city was saved for the soldiers to plunder. The garrison, by this time sensible of their mistake, out of shame, endeavour by a sally to recover the town: but were repulsed with loss.

Five
Churches
taken.

HOWEVER, to atone for the fault, they display on the castle walls one black and six red banners, to let the besiegers know that they were resolved to sacrifice their lives in defence of it: but when they saw their strongest works demolished by the enemy's cannon, the prospect of death inspiring them with gentler resolutions, they take down their ensigns, and offer to surrender, on condition to depart with their arms; which being refused, they submit to mercy, and are made prisoners, with the *Pâshâ* and seven *Begs*, on the third of *Zilhajeh* (*October* 10th). The prince of *Baden*, after this success, sends *Scherfenberg*, with part of his army, against *Syclos*; where that general arriving on the 7th, at the first assault takes the city: then battering the castle, he in several attacks so presses the garrison, that on the 12th, they surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Essek burnt.

FROM thence *Scherfenberg* is recalled by the prince, who was then at *Darda*; and hearing that some *Turkish* troops were still about the *Drave*, was resolved to defeat them: but the *Turks*, on the bare report of his approach, fly with such precipitation, that they leave *Essek* open to the enemy, and burn part of the bridge (S), to prevent pursuit. The prince of *Baden*, finding they had escaped him, orders the remainder of that bridge, and the other bridges built by the *Turks* over the *Drave*, to be burnt. In his return he assaults the castle of *Kapofwiwar*, which before had been attempted in vain; and so presses the governor, that it was surrendered on the 22d of *Zilhajeh* (*October* 29th) on honourable terms.

Seghedin
taken.

MEAN time the other part of the imperial army, commanded by *Caraffa* and *Heusler*, had marched to *Seghedin*, and besieged that city; where, hearing that two thousand *Turks*, with a strong body of *Tatars*, were encamped at *Schinta*, a town six hours distant, with design to reinforce the garrison, *Caraffa* sends *Veterani* with several regiments, who rout the *Tatars*, and take their camp, besides five thousand horses. Soon after the *Tatars* return, imagining

^a CANT. p. 329, & seq. See also RICAUT.^b RICAUT, ubi supra.

(P) Being also reinforced with 8000 men, under count *Scaffenberg*, on *September* the 2d, began to play all their batteries, and making several movements, as if to fight the *Wazîr*, suddenly attacked the breaches in three places, which they resolutely entered; *Apdi Pâshâ* being slain on the breach. *Jones*.

(Q) Or *Kapofwar*.

(R) Our historians say, the *Imperialists*, surprising the city, scaled the walls, and entered it sword in hand, while the *Turks* fled to the castle.

(S) This bridge, according to doctor *Brown*, is five miles long, and seventeen paces broad, reaching from the *Drave* to *Darda*.

a that the *Germans* were employed in plundering; but being repulsed by the outmost guards, immediately retire. They had not been gone long, before the *Wazîr* himself appears (T), bringing them back with him. *Veterani*, although he knew not the *Othmân's* strength, yet would not retreat for fear of discouraging his men; but drawing them up, undauntedly expects the enemy. The *Turks* begin the attack, and fight with great fury; but, after two hours doubtful contest, they retire to a hill, where they are covered by their cannon: *Veterani* follows, and surmounting all difficulties, drives them also from that post, after they had lost in both battles two thousand *Janizaries*, and as many *Tatars*. *Segbedin* was the reward of this victory, on the 5th of *Zilhajeh* (October 12th); when the exhausted garrison delivered up that fortress.

A. D. 1686.
The Wazîr de-
feated.

b THIS was the state of affairs in *Hungary*: but in *Poland* most part of the year was spent in negotiations. The emperor had invited the *Czars* of *Russia*, *John* and *Peter*, into an alliance against the common enemy of *Christendom*; in order to invade the *Krîm*, and prevent the *Tatars* joining with the *Turks*, while the rest of the confederate forces were employed in *Hungary*. The *Czars* having answered that they were ready to declare war against the *Porte*, provided they could be secure against a rupture with *Poland*; the emperor at length prevailed on the *Poles*, to renounce claim to *Kiow* and *Smolensko*, which had for several ages been the ground of sharp contests, and sign the articles of peace, on the 20th of *Jamazio'l* (U), 1097^y.

John Sobieski
invades Mol-
davia without
opposition.

c JOHN SOBIESKI, encouraged by this new alliance, resolves on another expedition into *Moldavia*, as being the chief bulwark of the *Othmân* empire against *Poland*. But before he took the field, he resolved to try once more, by his ambassadors, to engage the prince of that country in a treaty against the *Turks*. *Constantine Cantemir* excused himself from an open rupture, for the reasons already given, but promised, in case the *Turks* and *Tatars* were defeated in the intended expedition, that he would then declare against them; and in the mean time let him know whatever passed in the *Othmân* camp, as well as order his subjects to supply his army with provisions. The king of *Poland*, on receipt of this answer, in the beginning of *Shawûl*, passes the *Tyras* (or *Niester*) and advances to *Jassi*, where meeting with no opposition, and finding store of corn and wine, which the prince had provided for the *Polish* army, he spends fourteen days in feasting and entertainments.

d MEAN time the *Seraskier*, *Buikkli Mostafa Pâshâ*, with twenty-five thousand horse, and eight thousand *Janizaries*, had already passed the *Danube*, and sent for *Nuraddîn Soltân* (X), with thirty thousand *Tatars* to his camp. These he orders to enter *Moldavia*, and ravage the country, to be revenged on *Cantemir*, whose absence was deemed a revolt: but this misery was prevented by *Beg Mirza*, a *Tatar* of the *Cantemir* family (Y), who engaged that in three days the prince would arrive at the camp; as he accordingly did, about the end of the same month.

e DURING this interval, the king of *Poland* advances farther, with design to drive the *Turks* out of *Moldavia*: but, on the second encampment, finds his soldiers began to want provisions, because all their stores had been wasted at *Jassi*, through negligence of the commissioners. To remedy this inconvenience, he passes the *Hierasus* (or *Pruth*) near *Czoczura*, imagining, that before the *Turks* approached, he should seize the richest magazines of the *Tatars*: but, when he was scarce two days march from that city, the *Seraskier* comes up and surrounds him; while the *Tatars* set fire to the grass, and cut off the *Polish* foragers. The king, in despair, offers battle to the *Seraskier*, who evades it; either thinking sixty thousand *Poles* too many for him, or else to draw them farther from *Poland*.

In great dis-
tress.

^y CANT. p. 330, & seq. RICAUT, *ibid*.

(T) Near the bridge on the *Danube*, with 12,000 men. They lost in this defeat all their cannon and baggage. *Jones*.

(U) April 3d 1683.

(X) There are two offices among the *Tatars*, never given to any but the *Khân's* sons, with consent of the *Othmân* court, namely, *Kalga* and *Nuraddin*: *Kalga* is as it were the *Khân's* lieutenant general, who never moves out of *Krîm Tartary*, but with the whole army of the *Tatars*. *Nuraddin* (which in the *Tatar* language signifies *Will*) is the next in degree, and is sent with a certain number of forces, as ten or twenty thousand, to the assistance of the *Turks*. *Cant*. We judge *Nuraddin* not to be a *Turkish* but an *Arabic* word, the same with *Nuro'ddin* signifying, *the light of religion*: *Kalga* also is by some written *Galga*.

(Y) This family was very eminent among the *Tatars*

for nobility and riches. They derive their pedigree from *Temûr* (or *Timûr*, the famous *Tamerlane*); *Kantemur*, signifying *the blood or race of Temur*. One of the *Kantemirs* rebelled for several years, both against the *Khân* and *Soltân*, who at last deceiving him by a treaty, and title of *Beg*, cut him off. His brothers submitted to the *Khân*, and were placed in the provinces of *Ak Kiermân* and *Kili*. His son, *Shâbbaz*, changing his name, took the surname of *Beg Mirza*, which passed to his descendants. The *Beg Mirza* in the text, used often to come into *Moldavia*, and told prince *Constantine*, that at the time his ancestors were most pressed by the *Khân*, one of their family fled to the prince of *Moldavia*, and turned Christian; on which account he affirmed, that he was prince *Constantine's* relation. *Cant*.

SOBIESKI,

A. D. 1686.

Plunders the
monasteries.

SOBIESKI, thus distressed, having repassed the *Pruth*, at *Vale Strimba* (Z), with great difficulty and loss from the *Tatars*, discharges his resentment on the *Moldavians*, whom he gives up to be plundered by his soldiers (A). He himself burns two monasteries at *Jassi*, seizes the sacred vessels, carries away the relics of *St. John* of *Soczava*, with many jewels, the pious gifts of former princes, and carries off the metropolitan, for refusing to deliver them. Afterwards coming to the monastery of the *Three Hierarchies*, he demands the relics of *St. Parasceva* (B) of *Ephibati*: and on the archimandrite's refusal, orders the cannon to be brought, threatening to batter down the doors, and seize the whole treasure: but finding the prior inflexible, either touched with shame, or prevented by his officers, soon after departs. The soldiers, induced by hunger, as well as the king's example, plunder the cities and villages, not sparing any place, religious or profane².

His army
wasted.

HOWEVER, these violences soon met with due punishment: for the inhabitants being dispersed by the cruelty of the *Poles* and *Kosáks*, the troops, finding the houses empty, were forced to eat raw flesh unsalted; which occasioned such a flux among them, that five hundred died in the camp every night. Prince *Constantine* likewise unexpectedly, sending his forces over the province, surprises them dispersed, and takes four thousand prisoners, of whom he burns some, and impales others. When the king arrived at *Kotnar*, the *Tatars*, with noxious herbs (C), poisoned the lake which waters that city, so that all the men and cattle who drank of it were destroyed. The thing being discovered, the king avoids the open country, and encamps on the *Siretus*, surrounded by mountains; which being difficult for horses to pass, the *Tatars* leave him to return to his country, and march off laden with booty and prisoners.

Disgraced at
Nemez.

THE king in his way attacks the castle of *Nemez* (D), deserted by all its inhabitants, excepting nineteen *Moldavian* hunters, who by chance happened to remain there. *Sobieski*, not knowing how inconsiderable the garrison was, assaults the place four days with cannon and bombs, while the hunters defend themselves, and kill above fifty *Poles*, with the master of the ordnance. But on the fifth day, seeing ten of their number slain, they surrender the city, on condition that the garrison should depart where they pleased. When the king saw only six hunters come forth, carrying three others on their shoulders, struck with admiration, resentment, and shame, he orders them to be hanged; but dismisses them at the instance of *Tablonowski*: then leaving two hundred chosen horse in the city, marches to *Soczava*, the ancient capital of *Moldavia*, and finding it quite deserted, takes and garrisons it.

retires secretly.

ON these successes of the *Poles*, the *Tatars* were recalled to glean the straggling soldiers: but on the 16th of *Zilkaadeh*, being met by the high treasurer, sent before by the king with eight thousand men, they were defeated with great loss. However they took revenge, by cutting off great numbers of the *Poles*, who were now obliged to disperse themselves through the woods, in quest of fruit to subsist on. The king, perceiving this danger, fled privately in the night, with a few attendants, under the guidance of a *Moldavian* colonel, leaving the rest of the army with *Tablonowski*, who followed the king to *Tavarovia*, about the end of the same month.

Venetian suc-
cesses.

THE *Venetians* had this year better success. In the beginning of spring the *Morlakhians* take *Ottokb* (a city situated between the two branches of the *Cettin*) by storm, and put the whole garrison to the sword. The *Kapudan Páshá* attempts *Khielafa* (E), but retires on the approach of the *Venetian* fleet. Part of this fleet being sent to block up the *Dardinels*, the rest attack old *Navarin*; which being surrendered on the first day of the siege (F), new *Navarin* is closely invested. The *Seraskier* of *Morea* flies to its relief; but in the way is routed by count

² CANT. p. 332, & seq.

(Z) This, in the *Moldavian* language, denotes a *perverse* or *unjust valley*. 'Tis a place on the *Pruth*, very unfortunate to the Christians. *Konicky*, general of the *Kosáks*, had his trenches forced there by the *Tatars*, with great slaughter: *John Sobieski* was forced to retire twice out of it, with great loss: and *Peter*, Czar of *Russia*, was there constrained to make peace with the *Turks*, on terms he did not like. *Cant.*

(A) The king indeed endeavoured, by letters to the prince, to clear himself, and lay the blame on the soldiers, who acted contrary to his orders: but his own violent proceedings shew, that if they did not commit robberies, and other crimes, by his permission, they did by his example. *Cant.*

(B) She was mistress of the village *Ephibati*; which afterwards was possessed by the great *Apokaukus*, general of the emperor *Andronicus*. *Cant.* Mention is made of *Apokaukus* in the history of the *Greek* emperors.

(C) This herb is so strong a poison, that being thrown into the rapid river *Pruth*, a good way above the enemy's camp, all who drink of the water (till the herb is carried down with the stream) die immediately. This, however incredible it may seem to others, the author has seen done himself by the *Tatars*, of whom not above three or four in all *Tartary* knew the secret. *Cant.*

(D) A very ancient city of lower *Moldavia*, seated on a high mountain, beyond the *Siretus*, near a river of the same name. *Cant.*

(E) With 10,000 foot, and 1500 horse: but *Cornaro*, general of the islands, in conjunction with *Morosini*, the captain general, landing with 4000 men, slew 400 of the enemy, who left behind six pieces of cannon. *Jones.*

(F) They left behind forty-three brass cannon. The castle is seated on a rock, and accessible only on one side.

Koningmark

a *Koningsmark* (G), and the marquis of *Kurbon*, with eight thousand two hundred men. Making another attempt with three thousand recruits, he is defeated a second time; on which the city surrenders on the 26th of *Rajeb* (July 7th). Three days after *Methone* (or *Modon*) is besieged, and on the 15th of *Shaabân* (June 26th) delivered up by the garrison (H), terrified by the defeat of the *Seraskier*. A.D. 1686.

To crown the work, *Morofini*, on the 10th of *Ramazân* (July 20th), lays siege to *Neapolis* of *Romania* (I); and, though very strong both by nature and art (K), in a few days beats down the walls. On the sixth of the siege, the *Seraskier* hastens to the relief of the city; but is met by *Koningsmark*, and presently defeated. However, knowing that if the place was lost he must answer it with his head, he raised a more numerous army; with which, on the 9th of *Shawâl* (August 18th), at break of day, he attacks the trenches of the *Venetians*, and takes possession of a hill, from whence he could cannonade their camp. In this exigence *Koningsmark* advances, and detains the enemy till *Morofini* came up with the rest of the army. Although the *Venetians* were superior, yet the *Turks* fight for seven hours, as if the whole *Othmân* empire was at stake; but at last are put to flight. Hereupon *Mostafa* the governor delivers up the castle, on promise of leave to depart.^a Napoli taken by Koningsmark.

Our historians are more particular; according to them, the *Venetian* army, July 30th, posted themselves on mount *Lamida*, which commanded the city within musket shot; and from thence vigorously attacked it; yet could not prevent the *Seraskier*, who lay incamped near *Argos*, from reinforcing the garrison with three hundred men, under the command of *Mostafa Pâshâ*. Count *Koningsmark*, thinking it necessary therefore to dislodge the *Seraskier*, left fifteen hundred *Italians* to guard the works about the town, and marched two miles out of the camp to meet the enemy; who having lost two hundred men presently retreated. Hereupon *Koningsmark* possessed himself of the castle of *Argos*, and then returned to the siege of *Napoli*; which by this time was set on fire in several places by the bombs, and their magazine blown up. At length the *Seraskier*, being reinforced to ten thousand men, fell on the *Venetians* with great fury: but was received by the general, assisted by two thousand marines, with such bravery, that the *Turks* retired in confusion, after fourteen hundred of them had been killed and wounded.

The *Turks* having been very unfortunate this campaign, the *Soltân* next year, sends a *Turk* *propose* *Chausb* to propose a peace (a thing unusual with the *Turks*) to the emperor; who made answer, that he could not enter into any treaty, without consent of the *Poles* and *Venetians*. Being disappointed of peace, he prepared for war, and imposed great taxes; which added to the discontents of the people. Mean time the *Wazîr*, who was at *Belgrade*, contrived how to supply and preserve *Zigeth*: but for all his vigilance, the *Germans* from *Five Churches*, surprised and burnt the suburbs, whereby they made that and the neighbouring places more secure. However, the *Turks* fearing *Alba Regalis* would be attacked next, laboured to put it in a good posture of defence, not without much disturbance from the *Imperialists*: but of all places belonging to the enemy, *Agria*, or *Erla*, was in most distress. *Tekeli*, who was intrusted to relieve it, was often routed; and in one conflict with the *Hussars*, wounded, while his princefs fortified *Mongatz*.^b peace.

The *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia*, early in spring, besieges *Duare*, in *Dalmatia*; but on the approach of the *Venetians*, retreats with great loss. He makes attempts on the enemy in other places also, but is repulsed with slaughter. The *Venetians*, elated with these successes, on the 7th of *Shawâl* (August 16th), under the conduct of *Cornaro*, attack *Zing*, which *Vallier* had in vain attempted the year before; and having battered down the walls, on the second day of the siege, take it by storm, putting all the garrison to the sword. With like success, the *Morlakhians* make an expedition towards *Constantinople*; and having by stratagem drawn one thousand foot, and five hundred horse, out of the garrison, kill a great number, and pursue the rest with such vigour, that they entered the city with them, and having plundered, set it on fire. Venetians take Zing. A.D. 1687.

THESE misfortunes alarming the *Ulema*, and people of that capital, they throw out seditious speeches; alleging, that they were judgments for the breach of peace with the emperor, which could not be averted but by removing *Soltân Mohammed*, who was the author of that unjust war, and all those who advised or approved of it. Sedition at Constantinople.

^a CANT. p. 335, & seq.

^b RICAUT, ubi supra.

(G) *Koningsmark*, on the *Seraskier*'s approach with 10,000 men to its relief, marched from before it June 4th; and forcing him to a battle, routed him, with the loss of 500, their tents and baggage. *Jones*.

(H) They found here 100 pieces of cannon, beside a great quantity of ammunition and provision. *Jones*.

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

(I) Or *Napoli di Romanina*.

(K) Being defended on one side by the sea, and on the other by high and craggy mountains, which rendered the siege difficult.

A. D. 1687.

The Turks
distressed.

THE *Soltân* on this news instantly repairs to *Constantinople*, deposes the *Mûfti*, and employs a emissaries to persuade the people, that not he, but the prelate himself, and *Kâra Mostafa Pâshâ*, who had been put to death, were the occasion of beginning the war. Farther to gain their good opinion, he sells the jewels in the treasury to pay the soldiers; and the money not being sufficient, lays a tax on the *Jâmis*, and every house (L). By these arts, the incipient sedition is quashed; and the people induced to contribute more readily for the public service^c.

ACCORDING to the Christian historians, this contribution extended to all the officers, military, civil, and ecclesiastic, tax-gatherers, and rich merchants. But they were still more at a loss for men than money: for scarce six thousand troops arrived from *Asia*, instead of forty thousand; and the levies fell short in other parts also. This made the court order the *Wazîr* to endeavour at peace at any rate; and offer the delivering up of *Tekeli*, as the first preliminary: but the emperor insisting to be paid six millions of gold, in satisfaction for damages, that all places held by the *Turks* in *Hungary* should be yielded to him, and equal advantages given to his allies, his answer was considered at the *Porte* as an absolute refusal to treat.

THE grand *Wazîr's* army, by a moderate computation, exclusive of the *Tatars*, *Hungarians* under *Tekeli*, garrisons, and parties, was about fifty thousand strong; but that of the *Imperialists* amounted to sixty-four thousand brave troops, plentifully supplied with necessaries of all kinds^d.

Battle of
Mohatz.

MEAN time the duke of *Lorraine* marched with the imperial army towards *Essek*, and passed the *Drave*, with intent to attack the *Wazîr*, who had encamped about that place: but *Soleyman Pâshâ* was so advantageously posted, that the duke, instead of venturing to attack him, was obliged to fortify his own camp for fear of being assaulted. The two armies being so near, first try their fortune by skirmishes, and then fall to work with their cannon; which doing most execution on the part of the *Turks*, the *Germans* are forced to give way. The *Turks* taking this for a flight, follow the enemy, who retreat towards the *Danube*. Yet while the *Wazîr* proceeds more slowly, by reason of his numbers, the duke of *Lorraine* encamps at *Mohatz*, where having refreshed his troops, he set out for *Zikli*. But he had scarce left his camp, when a great number of *Turkish* horse appears, and attacks the *Germans* on all sides, as they moved slowly, in order to detain them till the *Wazîr* arrived with his whole army.

The duke
attacked.

AFTER three days skirmishing, the *Wazîr* comes and posts himself in a little wood, through which the *Imperialists* were to pass. Next day, which was the fourth of *Shawal* (*August* 1st), he draws up his army; when observing the front of the *Germans* to be too wide for the wings to assist each other, commands his troops to annoy the enemy's right wing, with continued, but slight attacks; and at the same time to rush with their whole strength upon the left wing. The *Turks* accordingly fell upon the left wing with such fury, that they must needs have routed it, but for the cannon placed among the enemy's soldiers, which killed great numbers of the *Othmâns* as they moved incautiously forward, and made them retreat to the wood. However, they attacked the same wing a second time with a larger force, but with no better success than the first.

The Wazîr
overthrown.

THE duke of *Bavaria*, who commanded that body, imagining the courage of the *Turks* to be abated by these two repulses, leads his troops to attack them in the wood: but before he could execute his design, he sees the *Othmâns* advancing in a body against him. Hereupon he orders his cannon to be placed in the front, loaded with small bullets and pieces of iron; which did such execution, that they were forced to retire in haste. The duke follows them, but had scarce continued the pursuit an hour, when to his great surprise, he sees the *Othmân* camp intire, and fortified with a strong trench, in so short a time. However, the trenches being demolished by the imperial cannon, the enemy penetrate into the camp itself; and put to the sword almost all the *Janizaries* deserted by their horse. The *Wazîr* perceiving things to be desperate, with a few only escapes by flight; leaving the whole camp a prey to the victors; who pursued him with their horse, when he was out of their reach^e.

The Germans
retreat.

OUR historians relate this action with different circumstances from the *Turkish*. Their account of the battle is this: the duke of *Lorraine*, joined by the duke of *Bavaria*, prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, *Caprara*, *Heusser*, and other generals, having passed the *Drave* on the 18th of *July*, marched to *Essek*, and next day advanced towards the *Wazîr*, who was strongly and regularly encamped under that fortress, by the direction of some *French* engineers: for at this time the *French* began to enter into a confidence with the *Turks*. The *Imperialists* finding it

^c CANT. p. 336, & seq.^d RICAUT, ubi supra.^e CANT. p. 337, & seq.

(L) The *European* merchants who live there, altho' very curious in other respects, could never compute how much this tribute brought into the treasury. But any one may guess, when he knows that in the city alone, exclusive of *Pera*, *Khristopolis* (*Eskudar* or *Skutari*),

Ayub, *Bektash*, and other adjoining villages, there are above 400,000 houses, besides the markets, inns, shops, and baths; every house paying according to their largeness, or the master's abilities, from 10 to 500 leonines. Cant.

impossible

a impossible either to draw them out to a battle, or force their camp, which was impregnable, and being themselves exposed, by their situation, to one hundred and fifty pieces of the enemy's cannon, as well as in want of provision and forage, they determined to repass the *Drave*. The *Turks* believing this to be a kind of flight, made several attacks on their rear: but being repulsed by the signal address of the generals, they suffered them to cross the river unmolested, without laying hold of the great advantages which the passage of it would have given them. A. D. 1687.

THE imperial army having passed the *Drave*, encamped on the 28th near *Mohatz*; where they were joined by five thousand *German* foot, and one thousand horse. Next day, on advice that the *Wazîr* began to pass that river, all things were disposed for a battle; and the duke, the better to invite him to it, still retreated, being followed by the enemy, who were reported to be eighty thousand strong, besides attendants. At length, on the 12th of *August*, when the duke had advanced with his right wing within an hour's march of *Siclos*, the elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded the left, was attacked by eight thousand *Turkish* horse, supported by six thousand *Janizaries*, who had the night before entrenched themselves on the side of a hill, from whence they fired many volleys on the cavalry. But prince *Lewis* of *Baden* having observed a very advantageous post on the side of the same hill, he was ordered to take it; which he did with admirable success: for the *Janizaries* having fired three volleys, and the *Spahis* as often furiously charged the rear-guard, the brave elector settled his men firm against the frequent and forcible attacks of the enemy. These not being able to endure the fire and unshaken order of the *Imperialists*, betook themselves to a disorderly and precipitate flight: so that the horse breaking in upon the foot, trampled down the *Janizaries*, and drove them back to their trenches, into which the *Germans* entered at the same time, and put the whole army to a shameful rout, leaving their camp, with all their tents and baggage, behind them (M). In this battle eight thousand *Janizaries*, with their *Aga*, were killed, three thousand others drowned, and two thousand taken prisoners. Of the *Imperialists*, only one thousand were slain.^f Pursued and attacked: gain the victory.

THE *Wazîr*, after this defeat, reinforces the garrison of *Essek* with several regiments; and *Slavonia* having left six thousand men to guard the bridge of *Peterwaradin*, retires to *Belgrade*. The duke of *Lorraine* perceiving these places too well fortified to be taken in the two months which still remained of the campaign, spreads a report that he designed to besiege *Temeswaer*. The *Wazîr*, deceived by this stratagem, sends the greater part of his army to defend that city. The *Othmân* forces in *Slavonia* being by this means weakened, the duke orders *Dunewald*, with a body of troops (N), to drive them out of that country; and continues himself with the main army, to watch the motions of the *Turks* in *Hungary* (O). *Dunewald*, having passed the *Drave* on the 2d of *Zilkaadeh*, sits down before *Burzîn*, and batters down the walls; so that on the 6th day of the siege, the garrison yield themselves and castle at discretion. invaded;

THIS city being taken, he assaults *Walpo*, whose governor, by a signal, informs the garrison of *Essek*, and desires their assistance. But these latter, terrified at the unexpected approach of the *Imperialists*, undermine the castle, and prepare to fly. *Dunewald* being informed of this, orders *Ladrone*, with two thousand horse, to observe the garrison. These imagining that the whole *German* army was with him, abandon the city with such precipitation, that they left behind most of their baggage, and even forgot to set fire to their mines; upon which the governor of *Walpo* surrenders, to prevent an assault. With equal success that general takes *Posbega*, capital of *Slavonia*, with *Bellastin*, *Patrask*, *Shirask*, *Telikham*, *Walkowar*, *Erdeli*, and several other castles (P), which the *Turks* had deserted, and reduces the whole country under the emperor's obedience. Mean time *Areizaga*, *Ciokaku*, and *Polota*, surrender to the governor of *Leopoldstat*; while *Agria* in *Upper Hungary* is invested by a small body of *Imperialists*, and cut off from all supplies. and quite reduced.

THE campaign on this side is crowned with the reduction of *Transilvania*. The prince of *Transilvania* that country, *Mikhael Apafi*, had agreed in the beginning of summer to quit his alliance with the *Turks*, provided they were once removed from his borders, and admit the *Imperialists*. But when the duke of *Lorraine* was preparing to take up his quarters in that province, *Apafi* denies him entrance; alleging, that his promise of granting quarters did not extend to the submits.

^f RICAUT, ubi supra.

(M) There were found in the camp, 67 pieces of cannon; 1000 quintals of powder; of match 400; 8000 cannon ball; 3000 bombs and carcasses; 10,000 grenades; arms of all sorts; 2000 oxen; 500 horse, and other animals; besides great plenty of provisions.

(N) Ten thousand men.

(O) The season being very wet, and his men growing sickly, they with great difficulty got to *Zoluck*. *Jones*.

(P) Particularly *Orowitza* and *Zerneck*. Our historians say, the *Turks* abandoned these and *Posbega*, on the news of *Dunewald's* approach.

A. D. 1687. whole army, but only to some regiments (Q). The duke hereupon enters the country, without the prince's consent; and seizing *Cibinium* and *Claudiopolis* (R), the principal cities, obliges him to submit to the emperor.

Russian expedition.

THE *Russians* did not meet with the same success against the *Krîm Tatars*: for *Basilus*, prince of *Galliczin*, being sent against them by the young *Czars*, with a numerous but confused army, after several days march through the frontier desert, is surrounded by *Nuraddin Soltân*. The misfortune of being thus cut off from provision and water, is soon followed by a pestilence, which destroys above forty thousand of his men in a short time. For all this, *Nuraddin Soltân* fearing the *Russian* army, to oblige them to return, pretends to march towards *Kiow*, which had the desired effect. But this stratagem would not have hindered the prince from entering *Krîm Tartary*, if he had not been hastily recalled by the letters of *Sophia* (S), sister to the *Czars*.

Poles retreat.

THE *Poles*, under the command of *James Sobieski*, the king's eldest son, on the 24th of *Shawal* (*August* 2d), appear before *Kameniek*: but after throwing in some bombs, and discharging their cannon twice or thrice, they, on news that the *Turks* and *Tatars* were advanced to *Czuczera*, raise the siege. Nothing remarkable was performed farther this year between the contending powers.

The affairs of the Morea.

WITH much greater vigour the *Venetians* carry on the war in the *Morea*: for landing their forces at *Patras*, on the 23d of *Ramazân*, they march three days after, under the conduct of count *Koningsmark*, against the *Seraskier*; who with his cavalry attacks their left wing. But being repulsed with loss, he bends his whole force against the right wing, with such fury, that the *Janizaries* with their swords endeavoured to remove the barricades, which secured the enemy's front: yet is he forced, after receiving a dangerous wound, and losing many of his men, with the *Pâsbâ* of *Valona*, to fly to the mountains with the remainder, two thousand of whom are cut off in the pursuit. This victory gained to the *Venetians* all which remained of the *Morea* in the hands of the *Othmâns*. The garrison of the castle of *Patras* lead the way and fly ^e.

The Seraskier routed by Koningsmark.

ACCORDING to our historians, on the 21st of *July*, 1687, the whole *Venetian* fleet, consisting of twenty-six galleys, and six galleasses, besides eighty-seven vessels of other kinds, entered the river of *Patras*; and although the *Seraskier* of the *Morea* was strongly encamped near the town, and two *Pâsbâs* guarded the banks of the river, yet, by *Koningsmark's* advice, d they landed immediately. Upon this, a strong party of *Turks* attacked the *Germans*, who led the van with great fury, but were quickly put to flight; and the captain-general having cut off all communication between the *Turks* and the castle, by the entrance of several galleys into the gulph during the night, it was resolved to fight the *Seraskier*, and attempt his camp. With this view, on the 24th, general *Koningsmark* drew up his army in order of battle; which the *Seraskier* perceiving, he detached some of his best troops to try to break their ranks. Finding that this had no effect, he gave the signal for his whole forces to engage, and charge the *Venetians* in flank, trusting to the great superiority of his troops: but the *German* foot, who received the first fire, seconded by the cavalry, commanded by the marquis of *Corbon*, soon put them to flight; whereupon the strong fortress of *Patras* surrendered ^h.

Lepanto surrenders.

MEHEMED PASHA, who had six thousand men to defend the castle of *Rumelia*, after blowing up the walls, deserted it likewise. The same is done by *Mehemed*, governor of the castle of *Morea*, on sight of the *Venetian* galleys: and what is more surprizing, the city of *Naupactus* (*Lepanto*) strongly fortified both by nature and art, sends deputies to the *Venetian* fleet which was sailing thither, with offers to surrender.

ACCORDING to our historians, the captain general having ordered the fleet to bring their chace-guns on the head of their ships, to bear on the fortress of *Lepanto*; the inhabitants were so terrified, that they abandoned the place, carrying what baggage they could on their backs. Thus in the space of twenty-four hours, the *Venetians* became masters of four strong fortresses f

^s CANT. p. 338, & seq.


^h RICAUT, ubi supra.

(Q) Our historians say, he alleged, that in so doing he should offend the *Porte*, which would be his ruin: that hereupon the duke said, he would take quarters by force: that being refused quarters at *Klausenburg*, he proposed to attack it; whereupon the governor surrendered on articles: that no other place afterwards refused to receive the *Imperialists* into quarters; and that afterwards the duke made a treaty with *Apafi* and the states to the satisfaction of both parties. About the same time, the archduke *Joseph* was crowned king of *Hungary*.

(R) *Hermanstadt* and *Klausenburg*. It is wrong to

change the *Turkish* names, especially to give the antient instead of the modern.

(S) Many blame *Galliczin* alone for the ill success of this expedition: but I have chosen to relate here what I know to be true and unquestionable. CANT. From this, and many other circumstances in this second part of the *Othmân* history, a suspicion arises, that our author has mixed a great deal of matter from his own knowledge, or other historians, with what he gives us from the *Turkish* writers, without distinguishing one authority from the other.

a with little or no loss; and sixty pieces of cannon, most of them brass, were found in them; A. D. 1687. besides eight in the *Seraskier's* camp (who after his defeat marched in haste to *Korinth*), and  six in that of *Mos̄tafa Páshá*.

WHEN the affairs of the conquered cities were settled, *Morofini*, general of the *Venetian* Korinth de-
fended. army, appears before castle *Torneſe* and *Miſitra*, which the governors deliver up, with all the stores, without the least opposition. The only city which made any resistance was *Epidaurus Limeria* (T); wherefore *Morofini*, after annoying it extremely with his bombs to no effect, sails with his fleet through the *Korinthian* bay, directly to *Korinth*; presuming, that when this last city should be subdued, the passage into the *Morea* would be shut up to the *Turks*, and the remaining castles would be much easier to reduce. The *Seraskier*, on his approach, con-
b sidering that the four thousand men he had with him would not be able to oppose the enemy, sets fire to the magazines, and demolishing most of the walls, retreats into the mountains of *Thebes*, slaying all the *Greeks* he met, on pretence that they were the cause of his misfortune. But *Morofini* perceiving the flames, sent and extinguished them, before the magazines could be all consumed.

AFTER this, he sends *Koningsmark* with part of his army to *Athens*, which surrenders, after a short siege; wherein the antient temple, dedicated to the *unknown God*, was blown up by a Athens sur-
renders to Ko-
ningsmark. bomb setting fire to the powder lodged there¹.

OUR historians place the taking of *Korinth* next after that of *Patras*; and besides *Torneſe* and *Miſitra*, mention the submission of *Saritenæa*, *Idrapolica*, *Solona*, and the strong fortress
c of *Mitra*. After this, they say *Morofini*, in his way to *Athens*, ruined with his artillery great part of the town and castle of *Malvasia*. According to them, on the 20th of *September* he arrived at port *Leon*, six or seven miles from *Athens*, where he landed his men; and marching to the city, began to batter the castle with four mortars and six cannon, shooting red hot bullets, one of which falling into their magazine blew it up. This, with the *Seraskier's* retreating from general *Koningsmark*, who advanced to fight him, brought the place to sur- render, on condition that the soldiers should march out with what they could carry on their backs, but without arms. Accordingly six thousand persons left the city, six hundred of whom were capable to bear arms. Many of the *Greeks* remained, with three hundred *Turks*, who were baptized; their intermarriages with the *Greeks* disposing them to embrace the
d Christian religion here, more than elsewhere. There were found eighteen pieces of cannon in the castle. On this news, the inhabitants of *Megara* abandon that place, which the *Vene- tians* burnt, as being of no use².

IN *Dalmatia* the *Turks* begin the campaign; and, under the command of *Atlaglik Páshá*, Affairs of
Dalmatia. governor of *Bosnia*, on the first of *Jamazio'lawel*, besiege *Zing* (or *Singh*), which *Cornaro* had taken the year before; but after assailing it with great vigour for forty days, and losing a great number of men, he is obliged to retire on the approach of the *Venetian* army. *Cornaro*, on the other hand, with the assistance of the fleets of *Malta* and the pope, on the 25th of *Shawal*, besieges castle *Nuovo* in *Dalmatia*, which the *Páshá* of *Bosnia* hastes to relieve; and
e attacks the *Venetian* trenches with such fury, that he would have defeated the forces which defended them, had not *Cornaro*, with the rest of the army and *Maltese* auxiliaries, seasonably supported them when they began to give way, and obliged the *Turks* to fly, after they had lost above eight hundred men. For all this the garrison held out, till the *Venetians*, having taken the city by storm, on the 21st of the same month, they three days after found themselves under a necessity to surrender the castle³.

OUR historians mention certain particulars relating to this transaction, which deserve the reader's notice. On the 2d of *September*, general *Girolamo Cornaro*, procurator of *St. Mark*, Castello
Nuevo be-
sieged. landed his forces at a place called *Komburt*, near the town; and though the *Turks* were strongly intrenched on the banks of the passes, yet they forced their way, beating the enemy
f out of their trenches. After this, having discovered the condition of the town, which was fortified with redoubts and trenches, it was thought adviseable to make another descent at a place called *Zeleucia*, which was performed by general *St. Paul*; when, after five hours stout resistance, the *Venetians* became masters of the first and second trenches, with the hill of *Santa Veneranda*, which commands the town; from whence firing red hot bullets into it, the soldiers were compelled to quit their trenches.

MEAN time the *Páshá* of *Bosnia* came with all his forces to their assistance; but two The Turks thousand soldiers landing seasonably on the east side of the town, put him and his whole army defeated.

¹ CANT. p. 340, & seq. RICAUT.² RICAUT.³ CANT. p. 341.

(T) Called by the modern *Greeks*, *Mommbasia*; by the *Turks*, *Meneuiche*; and by the *Italians*, *Napoli di Cant.* *Malvasia*. It is the strongest fortress in all the *Morea*.

A. D. 1687. to flight. After this, the militia of *Malta*, advancing to the very muzzles of the enemy's muskets, bravely maintained their ground, though many of them were cut off, and obliged them to retreat under the cannon of the lower fortrefs. The town being thus blocked up, the defendants made a vigorous sally with their best men, but were repulsed with loss. At this time, the *Pâshâ* of *Herzegovina* endeavouring to relieve the besieged, was met by a detachment sent to oppose him; who being lately preferred to the government of *Bosnia*, so fiercely attacked the battalion of serjeant-major *Galli*, that they were broken, and had been totally defeated, had not major-general *Grimani* come to their assistance. But at last the enemy was put to flight, leaving seven hundred dead on the spot, besides several great men, whose heads, three hundred in number, being cut off, were fixed on half pikes before the town.

The city yields. FINDING the besieged still resolute, they batter the place incessantly: so that hearing the *Pâshâ* of *Albania* was coming to relieve it, and the magazine being blown up, they assaulted the breach, now thirty-six paces wide, and opened their way into the town: but finding the street barricaded with all sorts of lumber, while the men fired upon them from the windows, and the women threw stones from the tops of the houses, they were obliged to retreat again. Yet making another assault on the 29th of *September*, the defendants capitulated the next day, on condition to march out with their baggage, and be transported to *Albania*; soon after which, the middle and principal castle surrendered on the same terms^m.

The army mutinies under Siavus Pâshâ. MEAN time, there arises in the *Turkish* camp, from a slight cause, a very great sedition, which deprived the *Soltân* of the imperial dignity, and proved an almost irreparable detriment to the whole empire. The *Wazîr*, *Ayneji Soleymân Pâshâ*, being informed at *Peterwaradin*, that *Agria* would be forced to surrender, for want of provision, if not speedily relieved; commands a thousand *Janizaries*, and some hundred *Spahis*, to march thither with supplies of victuals. But the soldiers alleging their being quite spent with that year's service, and accusing him as the cause of all their disgraces, refuse to obey his orders; and when he renews his commands, declare they will not move one step without him (U). These kindlings of sedition were inflamed soon after by a new incident; for the *Wazîr* having attempted to destroy several *Pâshâs*, by accusing them to *Soltân Mohammed* of neglect of duty in the last battle, those officers being informed of the danger by their friends at court, exasperate the whole army against him.

SIAVUS PASHA (X), a stout and haughty man, who was in the list of the accused, which was sent to the *Soltân*, appeared at the head of these disturbances; and by his persuasion the army demands of the *Wazîr* the payment of two *Kist* (Y) due to them. That minister not having the money ready, tells them their pay was on the road, and would be there in a few days. But the soldiers, not to be put off with fair words, command him either to pay them forthwith, or to resign the *Wazîrship*, since they had a person ready, who was much more deserving of that dignity, and would satisfy their demand. *Soleymân Pâshâ* hereupon, in fear of his life, secretly flies, and carries to the *Soltân* the first news of this rebellion; laying the whole blame on *Siavus*, and some others, whom he accused of treachery in the *German* war.

Petition the Soltân. SOLTAN MOHAMMED easily credits the *Wazîr*, and with tears orders him to conceal himself, till he enquired into the designs of the rebels. *Soleymân* by this convinced of his sovereign's good will, retires to the house of *Manolaki*, a wealthy *Greek*, near the palace, where he lay hid for twenty-seven days, unknown to any body, excepting the *Soltân*, and his friend the *Kizlar Aga*. Two days after the *Wazîr's* flight, *Siavus Pâshâ* calling a council of the chief conspirators at *Belgrade*, engages them in a design to depose the *Soltân*, and put several of the great men to death. The rest of the army imagining that the *Wazîr* had fled to expose them to the enemy, or the *Soltân's* resentment, desire *Siavus* to take on him the *Wazîrship*. He, to gain the *Soltân's* favour, refuses the honour; alleging, that the dignity could be conferred by none but his majesty, against whom he would not be so wicked as to attempt any thing: and therefore exhorted them, before they proceeded a step farther, to send him a petition, and wait his answer.

^m RICAUT, ubi supra.

(U) Our historians say, the sedition began after the battle of *Mohatz* at *Essek*; where the *Janizaries* and *Spahis* upbraiding one another with their ill behaviour in the late battle, at length fell to blows: that the *Wazîr*, having pacified them with money, marched to *Peterwaradin*, where the soldiers grew so insolent by the incitement of *Osmân* and *Sbaus*, *Pâshâs*, that he was forced to fly to *Belgrade*; after which they made *Sbaus* their general. They differ in other particulars from the *Turkish* historians before us, whose authority, in

an affair of this nature, ought we think to be preferred.

(X) A man before this action distinguished for no merit. The *Italians* write *Sciaus*, or *Sbaus*, in our characters. Our historians call him *Ogli* likewise; and join with him one *Ozmân Pâshâ*, as a leader in the mutiny.

(Y) That is three months pay, as *Ulyse* is one month's, and *Navcka* one day's pay. The *Janizaries* are paid quarterly.

THIS

- a THIS advice being approved, *Siavus*, in the name of the whole army, sends an *Arzmabzar* A. D. 1687. (Z) to *Soltân Mohammed*, setting forth, "That the forces of the empire were determined to come to *Constantinople*, not to raise a sedition, or attempt any thing against his sacred person, but to demand justice against the treachery and desertion of the *Wazîr*: that however, if he was desirous immediately to appease those commotions, he should send to the camp the head of that traitor, and the pay due to the army, by the *Tefterdâr*, and the *Gyumrukchi* *Husseyn Aga* (A)." The *Soltân* was advised by his most intimate counsellors to satisfy the demands of the soldiers, for his own safety: but he had conceived so great an opinion of the *Wazîr's* abilities, that he returned no other answer to the *Arzmabzar*, than that the money was already sent to pay them, and would soon be distributed; hoping the sight of it would soften their resentment to his minister. But the soldiers, persisting in their demand, cry out, that the *Soltân* is equally culpable with the *Wazîr* for protecting him, and ought to be deposed^a.

b WHEN *Mohammed* heard that for this purpose they hastened their march, he sent their leader the seal of the empire, and *Mohammed's* standard; flattering himself, that *Siavus Pâshâ* having obtained what he wanted, would not be so importunate for the *Wazîr's* head; but *Siavus* considering that the authority conferred on him would not be lasting, while his enemy, in such favour with the *Soltân*, was alive, receives the ensigns of power with strong declarations of submission from the *Silahdar Aga*; but withal informs him, that it was not in his power to pacify the army, till the *Wazîr*, *Tefterdâr*, and *Gyumrukchi Basî*, to whose negligence they imputed the present calamities, were executed. The *Soltân* hereupon sends the *Wazîr's* head (B); which not contenting the soldiers, *Siavus* advises his majesty not to draw some fatal consequence on himself, by an unseasonable clemency; assuring him, that if he would follow his advice, he hoped in a short time to extinguish the rebellion.

c THE *Soltân* having complied on this remonstrance, *Siavus Pâshâ* endeavours sincerely to perform his promise, and detain the army at *Adrianople*; but the rebels, instead of obeying his orders, reproach him with betraying them for sake of interest, and going over to the *Soltân's* party, now he had gratified his ambition; in short, they threaten, unless he leads them on, to cut off his head, and choose another general, who should depose the *Soltân*, and place *Soleymân* in his room. The new *Wazîr*, finding it dangerous to refuse, brings them to *Constantinople*, where he is received with great honour by *Soltân Mohammed*; who promises to confer favours on him, even beyond his hopes, provided he would appease the tumults. *Siavus Pâshâ* first excuses himself for having accepted the command of the army without his knowledge; alleging, that when he saw them bent on some desperate design, he judged it would be of service both to his majesty and the empire. He then said, if the *Soltân* had granted their first petition, he might easily have suppressed the sedition; but that the rebellion now had taken deep root in their minds. However, he promised on his oath to do his utmost endeavour to extinguish it, at the hazard of his life.

d As soon as the *Wazîr* returned to his palace, he sent for the chief rebels, and endeavours to dissuade them from proceeding in their designs, by representing, "That the *Soltân* had satisfied all their demands, and was not to be blamed for the misfortunes brought on by others: that no man of understanding could aim at deposing him, as he had heard some did: considering, that as a wise and warlike prince he was able to defend the empire; while his sons were too young to govern, and his brothers, especially *Soleymân*, were fitter to be monks than soldiers, being skilled in the laws, but not in arms." The conspirators, confirmed in their former suspicions of the *Wazîr's* fidelity, feign a readiness to divert the soldiers under their influence from any such design: but as soon as they are out of the palace, they meet in the *Orta Jâmi* (C); and accusing *Siavus Pâshâ* with being secretly in the *Soltân's* interest, in violation of his oath, advise the *Janizaries* to execute their purposes before they are circumvented by his artifices^e.

^a CANT. p. 341, & seq.

^e Ibid. p. 346.

(Z) It is a petition, presented in the name of the whole province or army, to the *Soltân* or *Wazîr*; that of a single person is called *Arzuhal*, as mentioned in a former note. *Cant.*

(A) One of the richest men among the *Turks*, and in such credit with the *Soltân*, that almost every week he dined at his house, called *Findikli*, in *Pera*, almost opposite to the palace. It is now mostly in ruins; an order having been made that it should not be inhabited. The *Gyumrukchi* is the receiver of the customs. *Cant.*

(B) As soon as the *Chaus* came to the prison, he said, *I know for what you come; God's will be done*: and having said his prayers, was strangled: but first enjoined

him two things. I. To let the men in power know that he had given all his slaves their freedom. II. To advise them not to torment his people to discover his money, for that he never had any thing considerable, and the little which he was possessed of, was lost in the camp; only he could wish the *Soltân* would bestow what furniture and other things there might be in his house at *Skutary*, on his son. *Jones.*

(C) A temple in the midst of the *Janizaries* chambers, where they consult about any matter of consequence; and therefore when the *Soltâns* are afraid of a rebellion, they chiefly observe what is doing in the *Orta Jâmi*. *Cant.*

A. D. 1687. *The clergy agree to depose Mohammed.* HEREUPON the sedition increasing like wild-fire, the soldiers run armed in great bodies thro' the streets, crying out, *the Soltân, both unfortunate and indolent, ought to be deposed, and Soleymân advanced in his room; who by his prayers would appease the divine indignation.* They are soon after joined by the *Ulema*, partly of their own accord, and partly through necessity; on sight of whom the common people, thinking it criminal at such a time to sit still, snatch up what weapons are at hand, and repair to the church of *Sancta Sophia*. There the *Nakîb* (D) and *Shaykh* (E), offer themselves to the rest as leaders and directors of the intended consultation: but before any thing is proposed, they order the *Kaymakân*, *Kyoprili Mostafa Pâshâ* (F) to be sent for, in the name of the whole *Musulmân* nation. When he came, the *Sharîf* of *Sophia*, in a long speech, set forth how many provinces and cities had been lost; how much blood and treasure had been spent; and that greater calamities were still to be expected, if the government should be continued in the hands of such an emperor, who took no care of the army or state, and only minded his hawks and his hounds: then putting the *Kaymakân* in mind of the great services done to the empire by his ancestors, exhorts him to assist in averting the impending danger^p.

As the *Sharîf* is going on, he is interrupted by a clamour, that the *Shâzadeh* were in danger: for the *Soltân* finding, on being informed of this consultation, that there was no way left to prevent his deposition, but to put his brothers to death, had sent some of his chamberlains to dispatch them. But the *Bostânji Bashî* being made acquainted with this design by some courtiers, bribed by the *Soltân's* enemies, had surrounded the apartments of *Soleymân* and *Ahmed* with a regiment of *Bostânji*; and having repulsed the chamberlains, informed the assembly of this affair. The rebels, fired with this news, desired the *Nakîb* and *Sharîf* of *Sophia* instantly to proclaim the deposition of *Mohammed*, and declare *Soleymân* emperor; since the *Soltân's* attempt on the life of his brothers was of itself a sufficient ground; and the *Bostânji* might be bribed, if the design should be delayed.

Soltân's notice.

THE multitude would perhaps by force have deposed the *Soltân*, and even attempted his life, if the *Kaymakân* had not prevented it, by pretending to approve their opinion. Having thus gained their favour, he tells the assembly, "That there was no occasion for doing things in a hurry, since the *Shâzadeh* were securely guarded by the *Bostânji Bashî*; and advises them to proceed in such a manner, as might both preserve the honour of the *Othmân* family, and prevent more dangerous commotions; which would be to send the *Shaykh Sharîf* and *Nakîb* to the *Soltân*, in order to declare him deposed, in the name of the *Ulema* (or clergy), soldiery, and the whole *Musulmân* nation; then to desire him to leave the palace of his own accord, and resign the empire to his brother *Soleymân*." This advice being approved of by the whole assembly, the *Nakîb* and *Shaykh Sharîf* are sent, much against their wills, with this fatal message; which they humbly deliver to the *Soltân*, and then ask pardon for doing what they were forced to by the multitude.

The Soltân's answer.

SOLTÂN MOHAMMED heard the messengers with great tranquility, and then told them, "That they had brought him no news but what he expected; for that he had long found the common people were corrupted by the *Ulema*, desirous of change, and engaged by them in their rebellion, which he might have prevented by banishing them:" next having mentioned the justice of his government, and his many warlike exploits during a reign of forty years, he tells them, "He cannot think of any other pretence for their impious attempt, excepting the breach of peace with the emperor of *Germany*, and the four last years success of the war: and yet that they themselves first persuaded him to that war; and that the *Mufti*, the head of their confederacy, by his *fetvâh*, pronounced the same just.—That instead of endeavouring to appease the divine wrath by fasting and prayer, which was their proper office, they had instigated the people to trample on his authority and the laws, of which they were the guardians." Then, after repeating the many concessions and sacrifices he had made to please the people, and procure peace, concluded, "That although he knew the people by their (the *Ulema's*) authority, were too deeply rooted and confirmed in their wicked design, yet he also knew that the righteous God would prove his avenger, and severely punish the corrupted people, for the injury then offered to him."

^p CANT. p. 343, & seq.

(D) Or more properly *Nakîb Ashraf*, the holy overseer, who is the keeper of the *Sanjâki Sharîf*, or the holy standard. He is the head of the *Amîrs*, or descendants of *Fatemah*, *Mohammed's* daughter, and alone hath power over the rest; for without his knowledge, the *Soltân* himself cannot so much as strike one of them. He is no way inferior in dignity to the *Mufti* himself: but because it would be dangerous to trust any man

long with so much power, the *Soltân* often changes him, but cannot take away his salary. Cant.

(E) He is the prelate or the head of a temple; but the *Shaykh* of *Sancta Sophia* takes place of all other *Shaykhs*. Cant.

(F) Son of the great *Ahmed Pâshâ*, a man for holiness of life, integrity, prudence, and courage, famous above all the rest of the *Turks*. Cant.

THE

- a THE *Nakib*, unmoved with the *Soltân's* speech, uses still greater insolence towards him, and replies, without any sense of modesty; "That he was not sent by the people to hear his apology, but to command him, in the name of the whole *Mussulman* assembly, to quit the throne: that therefore if he was desirous to preserve his honour and life, he should, of his own accord, resign the government to his brother *Soleymân*: since, was he to oppose the will of the citizens, they would notwithstanding execute their resolutions." The *Soltân* hereupon, submitting to necessity, says to the messenger, "Since I see the divine indignation, stirred up by the sins of the *Mussulmans*, discharged on my head, go and tell my brother, that God's decree is declared by the mouth of the people, and he is appointed governor of the *Ali Othmân* empire." *Soltân Mohammed*, having spoken these words, on the third of *Moharram* 1099 (G), resigns the imperial scepter^a.

- b THE several steps taken in this great revolution, are more fully and accurately related by *Rajeb Pâshâ* the *Turkish*, than the Christian historians; from whom we shall only add two particulars farther, to shew the unaccountable vicissitudes, and miserable state, to which human greatness is liable. Upon *Soleymân* the *Wazîr's* flight to *Constantinople*, *Rajeb*, the *Kaymakâm*, a man of great abilities, who was his friend, suspecting that the friends of *Ibrâhîm*, the former *Wazîr*, fomented the sedition, he obtained an order to remove the *Mufti* (who the year before had been banished to *Prusa*) to the island of *Rhodes*; and another to take off the head of *Ibrâhîm*, who was imprisoned there. After this the soldiers, in their march towards the capital, beginning to talk of deposing *Mohammed*, *Rajeb*, apprehensive of the danger, applied to the *Mufti* for a *Fetwa*, to declare all those rebels and infidels, who would not obey the *Soltân's* commands. But this being refused, and the *Kislar Aga* insinuating to *Soltân Mohammed*, as if *Rajeb* was contriving how to make his peace with the army, it was agreed to send them his head along with *Soleymân's*, in order to make atonement for the lives of others. Pursuant to this resolution, the *Bostânji Bâshi* being sent to seize *Rajeb*, he very readily offered to go with him: but as that officer and his servants went down before him, he stopped short at the head of the stairs, and said, *Aga, it would not be amiss if I should take some Chekîns with me into the prison; step in with me for them into my chamber*: then, turning quick about, he entered into a room, and passing nimbly into another, through a sort of cupboard door, from thence by a pair of back-stairs, got into the garden, and made his escape by the postern. However, he was afterwards taken, and put to death.

- c MEAN time the *Mufti*, pursuant to the mandate obtained by *Rajeb*, was put on board a galley, whose *Beg*, or commander, being a friend to the *Wazîr Ibrâhîm*, endeavoured, during the voyage, to sound the *Kâpiji Bâshi*, whether he had any other order to execute at *Rhodes*; and this officer not owning that he had any, the *Beg*, as soon as he arrived there, went directly to *Ibrâhîm*, to assure him that he was in no danger: Not long after the *Kâpiji Bâshi* entered, and kissing *Ibrâhîm's* vest, sat down by him: after which, being asked what news, he said, all was well. Then he drank some coffee, and having smoked his pipe, drew a paper out of his bosom, and gave it to *Ibrâhîm*, who, on reading it, changed countenance; and happening to have a little child upon his knee, kissed it, with tears in his eyes, and said, *What have I done? They seized all my estate; and, not being content therewith, have sent for my life. O treacherous world!* This said, he was presently strangled^d.

SOLTÂN Mohammed lived after his deposition for five years, a thing very uncommon, Mohammed: closely confined in his apartment; departing the world in *Jomaziô'lawel*, 1104. He lived fifty-two, and reigned forty, years, five months and sixteen days. He left, by different wives, seven sons; two of whom, *Mostafa* and *Abmed*, were advanced to the empire; the rest died in their infancy.

- f HE was a prince eminent for justice and warlike abilities; of great clemency, and his reign very happy, excepting the last four years of it. There was but one fault which his enemies could reproach him with, and that is his immoderate love of hunting, in the latter years of his reign, to the neglect of state affairs. He is reported by some to have been poisoned by his brother *Soltân Abmed*, at the instigation of the *Wazîr, Arabaji Ali Pâshâ*, who having sought the death of certain great men, and meeting with a repulse from the *Soltân*, by *Mohammed's* advice, in revenge, suborned the *Munejin Bâshi* (H) to give out he had discovered by the stars, that *Mohammed* should depose his brother, and reascend the throne: which artifice the *Wazîr* made use of to irritate *Abmed* against him. But it is customary on the death of a *Soltân* to raise a report of his having been poisoned: besides it is well known that *Mohammed*, before his deposition, was continually troubled with the gout in both his hands and feet: this, added to the hypochondriac distemper occasioned by his confinement, at last exhausted all his vital spirits^e.

^a CANT. p. 346, & seq.

^d RICAUT, ubi supra.

^e CANT. p. 348, & seq.

(G) Which answers to *Saturday* the 29th of *October* 1687; and our historians place this event on the 28th.

(H) He is the chief astrologer, and third of the four officers in the inner *Othmân* court, who are reckoned

ecclesiastics; the other three are, the *Hojeh*, or *Soltân's* preceptor; the *Hakîm Effendi*, or chief physician; and the *Ferrah Bâshi*, or chief surgeon. CANT.

C H A P. XXI.

The Reign of Soltân Soleymân II.

S E C T. I.

Troubles in the Othmân empire ; the siege of Belgrade ; and battle of Niffa.

A. D. 1687.

20 Soltân Soleymân II.

His timorous behaviour.

A new sedition.

The Wazîr's bravery.

WHEN the *Bostânji Bâshi* (A) brought *Soleymân* the news of his brother's deposition, and his own advancement to the *Ali Othmân* throne, that prince, contrary to every body's expectation, was extremely grieved at the message; "Why," says he, "in the name of the immortal God, do you endeavour to disturb my tranquility? Suffer me, I beseech you, to pass in quiet, in my cell, the few days I have to live; and let my brother rule the *Othmân* empire, for he was born to govern, but I to the study of eternal life." The *Bostânji Bâshi*, at first, is amazed at these words; but recovering himself, continues to press the prince; alleging, that the resolution of the *Wazîrs*, *Ulema*, nobles, and the whole people, could not be altered, nor *Soltân Mohammed* restored, without great detriment to the empire. *Soleymân*, still in suspense, replies, "That he owed too great a reverence to his brother to take possession of his throne, which he had quitted with reluctance: I would come forth, however," continues he, "but am afraid of my brother."

At last the *Bostânji Bâshi*, impatient of delay, says, "You must give way, most resplendent emperor, to the entreaties and wishes of the whole *Mussulmân* people;" and with these words, forces him, as it were, out of his chamber, and leads him to the room where the throne was usually placed. When he came there, he first, not without signs of fear, desires his conductor, and the door-keepers, "to take care, lest his brother should be within, since he dreaded to appear in his presence." Having been assured that his brother was removed to another apartment, he at length mounts the throne, and is saluted emperor by all the courtiers. But as soon as the ceremony was performed, he leaps down again, as from an impure place, and demands *Abdest* (B). This done, he defers returning to the throne; and when the courtiers press him to it, he puts his finger to his mouth, and enjoins them silence (C). At last, notwithstanding his reluctance, he is again seated there; and admits the *Ulema* and nobles to kiss his robe.

BEING thus advanced, he confirms the *Wazîr*, *Siavus Pâshâ*, and commands him to appease the sedition. On the *Wazîr*'s return to his palace, the *Bulûk Agalari* (D) do him their reverence; but then demand their pay, and a new *Bakhsîsh* (E), which used to be given to the soldiers at the beginning of a new succession. *Siavus Pâshâ*, finding the treasuries empty, amuses the officers for some time with words, and then endeavours to separate the chief authors of the disturbances, under pretence of promoting them, in order to send them to remote cities. By this conduct the former hatred of the soldiers is revived against him, when assembled in the *Orta Jâmî*; they run through the streets, crying out, the *Wazîr* ought to be put to death, as an enemy to *Soltân Soleymân*, a deserter, and a violator of his promises.

PRESENTLY after they surround his palace, whither, on the first alarm of their meeting, he had retired with his officers; and on being denied admittance to speak to that minister, attempt to break open the gates: but *Siavus Pâshâ* repels them with the arms which he found by chance in the palace, and kills above twenty *Janizaries*. The soldiers, more enraged at this slaughter, rush with their whole force upon the gates, and break them open. Mean time the *Wazîr* shoots several with arrows from his chamber opposite to the gate, while his officers, about one hundred in number, prevent the rebels from ascending, and force them into the *Diwân Khâneh* (F). A bloody conflict hereupon ensues, wherein above one hundred and fifty of

(A) The chief of the gardeners.

(B) That is, water to wash his hands, head, and feet, as enjoined by the *Korân* before prayers.


(C) The *Turks* draw presages from the first words or actions of their *Soltâns*, of their future conduct. *Cant.*

(D) Commanders of the regiments of *Janizaries*, and the superior officers made from among them. *Cant.* *Bulûk* signifies a company of soldiers.

(E) A gift, or bounty bestowed out of kindness, by a new *Soltân*, to all the chosen troops then at *Constantinople*. It was first introduced by *Soleymân Kanûni*; and although it seems to encourage seditions, and has been the source

of many rebellions, the *Janizaries*, for sake of the *Bakhsîsh*, having often joined with the *Soltân*'s enemies; yet whoever considers the end and design of this law, can never sufficiently admire the divine prudence of the legislator, and his consummate knowledge in politics: for this was calculated to preserve the empire, and be a check to the tyranny and vices of his successors, as well as of his ministers, by being an encouragement to the soldiery to watch over the conduct of the *Pâshâs*, and reform the government when grown negligent or corrupt. *Cant.*

(F) That is, the house of judgment, or place where the people's complaints are heard. It is a large hall on the

a of the conspirators are killed upon the stairs, and as many wounded. But at last, many of the *Wazîr's* party being slain, the rest fly to the top of the house, and throw themselves into the street. Upon this, *Siavus Pâshâ* retires again to his chamber, and in the door kills twelve *Janizaries* with his sword. At last, rather wearied with conquering than conquered himself, he is beaten down, and killed by the soldiers, who cut his body in pieces, and throw them into the street ^a. A. D. 1687.  He is slain.

RICAUT relates several matters which passed before the death of the *Wazîr*, not mentioned by our *Turkish* historians. According to him *Sbaus Pâshâ* made his entry into *Constantinople*, on the first day of *November*, with great solemnity, and presented the prophet's standard to the *Soltân*, who, moving three steps forward, took it from him, and gave it to *Mostafa*, the *Seliktâr*, or *Silahdar*: then receiving his brother's seal in the same manner, returned the *Wazîr* another with his own name upon it.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the fury of the mutineers was not yet abated; for they committed several great men to prison, and had *Rajeb Pâshâ* strangled: altho' it was believed that the chief promoter of his death was the *Wazîr*, who envied him on account of his great abilities. They likewise turned out their *Aga*, and chose in his room the *Seliktâr*, a man but twenty five years old, who had formerly been a surgeon in the *Saray*, and of no experience in military affairs. Changes at court.

THIS, however, proved a merit in his character, as it made him the fitter to be governed by them: for now the *Wazîr* himself was forced to grant them all their demands, and approve in writing such methods as they judged proper for raising money; one of which was to tax the great officers belonging to the late *Soltân*, down to the astrologers and goldsmiths, most of whom were fined to the full of what they were worth. The next method of raising money was, by admitting to ransom those who were imprisoned. These sums, thus collected, being sufficient to discharge the arrears due to the soldiers, things grew calm for a time, so that, on the 17th of *November*, *Soltân Soleyman* went in the morning, by boat, to the *Saray* of *Ayûb*, where he was girt with the sword by the *Nakîb Effendi*; and, when the ceremonies were over, rode back through the city, but with no great pomp. Money projects.

AFTER this he began a reform at court, by lessening the number of hawks and hounds. He reduced that of his horses to one hundred; made one hundred and fifty of his pages *Spahis*, and changed the rest. The like was done in the court and chambers of the women: by which retrenchments eight thousand purses were saved yearly to the treasury. These proceedings greatly pleased the soldiers; but, the money falling short to pay them, it created new commotions. And now it was the *Wazîr's* turn to conjure up more, which he performed by the old method, in going over with the rich men once again. Among the rest the *Kislar Aga*, whom he began with, was forced to pay nine hundred purses, besides his effects to a great value, and then banished to *Rhodes*. But the money raised still falling short by two hundred purses, the sum was made up by coining the silver and gold taken from the horse furniture in the *Soltân's* stables. Civil list reduced.

AFTER this things became quiet for the space of two months, during which time the *Soltân* had thoughts of sending ambassadors to *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, to notify his advancement to the empire: but this uncustomary project was superseded by the preparations for war, and breaking out of new commotions. For the soldiers, assembling with more insolence than before, in a very rude manner demand of the *Wazîr* the removal of *Kioprili*, the *Kaymaykâm*, from his office, which was immediately done, and he sent to the castle of the *Dardanel*s, very glad to get safe out of their hands. At the same time several other officers were discharged, and such as the rebels nominated put in their room by the *Wazîr*; whom they also forced to renew his oath to stand by them. This done, he set up the horse-tail, as a signal of his march into the field, in order to divert them from their designs; and made *Shabân Aga*, his *Kyehaya*, *Kaymaykâm*, as a man he could trust in his absence to govern the city. But having nominated *Zulfikar Effendi*, a person obnoxious to the mutineers, to the post of *Kyehaya*, *Tesfuji*, the most able and active among them, came and told him, that if he made that man *Kyehaya*, he would kill him before his face. This affront the *Wazîr* dissembled, hoping they would soon render themselves odious to the people; as in fact they did, by taxing chimnies, giving orders for quartering soldiers, and raising money by extraordinary methods. The mutineers insult the Wazîr.

MEAN time the *Wazîr*, in concert with *Kioprili*, and the *Janizar-Aga*, procured a *Khatti Sharif*, importing, "That the grievances of the soldiers having been redressed, and all their Their ring-leader punished.

^a CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 350, & seqq.

second floor of the *Wazîr's* palace, open towards the stair-case; where people standing may hear what is doing above. The *Wazîr* sits opposite to the stairs, in an alcove made in the wall. He is obliged to administer justice there *Fridays*, *Saturdays*, *Mondays*, and *Wednesdays*. *Thursday* is a day of rest: the other two days are for the *Soltân's* *divân*. If hindered by business of state, which is rare, the *Chausb Bâshî* supplies his place. Cant.

A. D. 1688.

“just demands gratified, it was their duty to be obedient to the *Soltân*, as well as those officers set over them by his authority, and not to meddle with affairs relating to the government; and that whoever was refractory should be punished as a rebel.” This mandate being sent to the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, he assembled the chief officers, and having read it to them, asked whether they would obey it or not? They answered, yes; for none but the common soldiers joined with the mutineers. But *Tesfuji* cried out, *he is a villain who obeys that mandate*. Whereupon he was, by the *Aga*’s order, carried into an inner room, and put to death. The *Wazîr* also sent to seal up his house, in order confiscate his estate; as he did by several others of the chief mutineers, whose persons he ought first to have secured.

The *Wazîr*’s
imprudence.

Soon after the *Janizar-Aga*, thinking by his own authority to disperse an assembly of the malecontents in the *Okmeydân* (G); he was no sooner espied by *Haji Ali*, an *Armenian* renegade, and a great friend to *Tesfuji*, but he came up to him, saying, *You have murdered our companion, and endeavoured to sow dissension among us*: then, striking him with his scymitar, he was immediately cut in pieces. After this the mutinous mob robbed the *Tefterdâr*’s house of a considerable sum of money, designed for paying the soldiers; and then assaulted the *Wazîr*’s house. But the *Tefterdâr* and captain *Pâshâ* being there, with some other friends well armed, the rabble were repulsed. At length the *Wazîr*, thinking to pacify the tumult, resigned up his office, which proved his ruin: for now, on the loss of his authority, all his friends forsaking him, the mutineers broke into his palace, and *Haji Ali* shot him with a pistol, while others wounded him mortally in the belly, after having fought courageously, and killed several with his own hand. He could not be prevailed on to withdraw, saying, that he could not live long, and therefore would not abandon his family to the fury of such miscreants^b.

The faction
quelled.

AFTER this, excited by a rage unheard of among *Turks*, they break into the womens apartments; and, cutting off the noses, hands, and feet, of the *Wazîr*’s wife (H) and sister, drag them naked through the streets; and commit other execrable crimes upon the slaves and female domestics (I). That minister’s family being thus destroyed, they rove like ravenous wolves through the city, and kill and plunder all they meet, as if partners with the *Wazîr* in his guilt. A dreadful face of things appears, and the whole city would have been ruined, if the *Ulema*, who were the first authors of the tumult, had not composed it: for, assembling at the imperial palace, they there display the *Sanjâki Sharîf* of *Mohammed*; and by their criers proclaim, That all *Mussulmans*, who would not be deemed infidels, should repair to that standard. The summons is obeyed, first by the citizens, and then by the *Janizaries*, who, that they might not appear rebels, presently lay down their arms, crying out, that they had taken them up not against the *Soltân* but his enemy the *Wazîr*, whom having punished, they were ready to do whatever the *Soltân* should think proper^c.

The manner
bore.

ACCORDING to *Ricaud*, this commotion was appeased after another manner. The tumult having now lasted three or four days, the rebels seemed to be absolute masters, for there were no officers alive who had any authority over them; when a small accident ruined their anarchy, after they had domineered for five months, killing and displacing the *Pâshâs* at pleasure. At this time four *Janizaries* having taken some embroidered handkerchiefs out of certain shops, the shop-keepers made a great clamour, and by the encouragement of an *Amîr*, all rose, fell on the plunderers, and killed two of them. Hereupon the *Amîr*, putting a piece of linen on a stick, and holding it up, cried out, *Let all true Mussulmans repair to the Saray, and pray the Soltân to put forth the prophet’s standard, and destroy these rebels*. Upon this the injured citizens crowded thither, which so encouraged *Soleymân*, that at noon the standard was erected, and the people, by proclamation, ordered to come and fight under it.

The rebels
punished.

THIS having brought an incredible number together under the walls of the palace, a *Sheykh*, or preacher, called to them thrice from thence; and asked, whether they were contented with the present emperor? they answered in the affirmative, with three great shouts: but said, they would have the *Gyurbas*, or ringleaders of the mutinous militia, destroyed. Thirteen of them were thereupon taken and cut to pieces, and the rest fled. The *Mufti* also was degraded for siding with them; and *Tabâk Effendi*, who had been deposed by the mutineers, restored

^b RICAUD, vol. iii. in Soleyman II.

^c CANT. ubi sup. p. 353.

(G) A field without the city, where they used to shoot with bows and arrows.

(H) She was daughter of the great and famous *Wazîr Kioprili Ahmed Pâshâ*, and sister of *Kioprili Mustafa Pâshâ*, who shortly after retook *Belgrade*. CANT.

(I) *Ricaud* does not mention this dragging through the streets. He says, that, although his wife, the

daughter of old *Kuperlec*, gave them all her jewels, yet they treated her inhumanly, and wounded her; on which, it was reported, she miscarried and died: that his eldest daughter, not delivering her pendants soon enough, they cut off her ears with them: and that they sold a younger daughter, with a slave whom they carried away, for six dollars.

a to that dignity. The *Nisanji Bâshi*, an old man, was created *Wazîr*, and a young man, 666 A.D. 1682. page of the royal chamber, made *Aga* of the *Janizaries*. Other vacant places were supplied; and the next day all being quiet, as if no disturbances had happened, several *Armenians* and others, who, disguised like soldiers, mixed with the rioters to rob, were discovered and hanged. After this the plunderers were, by proclamation, pardoned, who, within three days, should restore the goods or money to the injured citizens; which had a surprising effect. So that this day might be called the first of the *Soltân's* reign, who began with suppressing taverns and smoking, in which he was so strict, that one day walking incognito, to see if his orders had any authority, he commanded two poor fellows to be executed for selling tobacco^d.

b BUT this calm did not last long; for a few days after *Soleyman* having ordered the new *Wazîr*, *Koja Ismael Pâshâ*, to seize privately the leaders of the rebellion, and put them to death (K); the *Janizaries* again take arms, and threaten destruction to both. The *Soltân*, to prevent the storm falling on his head, by the advice of *Kioprili Mostafa Pâshâ* (L), throws the whole blame upon the *Wazîr* (M); spreading a report, that he had acted therein without the *Soltân's* knowledge; and, to give it the better gloss, banishes him to *Rhodes*; appointing *Tekkiur Dâghi Mostafa Pâshâ* in his room.

c THE flames from the capital spread into the provinces. In *Rûm-ili Egben Ozman Pâshâ* (N) *R. Bellier: assembles* a considerable body of *Spahis*, and engages them to demand of the *Wazîr* the *Bakhshish Julus* (O), due to them on *Soleyman's* advancement to the empire. On the *Wazîr's* pleading inability for the present, they levy the money on the inhabitants of the country, and plunder all *Bulgaria*, as far as *Sophia*. In *Asia*, *Gyeduc Pâshâ* moves his troops to sedition; and being joined to several thousand banditti, threatens to attack *Constantinople* itself. Having plundered and subdued all the provinces of the *Anadol Beglerbeglik*, he marches his army to *Isnid Gyebrid* (P), and prepares to besiege *Krisopolis* (or *Skutari*), thinking the *Janizaries* were too busily employed to mind him; but they, laying aside their rage the night before the city was to be attacked, pass over and surround it with trenches, on which the *Pâshâ* retires, and is soon after defeated by the *Othman* army.

d WHILE the *Turkish* empire is thus shaken by intestine commotions, the imperial army subdues the most considerable bulwarks of *Hungary*. *Agria*, the strongest fortress of *Upper Hungary*, after four months close siege, is obliged by famine to surrender, on the 20th of *Moharram* 1099 (Q). The same fate befalls *Mongatz*, an almost impregnable castle in the same country, fortified by *Tekeli*, and made the repository of his wife, treasures, and records. After he was seized as before related, and *Kassovia* lost, his princess, the heroine of the age, assembled there what forces she could, and stored the place with plenty of provision; in hopes to defend it till the war should be finished, or the *Turkish* army march to her relief. But those forces being withdrawn from the neighbourhood, count *Terci*, in the year 1098, attempted to take the castle; but after assailing it for several months with cannon and bombs to no purpose, he blocked it up at a distance, and cut off all provision, to such a degree, that the princess *Tekeli*, conquered rather by famine than the enemy's sword, on the 14th of *Rabi'ulawel*, 1099 (R), surrendered both herself and castle to the emperor's mercy^e.

e THIS surrender having been made before the instructions which her husband had sent to her on that head came to her hands, he was so incensed, that he destroyed all the places he came at, as far as *Peterwaradin*, and then fortified himself with some thousand followers in the village of *Theleigh*, near that city. But general *Heussler*, on the 6th of *February*, fell upon him

^d RICAUT, ubi sup.

^e CANT. p. 353, & seqq. RICAUT.

(K) *Ricaut* says, above 1000 of the *Gyurbas*, or ringleaders servants, were thrown into the sea one night after another: but speaks of no new commotion thereupon.

(L) According to *Ricaut*, he was, at this time, removed from the prison of the *Dardinels* to that of *Rhodes*.

(M) When troubles arise, this is the only shield which the *Soltâns* have to defend themselves; and, by sacrificing the *Wazîr*, they are sure to secure their own safety. It is thought *Mohammed IV.* would not have been deposed, had he given up *Aynesi Soleyman Pâshâ*, when first applied to. So that, although the almost unlimited power which the *Soltân* gives the *Wazîr* might be dangerous in other states; yet it is the chief, if not only, support of the *Othman* empire; since the *Soltân* can, when he pleases, cut off the *Wazîr*, who will never depose the *Soltân*, because he must lose by a change; nor can ever hope to usurp the crown; because the *Turks* have so great a veneration for the *Othman* race.—*Cant.*

(N) A man noted for his robberies in *Asia*. His followers were reckoned the stoutest men in that quarter. He threatened to destroy *Iskinder*, and even the royal city. At last, being pardoned, he brought with him above 1000 freebooters against the *Germans*; but was put to death as soon as he came to *Constantinople*. *Cant.* Prince *Cantemir* seems to confound *Egben* with *Gyeduc*, if *Iskinder* be a mistake for *Iskudar* (or *Skutari*). *Ricaut* calls him *Yeghen*; and makes both him and *Gyeduc*, whom he names *Tedik*, generals in *Hungary*.

(O) Called also *Julus Akcheshi*, that is, the money of the new, or the renewed empire. The nature of the *Bakhshish* is explained a few notes before. *Cant.*

(P) That is, the passage of *Izmîd*. So is the gulf of *Nikomedie* called. *Cant.*

(Q) That is, the 16th of *November* 1687; but *Ricaut* puts it on *December* 16, and says, it surrendered at discretion upon the news of the battle of *Mohatz*.

(R) *January* 6th, 1688.

A. D. 1688. in his trenches with such fury, that he was put to flight, leaving six hundred of his men slain, and four hundred taken prisoners; among whom was *Genay*, the chief commander next to himself^a.

Other commo-
tions seasona-
bly prevented.

THE common people and soldiers at *Constantinople*, were in hopes that, on the advancement of *Soleymân*, a prince, as they imagined, of great sanctity, the divine wrath would be appeased, and the enemy repelled. But when, on the news of those misfortunes, they find themselves deceived, they throw satirical libels, both in prose and verse, into the *Jâmi* and *Divân*, reproaching not only the *Wazîr* and other nobles, but the *Soltân* himself, with negligence and other faults (S). The minister, to obviate farther mischief, orders a guard to pass night and day through the city, prevents nocturnal assemblies, and seizes some persons who talked too freely; but, not to add oil to the flames, dismisses without punishing them (T). At last, b the *Soltân's* natural timorousness produces a better remedy than courage could have done: for, under pretence of changing the air, he withdraws from the seditious, by removing with his court to *Adrianople*. The people indeed seemed to have reason to complain of the ill administration of affairs; but did not impute it to the proper persons. How much the treasury was exhausted, and to how great a necessity that opulent empire was reduced, appeared on this occasion: for there was not in the imperial stables a number of horses, mules, and camels, sufficient for the courtiers; nor money enough in the treasury to pay for the hire of what were wanting: so that he ordered the gold and silver vessels, with his jewels, to be publicly sold, in order to supply his necessities. At length, departing on hired horses and chariots, he prevents the sedition just ready to break out.

Turks sue for
peace.

WHEN he arrives at *Adrianople*, he pretends to apply himself to the care of the war; but, as his devotions were more agreeable to him, he sent *Zuo'lfikar Effendi* (U), clerk of the *Janizaries*, and *Alexander Maurokordatus* (W), interpreter to the *Divân*, ambassadors to the emperor of *Germany*: under pretence of informing him of his election (X); but, in reality, to settle a peace upon what terms they could procure^c.

Transilvania
revolts.

THE *Turks*, brought to this extremity, dispatch an *Aga* to *Apafi* prince of *Transilvania*, with a patent to confirm him in his principality, and orders to demand a considerable sum of money, to pay the garrisons on the *Boristhenes* (or *Nieper*); which the declining state of the empire, he said, obliged the *Porte* to exact: at the same time threatening him with a *Tatar* d incursion, in case he did not comply with the demand. General *Caraffa*, being informed of this affair, immediately hastes thither; and so well disposed *Apafi*, and the states, then met at *Hermanstadt*, that, rejecting the *Aga's* proposal, and despising his threats, they, on the 9th of *May*, 1688, absolutely renounce all obedience to the *Othmân Porte*; and confirm the treaty made with the duke of *Lorrain*. Hereby they put themselves under the emperor's protection, and receive his forces into their garrison places (Y), on condition that their privileges, and the exercise of their religion, should be confirmed to them^d.

Alba Regalis
surrenders.

THE *Wazîr Tekkiur Dâghi* (Z) *Mostafa Pâshâ*, either through fear of the *Germans*, or lest the *Soltân*, in his absence, should be persuaded to put him to death, declines the command of the army, and appoints *Rajeb Pâsha Seraskier* of *Hungary*. But before the *Othmân* forces e took the field, the garrison of *Alba Regalis*, which had been blocked up all winter by the *Imperialists*, surrendered (A) on the 19th of *Rajeb*. *May* 8, 1688, *Caraffa* had taken the

^f RICAUT.

^g CANT. p. 355, & seqq. & RICAUT.

^h RICAUT, ubi sup.

(S) *Ricaut* informs us, that the libels reflected on the *Soltân's* intention to remove; and that they petitioned the *Wazîr* to dissuade him.

(T) According to the same author, he seized all the conspirators in their houses, on the eve before the plot was to be executed; and punished them as their crime deserved. Many officers were displaced; and 50 persons, mostly *Janizaries*, were cut off. But *Yeghen* thought to be the ringleader, was too great to be meddled with. At last, 2500 purses, the estates of two *Kislar Agas* who were put to death, coming in seasonably to pay the soldiers arrears, the *Soltân* removed to *Adrianople* in *July*.

(U) *Yengbicheri Effendis*, a post of great profit; he was in great account at court for his learning.—*Cant.*

(W) Grandson of *Skarlatos*, vulgarly *Skarlotti*, who was *Sorguj*, or purveyor to the court for sheep and oxen, in the reign of *Morad IV*. His father, *Pantelis Maurokordatus*, married *Loxandra*, daughter of *Skarlatos*, who, disfigured by the small-pox, was very rich, and fell in love with him. *Alexander* first practised as a physician;

and then, for his skill in the oriental languages, was made *Bâsh Turjemân*, on the death of the famous *Panayotti*. He experienced various turns of fortune at that ticklish court, yet died immensely rich. In 1709, his son *Nikholas* thereupon was made prince of *Moldavia*, then despot of *Walakkia*, and his brother *John* chief interpreter. *Cant.*

(X) And of renewing the antient amity which his predecessor had violated: for the *Turks* thought it below the dignity of the empire to sue for peace in plainer terms. *Ricaut.*

(Y) *Cronstadt*, or *Stephanopolis*, after this, rejecting their allegiance, and refusing to admit a *German* garrison, was forced to yield at discretion, by *Velerani*, appointed general of that province by count *Caraffa*. *Ricaut.*

(Z) So *Rodofus*, of which he was a native, is called by the *Turks*. He was raised from a *Janizary* to the dignity of *Wazîr*: but did nothing remarkable. *Cant.*

(A) On the 19th of *May* 8000 *Turks* marched out, of whom 300 were soldiers. *Ricaut.*

a city of *Lippa* by storm, and the castle yielded in a few days (B). Soon after he reduced *Solmoz* and *Logosb*, or *Lagos*. That general, who commanded the imperial army in the elector of *Bavaria*'s absence, after he had taken *Illok* and *Peterwaradin* from the *Turks* (C), sent *Wallis* and *Heusler* to seize (D) *Tiral*, a castle on the river *Tibiskus* (or *Teisse*); which being vigorously pressed, the garrison surrendered on the 28th of *Ramazân*, with leave to departⁱ.

MEAN time *Yeghen Bey* was on his march to oppose the elector of *Bavaria*, who com- Eghen Pâshâ, manded the imperial army, the duke of *Lorrain* being then sick; and designed to besiege *Belgrade*; but, before he reached that city, he returned to *Sofia*, declaring it impossible for him to keep such numerous forces in obedience, unless he had the seal and the prophet's b standard. However, on news of the enemy's approach, he marched back to *Belgrade*, where all the forces in those parts submitted to his command, as general of *Hungary*. After this he seized on *Hassan Pâshâ*, on account of an old quarrel, and would have strangled him, but for the son of the *Hân* (or *Khân*) of *Tartâry*. Then with ten thousand men joined to *Tekeli*'s troops, he resolved to pass the *Save*, and encamp at *Semlin*, on the other side; but, upon information that prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, in conjunction with *Caprara*, was marched towards *Illok*, they changed their resolution, and sent letters by two peasants to the imperial generals at *Essek*, to intercede with the emperor for peace. But the messengers appearing more like spies than ambassadors, were imprisoned, and no notice taken of what they came about. Soon after which they seized *Illok* as before-mentioned.

c IN the interim, prince *Lewis* of *Baden* arriving at *Posséga*, capital of *Sclavonia*, was perplexed *The Turks de-* how to pass the *Save* at *Proot*, since its banks were guarded by two thousand *Turks*; but *feated.* *Hofskirkin* and *Serini*, passing the river in barges with five hundred *Heyduks* and three hundred dragoons, routed the enemy, and killed two hundred. Then, more troops ferrying over, they fortified the place. Three days after *Topal Pâshâ*, joined by two others, arrives with eight thousand *Turks*, and at midnight attacks the *Germans*; who, though but thirteen hundred in all, repulse them with vigour. In a second assault they kill five hundred; and then, being reinforced, rally on the *Turks*, and beat them out of their trenches, killing seven hundred more, and taking their baggage: after which they set fire to the place, and abandon it.

d THE elector of *Bavaria* being arrived at the *Save*, was informed that the *Othmân* army, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, lay intrenched on the other side of that river, with a design to obstruct his passage. *Tekeli* also was posted with a strong body, in order to receive them at their landing. It was therefore agreed to alarm the *Turks* that night in divers places, whilst the generals *Serini*, *Strium*, and *Aspremont*, should endeavour to pass at some distance off, with six thousand men. This was effected without any opposition; but at day-break they were attacked by eight thousand *Janizaries*, of whom six hundred were cut off. During this engagement, which lasted two hours, a bridge was thrown across the river, and the whole army crossed the same day. After gaining this difficult point, the *Turks* quitted their trenches and fled; while the elector marched towards *Belgrade*, which was e three days distant^k. Here let us return to the *Turkish* authors.

THE way being opened to *Belgrade* by the taking of *Tiral* (*Titul*), the elector of *Bavaria* *Belgrade be-* directs his course thither with the army; and having repulsed the *Turks*, who, at the isle of *Sabats*, opposed his passage over the *Save*, proceeds to attack the *Seraskier*, who had encamped round that city: but that general, not caring to wait his approach, set fire to his camp and the lower part of the city, and retired to *Semendria*. The *Germans* arriving, lay siege to *Belgrade* on all sides; and, having demolished the walls, on the 11th of *Zio'lkaadeb* (or *August* 26th), give a general assault. After a sharp battle of six hours, the *Turks* are driven from the walls, and retreat to the castle; but with so little circumspection, that the *Germans* mixing with them, seize the gate, where a fiercer battle than the former ensues; in which it f is said the whole garrison, consisting of nine thousand men, were put to the sword^l.

It may be proper to enlarge from our own historians, upon the siege of this important *Breaches* fortress. On the duke of *Bavaria*'s approach, the inhabitants embarked, with all their move- *made.* ables, for different places along the *Danube*; yet many were killed and taken in their flight. When they were gone, the garrison set fire to the suburbs; where the army, on their arrival, got a very considerable booty. Having finished their trenches and other works, on the 25th of *August*, they began from three batteries to play on the castle, with twenty-six pieces of cannon,

ⁱ CANT. p. 358.^k RICAUT, ubi sup.^l CANT. p. 358, & seqq.

(B) In storming the town 500 *Turks* were killed, and 2000 able to bear arms, made slaves out of the castle. But the women and children were set at liberty. *Ricaut.*

(C) According to *Ricaut*, the garrisons of those two cities, on the approach of *Caprara*, set fire to them, and fled to *Belgrade*.

(D) A mistake, perhaps, for *Titul*.

A. D. 1683. besides fifteen mortars. Mean time the garrison, though but three thousand men, made several vigorous sallies, being encouraged by their commander *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, with a promised relief from *Ozmân, Pâshâ of Halep*, who, with twenty-five thousand men, was then encamped at *Nissa*, while *Yeghen* (E), retired to *Sofia* with his horse, for the foot had deserted him, consumed the forage round the country. After this two other batteries were erected; yet the garrison made a stout resistance, and did great execution with their artificial fire, as well as great shot and bombs; one of which blew up a large magazine of powder.

A general assault in four places.

THE duke of *Lorrain*, being recovered, came to the camp, but left the whole conduct of the siege to the duke of *Bavaria*, who, on the 6th of *September*, gave a general assault in four quarters at once. The elector himself commanded in the front; the prince *de Commercy* on the right; general *Heusler* on the left; and *Pini*, serjeant-major of the regiment of *Lorrain*, in the quarter near the water. The assailants entered the ditch with much bravery, through showers of bullets, and made themselves masters of the breach. From the top hereof they were dismayed with the sight of another more difficult ditch, well palliaded on the further side, as well as with the loss of their leader count *Schaffenberg*; also the counts *Emanuel* of *Fustenberg*, and *Henric* of *Staremburg*, with many others who were slain at the beginning of the danger. In effect, the *Germans* began to give ground a little, and the advantage must have been lost, had not the brave elector exposed himself on the breach, and threatened death to any who offered to retire. The soldiers awed, and animated by the example of their general, descend the second ditch, and mount to the pallisades with such surprising boldness, that the *Turks* fled; and, crowding into the castle, separated from the town only by a bridge, hung out a white flag; but some of the most desperate assailants got in after them, and put all to the sword.

The city taken.

THEY entered with the like success in the other quarters; though in that of *Commercy* one hundred dragoons were cut off, and general *Heusler* had his thumb carried away with a musket ball: for all this he boldly with his soldiers, in spite of the enemy's fire, scaled the walls, and made himself master of an iron gate, by which they got into the town; where the *Germans* were insatiable in their slaughter, putting all to the sword without distinction. They had also spilt the blood of the *Pâshâ*, the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, and other officers, retired into a small trench behind the castle, if the elector's clemency had not interposed ^m.

Success in Bosnia.

AFTER *Belgrade* was reduced, the *Turkish* ambassadors arrived in the imperial camp; and declared, that they came to settle a peace, as well as to notify the election of *Soltân Soleyman*: but the elector told him, he was sent only to conquer *Servia* and *Bulgaria* (F); and that, if they had any thing to propose to the emperor, they must proceed to *Vienna*.

THE prince of *Baden* had no less success in *Bosnia*; for, having defeated a considerable body of *Turks*, who opposed his passage of the river *Unna*, he pursued them so briskly, that they abandoned *Gradiska* and *Kostaniza*. After this, on the 10th of *Zio'lkaadeh* (or *August 15*), he was met at the little city of *Brod*, by the *Pâshâ* of that province, with the whole army, whom he routed and slew with five thousand of his men ⁿ.

The Pâshâ defeated.

THERE is but a very imperfect account of the affairs of *Bosnia*, as related by the Christian historians. According to them, prince *Lewis*, setting out from *Possessa*, where we left him, passed the *Save* *September* the 3d, and marched, upon a false information of the numbers of the enemy, to attack *Topal, Pâshâ* of *Bosnia*, who was encamped with fifteen thousand men under *Tervat*, or *Terwent*, near the river *Okraina*, about six miles from *Prout*. Altho' the prince had not above three thousand horse and three hundred *Kroats*, yet they repulsed the enemy three times; and then coming so close, that not having time to recharge their fire-arms, they fell on with their swords. On this occasion they performed such wonders, that, forcing the horse to abandon the foot, they slew five thousand on the spot, among whom was the *Pâshâ*, two *Agas*, and his *Kyebaya*, besides two hundred drowned: the rest submitted. In this surprising action the *Imperialists* lost no more than one hundred and fifty men.

The Rascians submit.

THUS ended the campaign in *Hungary*; after which the elector of *Bavaria* was recalled to defend his own territories, threatened by the king of *France*: who was incensed at the choice made of prince *Joseph Clement* of *Bavaria*, to be elector of *Cologne*, in prejudice of cardinal *Furstemberg*, whose interest he resolved to support by force of arms. The command of the imperial army by this means devolved on mareschal *Caprara*, who marched from *Belgrade*,

^m RICAUT, ubi supra.

ⁿ CANT. p. 359.

(E) As the *Turkish* historians may be presumed to be right in the names of their generals, *Ricaut* must have mistaken *Yeghen* for *Rijeb*, the *Seraskier*; and *Yeghen*, if at all concerned in the war in this part, seems to have been *Ozmân Pâshâ*, mentioned just before; for he is called by the *Turks*, *Eghen Ozmân Pâshâ*.

(F) According to *Ricaut*, *Zulfikar*, the ambassador, was invited to the camp by the elector, in order to hear his proposals; and also to a great feast made the 8th of *September*, on occasion of his success.

a and took possession of *Semendria*, the capital of *Servia* (G), and *Poskarowert*, a small town, both abandoned by the *Turks*. These successes induced the *Rascians* to submit to the emperor; and, having made up a body of twenty thousand men, they surprised *Waalva* and *Zolkolova*, both on the *Drina*; killed a thousand *Turks*, and routed the rest. Mean time twelve thousand of the enemy, most of them rabble, waste and plunder the country about the *Morava*; but were soon dispersed by general *Heusler*: while the inhabitants of those parts, provoked by their insolence, took up arms, and seizing on the city of *Uziga*, killed five hundred *Turks*, and made two thousand prisoners. A. D. 1688.

b By this time prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, having fortified *Prout* and *Gradiska*, marched towards *Bosnia* *subaudi* *Bertzka*, the only place unsubdued in *Bosnia*, on whose approach the *Turks* abandoned the town. Prince *Lewis* having, in about nine weeks, reduced that whole province, was called home to resist the *French*; and left *Picolomini* to oppose the *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia*, who was raising forces in those parts. ed.

ABOUT this time *Tekeli*, reinforced with a party of *Turks* and *Tatars*, ravaged the borders of *Walakbia* and *Transilvania*: but on the approach of four thousand *Rascians* hastily retreated; and endeavoured by letter to draw over the *Transilvanians*, telling them they must by that time have experienced the insolence of the *Germans*; and that now was the juncture to redeem themselves and posterity from the barbarous slavery they lay under.^o Tekeli retreats.

c MEAN time the *Venetians* carry on the war in other parts with more variable fortune. In the *Morea* the *Seraskier* is before them in the field, and obliges the garrison of *Athens* to abandon the city with great loss. Their army soon after march to *Egribuz* (or *Negropont*); and, passing the narrow sea, which divides the island from the continent, lay close siege to the city; but are obliged, by the disagreement of their own officers, and bravery of the besieged, to retreat with loss. On which the valiant general count *Koningsmark*, to whom the *Venetians* owe almost all the victories gained in the *Morea*, fell sick and died.^p Venetian success.

d BUT neither of these assertions is fact, if we may depend on the Christian historians, who are very particular in their account of this unfortunate siege. According to them the captain-general *Francisco Morosini*, newly elected Doge of *Venice*, resolving to besiege *Negropont* (H), set sail with the fleet; and the 14th of *July* landed eight thousand foot and five hundred horse. The city was garrisoned by six thousand men, and its walls, lined with earth, well fortified on all sides with bastions, forts, mines, and cannon; on the right hand of the bridge the *Turks* had raised a battery, and pitched their tents along the side of the aqueducts; and on the left hand had formed a line of communication between the suburbs and a hill, which had a battery commanding the sea, where *Mostafa Pâshâ*, one of the governors, was posted; the other, called *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, defended the outworks. There were besides, divers other trenches in different forms, strengthened with palisades, and a deep ditch thirty paces long, reaching to the gate of the city, and covered with a hornwork. Below the mills was another battery of three pieces of great cannon, which commanded the shore. Every work had some soldiers to defend it, especially *French*, who were skilled in throwing bombs and other fireworks. As a farther strengthening, the *Seraskier* of the *Morea* lay six miles off with four thousand men. Negropont besieged.

e THE *Venetians* made their approaches with little obstruction from the besieged; and, on the 30th, began to batter the town. One of the bombs fell into the *Pâshâ's* palace, and put things there into great confusion; while the excessive heats, producing malignant fevers in the camp, killed many of the officers as well as soldiers, and made others retire to the fleet; among whom was the brave general *Koningsmark*, who died the 15th of *September* following. The Turks defeated.

THE *Turks*, finding the *Venetians* to be in these bad circumstances, incommoded them with sallies. On the 16th of *August* they attacked the *Maltese* trenches, but were repulsed, and had the fort near the mills taken from them, yet recovered it the next day. This made the Doge, on the 20th, attack the enemies trenches, which extended three miles from the hill to the sea, and effectually covered the soldiers. The marquis of *Corbon*, with his cavalry, was

^o RICAUT, ubi supra.

^p CANT. p. 359.

(G) The *Turks* say, the elector, being informed the *Othmâns* had abandoned that capital, sent 1000 men during the siege to take possession. But, in this case, the Christian writers may be presumed to know best.

(H) It was antiently called *Khalcis*, and is seated on the famous *Eurippus*, or *Narrow Channel*, between the isle and *Greece*, which ebbs and flows, at certain seasons, many times in twenty-four hours. The city stands at the narrowest part of the chanel (which is

there covered with a bridge), and is two miles round; but the suburbs much more large and populous, separated from the town by a deep ditch. The *Greeks* call it *Egripus*, a corruption of *Eurippus*, as *Negropont* is of it. The inhabitants might amount in all to 15,000 people. It is the residence of the captain *Pâshâ*, or *Turkish* high admiral. On a point of land towards the *Eurippus* is a castle called *Karababa*, or *Black Father*.

A. D. 1688

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the first who broke in upon the enemy, and opened a way for the foot to come to handy- a  
blows ; where for two hours the event was doubtful, for the *Venetians* were repulsed twice or  
thrice in some places. But at length the enemies horse retired in great confusion, leaving their  
infantry to the mercy of the besiegers, who pursued them to the very gates of *Negropont*,  
with great slaughter, and mastered the suburbs. In this action a thousand *Turks* were killed,  
and as many wounded, among whom were the *Seraskier's* son, and *Mostafa Pâshâ*. On the  
*Venetian* side, two hundred were slain ; and among others, the prince of *Wirtemberg* mortally  
wounded.

A bold at-  
tempt.

SEPTEMBER the 5th five hundred *Turks* falling on the quarter of the *Sclavonians*, beat  
them out of their trenches, but they recovered them again ; and a breach being made in the  
tower on the sea-side, at the end of the ditch, engineer *Romagnat* offered, with fifty men, to b  
mount the same, although but narrow, and void of any cover from the enemy's shot. The  
Doge landed to be a spectator of this enterprize ; which on the 8th was executed with so much  
valour, that they gained the breach : but being very narrow, as well as without cover, and  
the descent into the town very steep, they were forced to quit it again, with the loss of six or  
eight men. About the same time, count *Waldek* and colonel *Piltz*, advancing with their regi-  
ments, one to the brink of the ditch, the other to the foot of the tower, were both cut off, with  
seven captains, and two hundred men.

A bonnet  
taken.

HOWEVER the *Venetians*, nothing discouraged, raised new batteries beyond the water ;  
from whence they made a breach in the other tower, and battered the curtain between the c  
two. But the season being now far spent, and the sickness increasing, there seemed to be  
little hopes this year of taking the city, which was continually supplied from the camp with  
men and provisions. For all this, the Doge would not give up the enterprize ; and leaving  
no means untried to reduce the place, ordered a traverse to be made over the ditch, which was  
thirty paces wide, to convey the forces under the wall. But this design proved more difficult  
than was expected, by the violent current of the water, and the labourers being greatly exposed  
to the small shot of the enemy, who now raised a work in the false bray, to obstruct the pro-  
gress of the traverse. However they were driven out of this work by the besiegers, who  
took a small bonnet by the way. Yet the *Turks* recovered it, though they soon lost it  
again to the *Venetians*, who fortified and secured it by a new battery and line of com-  
munication. d

General of-  
fault.

FOR all this the *Venetian* forces daily diminished by diseases and the sword ; the gallies of  
*Malta* and *Tuscany* now left them also ; yet, far from abandoning the siege, they resolved on  
a general assault, which was deemed practicable ; and, on the 12th of *October*, began it about  
ten in the morning, with eight thousand men, in four several places ; but the besieged poured  
such volleys of small shot upon the troops appointed to storm the breach, that, after many  
officers and soldiers were killed, they sounded a retreat, not being supported by those who  
were to have assisted them. No better success attended the other attacks. In one place they  
found the entrance into the town obstructed by a very steep descent ; in another, the town  
being inaccessible without, they stood in the ditch up to the middle in water, exposed to the  
enemy's shot. The attack lasted for several hours, in which they lost above a thousand men, e  
and divers officers. The gallies also suffered much on this occasion.

The siege  
raised.

It was now found impracticable, from the decrease of their troops, to make another  
attack. But to avoid the shame of quitting the siege, after consuming all the summer before the  
place, it was proposed in council to continue there all winter : but the foreign troops declaring  
they would not stay, the siege was raised, with the loss of many in getting away <sup>a</sup>.

Wine taken.

THUS ended the unfortunate siege of *Negropont*. On the other hand, the *Venetians* had  
better success in *Dalmatia* ; where *Kain* (I), of which *Steaglik* (K), the deposed *Sofâ* of *Bosnia*,  
was governor, with several thousand soldiers, was by them taken ; besides the castles of *Verlikka*,  
*Quonigrad*, and *Grassach*<sup>r</sup>. On the 17th of *August*, *Klin* was invested by the procurator *Giro-* f  
*lamo Cornaro* ; and a breach being made in the outer wall, the *Venetians* became masters of it  
by the 2d of *September*, the besieged retiring within the second. By the 4th several new batteries  
were raised, and the defendants magazine of powder was blown up by a bomb : for all this they  
maintained the castle and lower town with great resolution. At length the regiments of *Corbon*  
and *Sebenica* being ordered to cross a water, which was all the defence the town had on that  
side, the soldiers swam over with their swords in their mouths, while the *Turks* retired from  
their intrenchment into the castle. The besiegers, thus left in possession of it, presently cut off

<sup>a</sup> RICAUT, ubi sup.

<sup>r</sup> CANT. ubi supr.

(I) Doubtless a mistake for *Klin*, the *Alif* being very  
like the *Lam* in the *Arabic* characters.

(K) *Ricaut* calls him *Atlagik*.



a the pipes, and destroyed the aqueducts which conveyed water to the castle. Hereupon the A. D. 1688. *Pâshâ*, on the 12th of *September*, surrendered at mercy.

AFTER this general *Cornaro*, having a design upon *Narento*, an antient port, where formerly *Narim de-* commodities arrived from *Thrace*, *Servia*, *Bosnia*, and other parts, sailed with his forces to the *town of Narim*, built three years before at the mouth of the harbour. There landing some troops, and battering the place from a galley, the garrison fled, most of whom were killed, and the rest taken by the *Morlûks*, who afterwards ravaged the country, and returned with great plunder<sup>s</sup>.

IN the interim the *Turkish* ambassadors were come to *Vienna*, and being introduced to the emperor *Leopold*, in the name of the *Soltân*, presented the letters *Julus Nameh* (L), informing him of *Soleymân's* election; but made no mention of peace, in hopes the *Germans* would first propose it, and so render the negotiation more easy. When they find themselves baulked in their expectation, they offer to his imperial majesty his choice of a short truce or a peace: that in case he desired the former, all *Hungary* should continue in his hands; *Transilvania* be tributary to both empires; *Kameniek* dismantled be restored to the *Poles*; and *Belgrade* to the *Turks*: but if a peace was more agreeable, some part of *Hungary*, with *Belgrade*, should be restored to the *Othmân* empire.

LEOPOLD, having consulted with the ambassadors of the other confederate powers, returns this answer: That although, from the present state of things, he had great hopes not only of recovering the rest of *Hungary*, but also of subduing the whole *Turkish* empire, yet he was ready to agree to a peace, provided the kingdom of *Hungary*, with the provinces belonging thereto, *Sclavonia*, *Kroatia*, *Bosnia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Transilvania*, should be resigned to him; *Moldavia* and *Walakhia* remain free; the exercise of the *Romish* religion permitted throughout the *Turkish* empire; the *Franciscan* friars put in possession of the holy sepulchre at *Jerusalem*, and *Tekeli* delivered up to him. The *Poles* demanded, that the antient boundaries of their kingdom should be restored; and all *Krîm Tartary*, *Moldavia*, *Walakhia*, and the whole country extending on both sides of the *Borysthenes* as far as the *Danube*, resigned to them. And to shew themselves greater friends to religion than the other confederates, they insisted, that all the Christians, who lived under the *Othmân* government, should be free from tribute. Lastly, the *Venetians*, besides the *Morea*, the several isles and cities elsewhere already in their possession, demand the sea-coast of *Negropont*, from *Korcyra* to *Korinth*; and part of *Dalmatia*, with the demolition of the havens of *Dulcigno* and *Antivari*.

THE ambassadors immediately inform *Soleymân* of the answer they had received; and undoubtedly the peace would have been settled, had not the most Christian king, jealous of the great advantages which the *Germans* had gained against the *Othmân* empire, proclaimed war, without any just cause, against *Leopold*; advising the *Soltân*, by his ambassador *Chateau-neuf*, not to make peace with the emperor (M), since he would the next year penetrate into the heart of *Germany*; and had actually four hundred thousand men ready for that expedition. He adds, that if the event should answer his wishes, he would reserve to himself all *Germany*, with *Vienna* its capital; but restore *Hungary* to the *Soltân*. These encouraging promises reviving the spirits of the *Turks*, *Soleymân* neglects his ambassadors (N), whom he sent to sue for peace, and thinks of nothing but war.

HE first applies himself to settle affairs at home, and as soon as the *Germans* were retired to winter-quarters, sends the greater part of his forces against *Eghen Ozmân Pâshâ*, and *Gyedûk Pâshâ*, who had almost the whole year disturbed the *Othmân* empire; which was freed from this danger by their taking the two rebels prisoners<sup>t</sup>.

ACCORDING to *Ricaut*, *Yeghen Pâshâ*, after his flight from *Belgrade*, quarrelled with *Norad-dîn Gâlgû*, son of the *Khân* of *Tartary*; who thereupon calling him coward, and saying he was fitter to command thieves than soldiers, *Yeghen* ordered him to be strangled before several *Tatar* lords. On complaint of this outrage at the *Othmân* court, the *Wazîr* endeavoured to palliate the matter in favour of *Yeghen*, who, when he was *Janizar Aga*, had saved his life in a mutiny. But the *Khân* himself arriving at *Adrianople*, to consult about the operations of the ensuing campaign, so warmly urged the affair, that *Yeghen* was by the *Divân* sentenced to be put to death. On this news he flew into open rebellion, wrote to his old master *Yedîk* to do the like in *Asia*, and plundered the country. But the *Pâshâ* of *Sofia* being

\* *RICAUT*, ubi sup.

† *CANT.* p. 359. See also *RICAUT*.


(L) Or more properly *Namci Julusi Humarûn*, that is, The letters of the most sublime new dominion: so are stiled the *Soltân's* letters which he sends to all *Pâshâs*, and to the neighbouring princes with whom he is at peace, to notify his accession to the throne. *Cant.*

(M) Likewise by transmitting vast sums into *Poland* he so far corrupted the avaritious king, that, though he did not quit the alliance, yet he usually took care to

come no sooner into the field than it was time to leave it. *Ricaut*.

(N) *Ricaut* says, that the ambassadors having proposed to *Leopold* the quiet possession of all he had conquered, the emperor, by what fatality our author knew not, not only rejected this, but, contrary to the custom of nations, imprisoned them in the castle of *Puffendorf*, near *Vienna*, for some years.



A. D. 1688.  ordered to take him dead or alive, he fled into *Albania*, to his old friend *Mahmud Bey* a *Ogli*; who, having been before gained by the *Porte*, cut off his head, and sent it to the *Soltân*.

Gyedük's  
success.

MEAN time the followers of *Yedik* (or *Gyedük*) increasing in *Asia*, the ministry, to pacify them, promised to employ them in the *Hungarian* war, and make *Yeghen* their general. But as soon as news was brought of that rebel's death, the mind of the *Porte* altered; and orders were sent to the *Kaymakâm*, not only to prevent the *Asiatics* from passing into *Europe*, but also to destroy them in their own country. Accordingly he attacked and defeated a large party of them near *Skutari*. Yet this did not discourage *Yedik*, who, with six thousand men, marched towards *Prusa*; and having defeated the *Pâshâ* of that place, with the *Nesirân*, or militia, caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Anatolia*. After this he laid siege to *Angora* b (*Enguri*, or *Ancyra*) which was forced to redeem itself by the payment of eighty purses, each containing five hundred dollars.

He is slain.

HEREUPON the *Turkish* court returned to their old method of fair promises, assuring *Yedik* and his accomplices both of pardon and reward, in case they would return to their duty. But this had no effect; for under pretence of zeal for religion, which they alleged was corrupted by the then governors, they summoned all the inhabitants of *Anatolia* to defend the same. At length the *Beglerbeg* of that province being honoured with the title of *Testish*, or inquisitor, first exposed to the people the perfidious designs of *Yedik* against the faith; and then, with six thousand choice men, attacked his camp with such success, that he gained a complete victory. Most of the commanders were either slain (among whom was *Yedik*), or taken; and the c men who survived the battle, suffered to return to their respective homes. In the mean time, *Rajeb Pâshâ* was made *Seraskier*, in the room of *Yeghen*, whose nephew, with forty of his followers, and the governor of *Widdin*, put in by *Yeghen*, being taken, were put to death <sup>u</sup>.

Affairs of the  
Morca.

THE domestic enemies being suppressed, the *Soltân* is more at liberty to prepare against the foreign. And first, in order to secure the southern provinces against the *Venetian* arms, he sets free *Liberius Gheralkbari* (N), who had been confined in the galleys; and appoints him prince of *Mania*, or the *Maynottæ*. He was induced to this partly by the success of his arms in *Moldavia*, which convinced him that a Christian governor could much more easily keep his Christian subjects in obedience than a *Turkish*; and partly by the assurances of *Liberius*, that all the d people of *Morea* were alienated from the *Venetians*, for endeavouring to force on them the *Romish* religion; and that therefore, they would soon submit again to the *Othmân* dominion, in case a prince of the *Greek* church was made governor of that province (O).

Seghedwar  
taken.  
Hej. 1100.  
A. D. 1688.

THE affairs being settled, *Soleymân*, to terrify the enemy, and animate his own soldiers, declares, that he will command the army in person against the *Germans*; and having raised as many troops as he could, marches towards *Servia*, as if he intended to besiege *Belgrade*: but being informed at *Sofia*, that *Seghedwar* (or *Sigetb*), famous for the martyrdom of *Soleymân* I. had been forced by famine to surrender (P); and that the imperial army, which he imagined had been wholly employed against the *French*, was marching from *Belgrade* against him with great expedition; he, in a fright, stops at *Sofia*, and leaves the army to the conduct of the *Seraskier* *Rejeb Pâshâ*, with orders not rashly to hazard a battle, but only prevent the progress e of the enemy. The *Seraskier* being come to the river *Morava*, in sight of the *Germans*, and deceived by his astrologer (Q), who, from his observation of the stars, promised him certain victory, bravely attacks them; but is obliged to retire, with great loss, to *Nissa*. Yet his eyes were so far from being open at this misfortune, that having recruited his forces, he engages them a second time, depending on the predictions of the same astrologer: however, being quickly defeated, and almost his whole army destroyed, he escapes with a few followers, perceiving too late the vanity of his superstition. After this the *Germans* over-run at once all *Servia*, take *Widdin*, *Nissa*, *Shabrkyoy*, and burn *Siopia*, a city of *Bulgaria* <sup>w</sup>.

The Seraskier  
routed.

<sup>u</sup> RICAUT, ubi sup.

<sup>w</sup> CANT. p. 360, & seqq.

(N) Better known to *Europeans* by the name of *Liberaki*, which is a corruption of *Liberius*, according to the manner of the *Greeks*. He was a native of *Mania*, the ancient *Lakonia*. He in his youth served in the *Venetian* fleet; then turned pilot for several years; but at length taken by the *Turks*, was sent to the galleys; from whence he was set free for advice mentioned in the text, and honoured with a *Sanjak*, but no *Tûg*, under the title of *Mania Beghi*. CANT.

(O) The truth of this we shall find verified in the beginning of the 18th century.

(P) After it had been blocked up for two years, and the articles signed on the 28th of *January* 1688-9 by the emperor. But *Kanisa* and *Great Waradin*, though brought to the like extremity, held out still. RICAUT.

(Q) Although the *Turks* are forbidden sorcery, and all kinds of divination; for the *Korân* expressly declares, *Kiulli Munejimîn Kiczzabûn*, that is, *All astrologers are liars*; yet they easily give credit to their predictions, fancying that the heavenly bodies are the instruments by which Providence performs every thing; and which, by their figures, express what ought to be done. Likewise, that on the foreheads of all men are written, in their mother's womb, whatever is to befall them, according to the harmony of the stars. The *Wazir's* courts are full of such prophets, but they never dare foretell unhappy events. CANT.



- a As the merit of a victory depends much on the knowlege of the strength of both armies, A. D. 1668.  
 an historian cannot shew greater partiality, or want of skill, than in omitting to mention what <sup>the</sup> number of men each consisted of. According to the foregoing account of the *Seraskier's* <sup>great battle.</sup> defeat, the reader will be apt to conclude, that the *Turks* were much inferior to the *Imperialists* in force; whereas, if the Christian writers may be credited, they had twice or thrice the advantage in numbers. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* having reinforced *Belgrade* with two thousand foot, and fortified *Semendria*, marched with his army and encamped near *Morava*: but on news of the *Turks* retreat, on the 2d of *August*, he pursued them towards *Nissa* with the rest of his army, which consisted only of eighteen thousand men; whereas the *Turks* amounted to forty thousand, besides undisciplined troops. They had not marched far, before their out-guards <sup>The Turks</sup> were attacked by a body of *Tatars*; two of whom being taken, informed them, that a great <sup>routed.</sup> body of *Turks* and *Tatars*, under *Soltân Galga*, the *Khân's* son, designed to attack them on one side near *Passarowitz*, while the *Seraskier* inclosed them on the other side with an army of fifty thousand men, in order to cut off their provisions. The prince thereupon resolved to dislodge the *Seraskier*, who was encamped within two hours march; and on the 29th of *August*, advanced briskly against him. On this unexpected motion the *Turks* retreated for three hours; when coming to a pass, they stood their ground, but were soon routed, and dispersed in the woods, with the loss of four hundred horse and twelve standards. Many were killed afterwards by the *Hussars*, who hunted them; and the roads strewn with arms and cloaths, which, to escape the better, they threw away.
- c ENCOURAGED with this success, owing chiefly to the conduct of the generals *Veterani* and *Picolomini*, the prince repassed the *Morava*, in order to attack *Soltân Galga*, encamped with his <sup>The Tatars</sup> *Tatars* beyond that river, before he could join with the *Turkish* cavalry lately defeated. As the road lay by a very narrow passage through a thick wood, half an hour's march in length, which opened into a small plain, five hundred men were sent under count *Solaro* to secure that passage. In this design they were opposed by three thousand *Janizaries*, and a good body of horse. But general *Heusler* coming to their assistance, so advantageously posted himself within the woods and thick bushes, that he maintained the pass till next morning, when prince *Lewis* advanced with his main force in a great fog, and posted himself before the wood. On the right hand he was sheltered by thickets and bushy grounds, almost impassable; and his <sup>The Tatars</sup> left wing extended to the bank of the *Morava*.
- d BUT before the cavalry could arrive the fog dissipated, and unexpectedly discovered the whole *Turkish* army drawn up in order of battle, just fronting the imperial infantry; which the <sup>Join the</sup> *Turks* instantly attacked with such unusual violence, that prince *Lewis* had scarce time to range his second line in a posture of defence. However, the *Imperialists* stood the shock from their great and small shot with much firmness; then playing their parts, the fight grew very hot for two hours together within pistol-shot; when the musick of the cavalry, which now came up, sounding without the forest, the enemy was struck with such fear, that they retreated into the neighbouring wood, and thence into a plain behind it, where they intrenched themselves. Here being followed by the *Imperialists*, the cannon was played hotly on both sides <sup>for an hour and half</sup>; after which the *Turks* retired to another trench, encompassed with a ditch of water, and accessible only in one place.
- e HEREUPON count *Palfi* was ordered with his regiment to enter the wood, and sound all his warlike instruments, in order to make the enemy believe some great body was advancing to fall <sup>Both armies</sup> on their rear, while count *Picolomini* with the van attacked them in front. This he did with such resolution, in spite of their cannon, that they presently quitted that post also, and retreated in disorder through the woods, followed by the *Imperialists*, who would have made a dreadful slaughter, had not the ways been narrow and unknown to them: however, they pursued them to their camp at *Patafchin*, which they abandoned, leaving behind all their artillery (R), ammunition, provision, and baggage. In their way to *Jagodina* on the *Morava*, whither they <sup>Both armies</sup> fled in great disorder, numbers of them were cut off by the *Hungarians* and *Rascians*; who brought also to the camp many prisoners, and thirty-six pieces of cannon of the largest size \*.
- f THE prince, after he had refreshed his forces, began his march to *Nissa*, twenty leagues distant, through woods and mountains. The *Turks* had still most of their army intire, and <sup>Battle of</sup> were besides reinforced with twenty thousand men; yet on his approach, the *Seraskier* quitted that city, and encamped near it by the side of the *Nissava*. The prince pitched his tents within a league of *Nissa*, near a little river which falls into the *Nissava*; and on the 24th of *September*, about five in the evening, possessed himself of the sides of the hill over the enemy's camp, in spite of all their opposition. This done, lest the *Turks* should fortify their camp in

\* RICAUT, ubi supra.

(R) One hundred and five brass cannon, and three mortars.



A. D. 1668. the night, he resolves to attack them off-hand ; extending his right wing towards the foot of a the hill, and his left along the plain to the banks of the *Nissava*. The *Serafskier* hereupon caused the greater part of his cavalry, drawn up on the declivity of the hill, to charge the infantry of the left wing ; but seeing them advance with their cannon in front, they wheeled about towards the right wing, and attacked them at the foot of the hill on the flank, which could not be secured.

The Turks  
overthrown.

THIS produced some confusion among the *Hussars* ; but being timely supported by other troops, the *Turkish* horse must have been routed, had not some of their own troops fired on them, and forced them to stand their ground. However, the main body under *Heusler*, being ordered to attack the enemy on the hill, after a long conflict gained the top ; whither the duke of *Croy*, who commanded towards the river, soon after arriving, the *Turks* were quickly driven b from thence with great slaughter. Notwithstanding this, the enemy's horse rallying again in the plains, made another vigorous assault on the left wing, but were repulsed ; when the *Janizaries*, who were making new trenches, fired on them, and forced them to stand another charge, which they did with great firmness against the *Hussars*. However, these being succoured by the regiment of *Caprara*, at last forced them intirely to quit the field, and furiously pursued them to their very camp. Mean time, another party of horse attacked their main body ; but count *Staremborg* coming to their assistance, the enemy was put to a disorderly flight, and pursued till night parted them.

IN this action ten thousand *Turks* were killed, and not above three hundred *Germans* ; which was the more surprising, as the former were reckoned to amount to eighty thousand, c the latter to scarce fifteen thousand men. The booty too was very great, consisting of thirty pieces of cannon, many thousands of tents, and divers standards, besides store of provision.

Tekeli de-  
feated.

AFTER this second victory, prince *Lewis* ordered *Nissa* to be strongly fortified, and sent out a party, who having advanced as far as *Dragoman*, within four hours of *Sofia*, brought word that the *Turks* had deserted the fortress of *Mostâfa Pâsbâ Palanka*, and other castles in that abandoned country. The news of this great defeat was carried to court by *Mostafa Aga*, who had been sent thither with letters by *Julfigar*, the *Turkish* ambassador at *Vienna*, and

Widdin taken. detained for some months by prince *Lewis*. Mean time that general, being informed that *Orsowa* and *Fetislau* were burnt, and *Tekeli*, with some *Turkish* troops, was encamped near *Widdin*, where he had a stately house, resolved to return that way to the *Danube*, and defeat d him. Accordingly, setting out *October* 4th with but a few forces, on the 14th came unexpectedly on the enemy, who hastily getting in order of battle, to the number of twelve thousand men, maintained a doubtful fight for some time with unusual bravery ; but at length were routed, leaving one thousand slain, with a great quantity of ammunition and provision behind them. The castle, refusing to surrender, was so battered, that on the 19th the besieged, to the number of two thousand five hundred fifty-nine, capitulated to be convoyed to *Nikopolis*, whither *Tekeli* had fled before the battle ; and there, with tears in his eyes, came out to meet them. The taking of *Widdin* was the more important, as it secured all the country gained by the two last victories, and cut off relief from *Temeswar*, and other *Turkish* garrisons in *Hungary*.

## S E C T. II.

*Administration of Ahmed Kyoprili, with the Recovery of Belgrade, and other Conquests.*

The treaty re-  
newed ;

UPON the news of these misfortunes, *Soleymân* hastens from *Sofia* to *Adrianople*, and e returns an answer, till then deferred, to his ambassadors at the *German* court ; ordering them to insist only on the restoration of *Belgrade*, without mentioning the other provinces of *Hungary*. But *Maurocordatus* finding such things could not be proposed, conceals his orders, and pretends the *Soltân* would not give up any thing, excepting what he had before-mentioned. Yet afterwards being reminded by his colleague that both their lives would be in danger, if they should be found to neglect the *Soltân's* commands, he communicates the real state of the affair to the emperor, and receives such an answer as he expected ; for although *Leopold*, who was unable to carry on the war with success against two enemies, would gladly have made a truce upon terms, yet he was obliged to put off the affair to another time ; because the *Turkish* ambassadors had not full power to make a peace ; and he thought it dishonourable, after so f many victories, to send any of his own to the *Porte*, as it were to sue for peace.

but put off.

THUS great advantages were lost which were never to be procured again, only to preserve a trifling punctilio. *Soltân Soleymân*, before he left *Sofia*, with consent of his council, had agreed



- a agreed to almost all the demands of the confederates ; and caused instructions to be drawn up for his ambassador, to the following purpose : “ that he should use his utmost endeavours to procure a peace, and give no ear to the *French* promises ; that he should labour to persuade the emperor to restore *Belgrade*, and make it the limit of both dominions ; that in case of any scruple, he should first offer *Kanisia*, then *Giula*, *Temeswar*, or else *Great Waradin*, instead of it ; that to content the *Poles*, he should propose to demolish *Kameniek*, and if that would not do, to surrender it. Lastly, as to the *Venetians*, that they should keep what they had taken, and no mention be made of *Negropont*. These instructions were carried back by *Mostafa Aga*, who brought the letters from the ambassador y.” A. D. 1668.

- MEAN time the two armies in *Poland* do nothing but shew themselves to each other, being divided by the river *Tyras*, or *Neister*. But the *Czars* of *Russia* raising, it is said, four hundred thousand men, send them, with fourteen hundred cannon, under the conduct of *Basilus Galliczin*, against the *Tatars*. Yet these vast preparations were rendered useless by the *Czar*’s own regiment, which revolted while the *Russians* were besieging the city *Or*, commonly called *Præcop* (S) ; and by drawing into their party many of the most considerable officers, the army is forced to return home without success. In their retreat they are attacked by the *Tatars*, and through the perfidiousness of their intestine enemies, suffer a great loss in the rear. At their return, *Peter Alexiowitz*, who then reigned alone, making a strict enquiry into the sedition, shuts up his sister, who had been the chief cause of the rebellion, in a monastery ; banishes *Galliczin*, as privy to the conspiracy, to *Archangel*, and confiscates his estate ; kills, like wild beasts, twelve thousand *Streltzi*’s (T), publicly in the market places and streets ; and having abolished this military order, forms a regular militia after the manner of other Christian princes. Russians besiege Or. Obligated to retreat.

In the *Morea* this year the *Venetians* besiege *Monembassia*, (or *Malvasia*), and cut off all provisions ; while *Liberakhi*, lately made prince of that country, attempts to relieve the city, but is repulsed with loss z.

- THIS war in the *Morea* requires a more particular account from the Christian historians ; but before we proceed to it, it will be proper to speak of what passed in *Albania*. Count *Pico- lomini*, who commanded in those parts, sent word in *October* to prince *Lewis*, that all the *Albanians* having submitted to him, he intended soon to subdue the country from *Skutari* to *Novibazâr*, but wanted forces ; hereupon the prince sent him three regiments under the prince of *Hanover*. With this reinforcement, he marched from *Procopia* to *Pristina* and *Klina* (or *Klin*), where six thousand *Arnauds* (or *Albanians*) met him, with thirteen hundred carts of provisions. After this, he arrived at *Kazianek*, a little city with a castle ; from whence he marched to *Scopia* (or *Uškopia*), whose *Greek* and *Turkish* inhabitants had abandoned it, and fled to *Mahmûd Pâshâ*, encamped in a valley with ten thousand men. But these were so terrified at the bare shouts of the *Germans*, and noise of their cannon, which they fired for joy, that they fled also in great confusion into the woods, where many were killed by the *Hussars* ; and two thousand carts recovered, which had been pressed in the country to carry off the inhabitants into slavery. Affairs of Albania.
- e *PICOLOMINI* marching forward, burnt the antient seat of *Ladislaus Cziocchi*, and then returned to *Kazianek*, where his distemper, supposed by some to be the plague, greatly increased. From thence he removed to *Panni*, where he heard that the governor of *Pyroth*, having invaded the enemy’s country, and defeated a party of fifteen hundred *Turks* encamped near *Dragoman* before-mentioned, some hours from *Sofia* (U), was afterwards defeated by several larger bodies who came against him. After much fatigue he arrived at the city of *Prosserin*, where he was met by the archbishop of *Albania*, and patriarch of *Klementa*, with eight thousand *Arnauds*, both *Greeks* and *Turks*, who came to submit themselves. Soon after this, the brave count departed this life, to the unspeakable grief of the whole army, the command of which devolved on *Veterani*. Places reduced.
- f LET US now come to the affairs of the *Morea*. After the *Venetians* had withdrawn the last year from before *Negropont*, the Doge, *Morosini*, who had still an eye upon it, wintered with the fleet at *Napoli di Romania*, and ordered the chanel on both sides to be well guarded. For all this, the captain *Pâshâ* broke through with several gallies, and landed five hundred men, with proper instruments to repair the breaches, which was accordingly done. Mean time, *Morosini* wanting forces to renew the siege of that place, resolved to attack *Napoli di Malvasia*, whither he sent ten gallies and twelve galliots to assist the *Maniots* in building two forts near the town bridge, in order to block up the place. At the same time *Liberakhi*, or *Liberio*, Bey of the *Morea*, Venetians attempt against Liberakhi.

y RICAUT, ubi supra.

z CANT. p. 363.

(S) It stands on the *Isthmus*, which gives entrance to the peninsula of *Krîm*, called from thence by some *Pre-copenstan Tartary*.(T) Or *Sterlits*.

(U) Said here to be six or seven hours ; but only four in the former place.



A. D. 1688. *Morea*, lay encamped at *Xeromerto*, or *Misselonghi*, near *Lepanto*, with one hundred *Turks*,<sup>a</sup> one hundred and fifty *Sclavonians*, and some *Venetians*, who daily deserted to join the ensigns *Bossina* and *Vito*, gained over by him two years before. To put a stop to this desertion, ten chekins a head were offered to such as brought any to the camp; which had the desired effect.

THEIR next attempt was to destroy *Liberakbi*, either by alluring him to their camp, or render him suspected by the *Turks*. To this end they sent one *Dambi*, formerly an intimate of his, to *Urakori*, near *Lepanto*, where, having delivered his commission, *Liberakbi* told him, he should readily have complied with the request of the Doge, who was his godfather, but was too deeply engaged with the *Turks* to desert them: for that he had not only married the late prince of *Moldavia*'s widow, with an estate of twenty thousand crowns, by favour of the *Wazîr*, but his wife, children, and two friends, were in pledge for his fidelity. However,<sup>b</sup> he gave *Dambi* several lights into the state of affairs; promised further information to the Doge, and sent him back in opposition to *Ali Bey*, who would have carried him to the *Seraskier*, then lying at *Zeytûn* with four thousand men.

Besiege Mal-  
vasia; but are  
repulsed;

ON *Dambi*'s return, the Doge set sail for *Malvasia*, and laid siege to the place both by sea and land. The garrison consisted of no more than seven hundred soldiers, which, with the inhabitants, made about two thousand souls. The streets were narrow, but the houses strongly built; and the upper rooms filled with earth to cover them from the bombs. Mean time, in *June*, the villages about *Salôna*, which is near *Zeytûn*, refusing to pay the *Kharach*, or poll-money, demanded by *Liberakbi*, he marched against them: but after a bloody fight was defeated by the country people, under the conduct of *Kharopoliti*. Soon after it was resolved<sup>c</sup> to leave some thousand men at the pass of *Korinth*, under *Dambi*, to prevent the *Seraskier* from entering into the *Morea*; while to block up *Malvasia* some regiments were ordered to raise certain redoubts on the side toward the gardens, and a squadron of galleys posted there to assist the forces on shore.

THE Doge in the mean time, removed from the forts of *St. Nicholas*, which was the old *Malvasia*, to the new forts built at the bridge, whence they played with four fifty pounders on the town; which was not idle neither with its cannon. But on a sudden, a furious storm arose, which favoured the *Turks*; for it filled their cisterns with water, while it shattered the fleet, and overthrew the tents of the Christians on land. The hurricane being over, and the batteries raised, they plied the town incessantly both by sea and land, with their cannon and bombs,<sup>d</sup> by which they hoped to reduce it; for when they had made wide breaches, they had neither men nor other preparations to storm them. They failed also to burn the galliots and other vessels, which the *Turks* had drawn close under the walls, for want of four ships which stayed behind. At the same time, the officers and soldiers on shore approaching the town nearer than was safe or necessary to view the action, several were slain with musket-shot, and among the rest admiral *Venier*, the best sea officer belonging to the republic; while the besieged, from the concourse, apprehending an assault to be intended, sallied, and put them to flight with some slaughter.

block it up.

AFTER this, the Doge despairing of taking the place by force, caused it to be blocked up; and having battered down the suburbs from his ships, sailed away, intending to spend the remainder of the summer cruising in the *Archipelago*. But being seized with a violent fever, and a report flying that the captain *Pâshâ* was at sea with a strong fleet, it was thought proper to return to *Venice*, whither they directed their course the 15th of *September*. While the Doge performed quarantine at *Spalato*, news came in the beginning of *November*, that the provveditor-general *Molino* had succeeded in his design against *Trebigno*, having possessed himself in that country of ten towers, seven of which he had demolished, and garrisoned the other three, to check the incursions of the *Turks*<sup>e</sup>; to whose historians we shall now return.

Kyoprili

made Wazîr.

ABOUT the end of this campaign, *Soltân Soleymân* labouring under a dropsy, by advice of his physicians, removes from *Adrianople* to his other capital, where he puts to death *Rejeb Pâshâ*, *Seraskier* of *Hungary*, for fighting with the *Germans*, contrary to his orders. He likewise banishes the *Wazîr*, *Tesekiar Dagbi Mostafa Pâshâ*, to *Malgara*, a little town near *Rodos*, as a man unqualified either for war, or the administration of affairs; and advances in his room *Kioperli Mostafa Pâshâ*, *Kaymaykam* of *Constantinople*. The new *Wazîr* immediately sends for the *Mufti* and *Kadio'laskers*, with the rest of the *Ulema*, and generals of the army; who being met, he orders the interpreters of the law to give their opinion, whether it was proper to desire peace of the *Germans*, or recover by force what the confederates had unjustly seized? The *Mufti* first declares, that it was not contrary to the divine law to desire peace, even of infidels, in times of necessity. The same opinion is embraced by the *Rumeli Kadio'lasker*: but the *Anadol Kadio'lasker* (X), either by the *Wazîr*'s instigation, or because he saw his provinces<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

(X) That is, the *Kadio'laskers*, or military lord chief justices of *Europe* and *Anatolia*, or *Asia Minor*.



a out of danger, maintains it to be more eligible that all the *Musulmans* should perish by the A. D. 1688. sword, than to make *Eynallak* with the *Gyawrs*; since thereby the honour of the prophet and the *Korân* would be wounded.

THE *Wazîr Kyoperli*, who approved of this speech, thereupon said, "That as often as he <sup>Speech in coun-</sup> had considered the conduct of the ministry for seven years past against the emperor of Ger-<sup>cil</sup>; many, he could not sufficiently wonder at the imprudence of the *Othmân* generals, the blind-  
 nefs of the counsellors, and the fearful or perverse minds of the interpreters of the law :  
 that the two first minded nothing but to raise large armies, and fill the treasury by any  
 means ; while the *Ulema*, content with their stipends, and preferring ease to labour, never  
 concerned themselves whether the *Othmân* state was well administered, or thought of reform-  
 ing the vices of the people, which was the source of all the present calamities ; but imme-  
 diately approved of the proposals of peace, and almost forced it on the *Musulmâns*. That  
 when God, still more provoked by this infidelity, debarred them of peace upon honourable  
 terms, they returned to their old practice, and cast the blame due to the subjects upon the  
 emperor : that having obtained their ends, they foretold the soldiers, at their departure, out  
 of the law, that the *Gyawrs* would be driven from the *Othmân* borders : that yet this did <sup>censures for-</sup>  
 not happen ; and it was no wonder God did not assist the *Musulmân* forces, since good <sup>mer ministers.</sup>  
 works, purity in the soldiers, and justice in the rulers, those necessary conditions on which <sup>and peace ad-</sup>  
 the prophet *Mohammed* promised them success, had all along been wanting : that for his <sup>wifers.</sup>  
 part, to demonstrate the truth of what he spoke, he desired only twelve thousand true fol-  
 lowers of the *Korân*, men pure in heart and mind, with whom he trusted, by God's  
 assistance, to humble the numberless forces of the *Gyawrs*, in such a manner as to oblige  
 them to restore all they had taken from the *Othmân* empire."

To this speech the *Mufti* replies, that although the *Wazîr* had traced out the true causes of the corruptions, and the misfortunes consequent thereupon, yet they could hardly be corrected by the method he proposed ; since the army wanted spirit, and the treasury money, the sinews of war. He added, that all people were in hopes of an approaching peace, raised by the letters lately sent by the ambassadors at *Vienna*. Upon this, the *Wazîr* asks who were the ambassadors, and what peace they were sent to make ? The *Mufti* having informed him of the whole state of that affair, he is fired with indignation ; and in a long speech, shews, how much  
 d the authors of that embassy (of whom he deemed his predecessor to be the principal) had acted against the good of the empire. At last, raising his voice aloud, he cries out, "I account  
 the ambassadors, with those who sent them, to be *Gyawrs* ; and as such, do I think they will  
 be treated in the divine judgment : for no true *Musulmân*, versed in the precepts of the *Koran*,  
 could have involved the *Soltân*, a prince of great mildness and simplicity, in so heinous and  
 execrable a crime."

THIS strong disposition of the *Wazîr* to war is greatly encouraged by the *French* ambassador, <sup>War resolved</sup> who possesses the whole court with such a confidence in the arms of *France*, that a *Galibeh* <sup>on.</sup>  
*Divan* (Y) being called, it is unanimously resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour.  
 However, that the treaty begun at *Vienna* might not seem to be broken off without some  
 reason, the *Wazîr* writes to acquaint the emperor's council ; "that he had heard some persons  
 c were arrived at *Vienna* under the title of ambassadors from the *Porte*, and had proposed  
 terms of peace in the *Soltân's* name ; but that they were impostors, and had either forged  
 the letters, which they pretended to have received from that prince, or procured them from  
 the former *Wazîr*, without the *Soltân's* knowledge."

MATTERS being thus settled, he prepares for an early campaign, by applying his whole  
 care to the raising an army, and providing warlike stores. But finding what the *Mufti* had <sup>His artful</sup>  
 said to be true, that the *Othmâns* were seized with such terror, there were but little hopes of <sup>mandate for</sup>  
 raising forces capable of opposing the *Germans* ; that the treasury was exhausted, and the <sup>raising soldi-</sup>  
 people every-where unwilling to perform their duty ; he takes a different method of levying <sup>ers ;</sup>  
 f troops from that used by his predecessors, which he executes with wonderful art and success.  
 The former *Wazîrs*, in their mandates, had required all persons, whose duty it was to attend  
 the wars ; but he publishes a *Fermân* in another strain : he says in it, "That as he found it  
 necessary to trust the command of the *Othmân* army against the haughty *Germans*, to none

<sup>b</sup> CANT. p. 363, & seq.

(Y) So is called the *Soltân's Diwân*, held ever Sunday and Tuesday, under a *Kubbch*, in the large hall of the outer court, named *Babi Humayûn*, or the sublime *Porte*. The prime *Wazîr* presides in it, and has on his right hand, the *Rumeli Kadio'lasker* ; on his left, the *Anadol Kadio'lasker*, with the *Mufti* (if summoned), and the rest of the *Kubbch Wazîrs* ; and lower, the *Tefterdâr*. The *Reis Effendi*, and other chiefs of the *Kalemij*, stand by :

but the military officers, as the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, *Spabilar Agasi*, *Silbâdar Agasi*, and the rest, sit without the *Diwân*, at the gate of *Babi Humayûn*. The *Soltân* hears out of a window, over the prime *Wazîr's* head, all that is done. The *Wazîr* is dressed in white silk, with a triangular turbân ; the other great officers of the *Diwân*, in brown garments.—Cant.



A. D. 1688.

“ but himself, so he would not employ in this expedition any soldiers forced into the service, a  
 “ as knowing the will was of more value with God than the deed : that he would only put  
 “ the *Musulmans* in mind, that by the precepts of God, and his prophet, every one is com-  
 “ manded neither to avoid martyrdom, nor despair of success, in defence of the law, and the  
 “ extirpation of infidels : that every *Musulman* therefore, who thought himself obliged by this  
 “ law, and had resolution to suffer every thing for the faith, ought to come and list himself  
 “ in his army : but that he who was doubtful, was afraid of being a martyr, or detained by  
 “ affairs which he believed would excuse him before God from the service, should have the  
 “ liberty of staying at home ; where, after purging himself from all criminal actions, he ought  
 “ daily to intercede with God for the army’s success. It was added, that even though such  
 “ a person should be of the military order, yet he should not only be exempt from punish- b  
 “ ment, but also enjoy his pay during his absence.”

its surprising  
effect.

By this artful mandate both the soldiers and people of *Asia* are roused as it were from a profound sleep : for till then, whenever they were called to the wars, the greater part, for fear of the punishment threatened to the unwilling, hid themselves, and escaped the enquiry of the *Pâshâs*, partly by gifts, and partly by artifice and false pretences. But when they find themselves called on, from motives of religion, to war against the infidels, not only those who received the pay, but others who had been dismissed the service, prepare for the campaign, for fear of being accounted cowards, or *Gyawrs*, in case they staid at home. Thus what the former *Wazîrs* could not effect by the severest threats, or by the *Pâshâs*, *Kapuji*, and *Cbaush*, *Kyoprioli Mostafa Pâshâ* accomplishes without any difficulty, by one word of the *Korân* ; and c  
 raises more numerous forces than any *Wazîr* had done since *Kara Mostafa Pâshâ*.

Reforms the  
treasury.

HAVING by this method assembled an army, he turns his thoughts towards purging the treasury of money unjustly raised, and filling it by more honourable means. He finds the state of accounts in no less confusion than that of other affairs ; for the *Wazîrs*, and other great men, in the time of peace, had consumed most part of it under various pretences : they had also for bribes granted to some an exemption from tribute, and laid on others a greater burthen than they could bear. Afterwards, on the war breaking out, the *Tefterdârs* had invented various schemes to fill their empty coffers, by which they had so impoverished the citizens, that nothing was heard but the cries of people calling for the vengeance of God on their oppressors. The *Wazîr*, with great application, removes all those abuses ; restores d  
 to the treasury all the money which his predecessors, the *Pâshâs*, and secretaries had taken away ; establishes new laws for raising tribute, and orders that no person of a different religion should be exempt from it. Whereby the *Greek* monks, before exempt, became subject to the *Haraj* (Z), which he divides into three parts, that none might suffer by an unequal assessment ; enjoining the richer sort to pay ten *Leonines* a year, those of a middle rank six, and the poor only three dollars.

Seizes church  
treasure.

ALL the money which the devotion of their ancestors had left to the treasurers of the *Jâmi*, he brings into the publick treasury ; and answers the *Muteveli*, who call it sacrilege, that wealth designed for religious uses, ought to be employed in religious wars ; adding, that it was more conducive to the *Musulmân* interest, to maintain with it the defenders of the holy edifices, than e  
 enemies and robbers. He restores to their former integrity the judicial proceedings, which till then had been almost intirely venal ; punishes the judges convicted of corruption with great severity ; rescues those who are oppressed by false accusations without respect of persons ; and prevents every-body from being injured. He orders that neither corn, nor any other provisions, should be violently demanded from the subjects (A), but purchased with ready money, at such a price as they should think proper. By these measures having acquired a great reputation for prudence, justice, and sanctity, he prepares for the campaign ; and lest so many alterations might in his absence occasion a sedition against the *Soltân*, he persuades him to remove to *Adrianople* in the spring <sup>a</sup>, where we leave the *Wazîr* for a while, to see what was doing in the interim in *Hungary*.

Reforms the  
lawyers.<sup>a</sup> CANT. p. 365, & seq.

(Z) A set tribute, which all persons, not *Mohammedans*, are obliged to pay to the *Turkish* emperors, if he has a mind to be a subject of the empire. This tribute the *Korân* has fixed to be 13 drams of pure silver for all persons come of ripe age. But in time, this sum being thought too small, three rixdollars were set upon each person’s head, under *Mohammed II.* and his three successors ; which was afterwards lessened or increased at pleasure, till this *Kicprili* divided it as in the text.—  
 The *Greek* monks, ever since the taking of *Constanti-*

*nople*, had been exempt from the *Haraj*, or *Karaj*, by virtue of a writing given by the pretended prophet *Mohammed*, to the monks of *Sinay* ; but *Kioprili* alledged this privilege to be spurious, or, if genuine, to extend only to the *Sinaite* monks. *Cant.*

(A) This piece of justice recommended *Kioprili* to all the Christians residing in *Turky*. His equity extended alike to all persons, without regard to their religion, of which prince *Cantemir* gives instances.

HITHERTO



- a HITHERTO the imperial arms had been prosperous to a surprising degree: but now the empire being furiously attacked within the very bowels of it by the arms of *France*, which obliged the several *German* princes to provide for their own security, many of the troops who served in *Hungary* were called home. So that the main burden of the war fell on the emperor, which was carried on with various success, but for the most part prosperous, whilst under the auspicious direction of prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. However, the year 1690 began not very favourably on *Leopold's* side; for the prince of *Holstein*, who in *Veterani's* absence commanded the army in *Albania*, hearing that the *Turks* ravaged the country, he marched to *Prisserin*, or *Prissina*, with some troops to meet them. From hence, on the first of *January*, he detached the prince of *Hanover* and colonel *Strasser* with sixteen hundred men, to relieve the pass of *Kasseneck*, besieged by the *Turks*; where arriving next day, they posted themselves with their backs to a morass, and planted four field-pieces against the *Turks*, who durst not attack them in that place: but keeping to the hills and woods, they detached one thousand *Tatars* into the plain, on sight of whom, *Strasser* quitting his advantageous post, forced them to retreat.

A. D. 1688.  
Kasseneck be-  
sieged.

- MEAN time the *Germans*, being now in the open field, found themselves surrounded by thirty thousand of the enemy, against whom they maintained a battle from nine till three in the afternoon; when having spent all their powder and ammunition, they were at last totally defeated. Here the prince of *Hanover*, colonel *Strasser*, and count *Solari*, with most of the officers and soldiers, were slain on the spot, and most of the prisoners died of their wounds. However, five or six hundred men, by favour of the night and woods, got safe to *Belgrade*. On the fourth, *Picolomini's* regiment, which was to join *Strasser*, under count *Montecelli*, having had no advice of the defeat, drew near to *Kasseneck*, and was presently surrounded by the *Tatars*; but the count retreating towards a morass, over which there was a bridge, sent a lieutenant with thirty horse to guard the other end of it. The *Tatars*, after some time, attacked them on both sides; but the lieutenant being relieved by two companies, they defended themselves valiantly till night; under shelter of which, they retired to *Prisseren*, and thence marched to *Prokopia*.

The Germans  
defeated.

- By this time *Veterani*, appointed general in place of *Picolomini*, arrived with some troops from *Transylvania* at *Nissa*; which being a place open to the attack of the enemy, he fortified as well as he could. Mean time the pass of *Kasseneck* surrendered: but to pass by several small advantages of this kind gained by both parties; *Kanissa* was so straitly blocked up, that on the 16th of *March*, the garrison being greatly reduced, the *Pâshâ* sent two *Agas* to count *Bathiani*, offering to surrender, in case he was not relieved in four weeks. But that being refused, on the 19th the place was surrendered, on condition that the inhabitants should march off with their arms and moveables into the *Othmân* dominions. The *Pâshâ* himself brought the keys of the city in a gilded basin, hanging on a gold chain, and delivering them to the count, said, *I deliver into your hands the keys of a fortress, the like whereof there is none in all the Othmân empire*. This strong city was yielded rather through divisions among the officers, than for want of provisions, of which there were enough for four months. On the walls were mounted fifty-six brass and ten iron cannon. There were found also three thousand seven hundred and forty muskets, with abundance of warlike stores.

Kanissa sur-  
renders.

- It would be endless to take notice of every little action which happened before the opening of the campaign. But it is worth observing, that, in order to make way for greater ones, the *French* ambassador at the *Othmân* court, after long solicitation, procured a *Baratz*, or commission, declaring *Tekeli* prince of *Transylvania*, with the same power and privileges as had been granted to *Beiklem Ghabor*. Of this investiture *Tekeli* gave notice by his circular letters, bearing date the 26th of *June*, to all the cities and provinces, forbidding them to give any assistance to the *Germans*; and requiring them to join with him and the *Turks*, who were coming to deliver their country from the terrible oppression of the *Imperialists*. In effect, the many troops of *Tatars* which had already entered *Walakbia*, and the increase of *Tekeli's* troops, much alarmed the *German* generals; so that all the forces in and about *Transylvania* were ordered to march, under general *Heusler*, towards the passes which lead to *Walakbia*. At length, about the middle of *July*, the *Tatars* coming up the *Danube*, appeared before *Widdin*, with four galleys and sixty other vessels, having five thousand men on board, and began to fire on the town. On this news, general *Trautmansdorf* marching with his troops to the relief of the place, so plied the enemy with his cannon from the bank of the *Danube*, that they were compelled to fall lower down the stream to the other side of the river. After this, having furnished the town with a garrison, and provision out of the boats which attended him (on the *Tinok*), he returned to the rendezvous at *Jagodina*.

Tekeli's pro-  
motion.

Widdin at-  
tacked.

- BUT in *August*, general *Veterani* receiving advice that the grand *Wazir* was on his way towards *Nissa*, ordered all the troops in those parts to march to that city; where having left a garrison of three thousand foot and five hundred horse, he went back with the rest of the army.



A. D. 1689.  
 The Wazîr  
 advances.  
 Hej. 1101.  
 A. D. 1689.

army, and encamped at *Alexin*<sup>b</sup>. Now let us return to the *Turkish* historians, and attend the motions of the grand *Wazîr*; who, about the beginning of *Shawal* 1101, marched with the whole army towards *Belgrade*; and being informed in his passage thro' *Kiz Darbend* (B), that several thousand *Germans* from that city were coming to strengthen the garrison of *Nissa*, he sends *Selim Gyeray*, *Khân* of the *Tatars*, with part of the *Turkish* army, who falling upon them, now within sight of *Nissa*, soon puts them to flight. This victory revives the hopes of the *Othmâns*; and the *Wazîr*, to render God propitious to their arms, orders prayers to be made without intermission, both day and night, at *Constantinople*, *Adrianople*, and in the camp. Finding likewise that there were in the army a great number of boys unfit for arms, brought by profligate persons for detestable uses, he commanded by proclamation that all boys should be sent back, and if any should be discovered with any person for the future, he should be put to death without further examination; since that sin, above all others, deprived those polluted with it of the divine blessing; and the most pure God could not favour with his presence the camp where such an impurity was practised.

Takes Shahr-  
 kyoy, and  
 Nissa.

HAVING made those regulations, he marches into *Servir*, and assaults *Shahrkyoy* (C), a little city, which being better fortified by nature than art, five hundred *Hayduks*, who were in garrison, finding no succours appear on the fourth day, surrendered the castle, on condition of leave to depart (D): and when the *Janizaries* would have plundered them, they are restrained by the threats of *Kyoprili-ogli*, who told them it was neither honourable nor of advantage to take away the arms of the *Gyawrs*, since they could not injure the *Mussulmâns* with them. He then admonishes those *Hayduks* not to go to *Nissa*, because as he intended to besiege that city, if any of them should be found there when it was taken, they could not expect to escape death. The *Hayduks* however, as soon as they left the *Turks*, retire to *Nissa*.

PRESENTLY after, the *Wazîr* lays close siege to that city, which was defended by count *Staremburg*, with three thousand *German* foot, and fourteen hundred horse. Although that general made a brave defence, more with a view to gain the *Imperialists* time to secure *Belgrade*, than with any hopes to save the place; yet the *Turks* pushed the siege with such vigour, that on the 25th day (E) the garrison surrendered, on condition of going out with their arms. Some of the *Shahrkyoy Hayduks*, though in disguise, being discovered by the *Janizaries*, are forced by torture to confess all their companions, who were mixed with the *German* troops, and *Staremburg* obliged to deliver them up to the *Wazîr*. He hangs part, and condemns the rest to the galleys, laying the same injunction on *Staremburg*, and under the same penalty, not to retire to *Belgrade*, towards which city the *Wazîr* marched; and having by the way taken possession of *Semendria* and *Widdin*, whose garrisons had abandoned them, comes in sight of it in the month of *Zilkaadeh*<sup>c</sup>. But before we enter upon the siege of this important fortress, it will be proper to add some particulars from the Christian historians relating to that of the places already mentioned.

Widdin taken.

WHILE the siege of *Nissa* was going on, prince *Lewis* of *Baden* joined *Veterani* at *Jagodina*, where matters were concerted for the relief of that city; but news arriving of general *Heussler's* defeat by the *Seraskier* and *Tekeli* in *Transilvania*, it was resolved to march thither with the greater part of the army; so that nothing could be done towards raising the siege, the *Germans* being then very weak in *Servia*. The *Wazîr* understanding that prince *Lewis* was on the retreat, and had withdrawn his forces from *Widdin* and *Semendria*, detached part of his army (which was reported to be thirty thousand foot and fifty thousand horse, besides fifteen thousand *Tatars* daily expected) to besiege *Widdin*: whose garrison at that time being no more than eight hundred men, they surrendered on the 29th of *August*, before any breach was made in the walls; and on the 11th of *September* joined the prince's army.

Semendria  
 stormed.

MEAN time the garrison of *Nissa* being reduced to two thousand men, by the continual playing of cannon and bombs, and the counterscarp taken, general *Staremburg* surrendered on the 8th of *September*, on condition of marching out with bag and baggage, arms, and all other marks of honour. But the enemy did not faithfully observe the agreement: for the *Turks* robbed and disarmed many; and the *Tatars* pursued them as far as *Semendria*, with design to cut them off. They found 90 cannon and mortars in *Nissa*, from whence they marched

<sup>b</sup> RICAUT. ubi supra.

<sup>c</sup> CANT. p. 368. RICAUT.

(B) That is, *the Virgin's passage* (narrow gate or gap); one of the two passages over *Mount Hæmus*; the other is called *Kapuli derbend*, or *the passage of the gate*. On the east entrance of this passage are the ruins of a beautiful gate, supposed to be the work of *Trajan*, eight hours from *Tatar Pazajik*, and twelve from *Philipopoli*. To the west of these passes is the village *Dragoman Kioy*, the last which was conquered by the arms of *Leopold*. CANT.

(C) The same with *Piroth* in the Christian historians.

(D) *Ricaut* says, there were but one hundred and fifty men in garrison at *Piroth*; and that after three or four days siege, they conditioned to be conducted to *Nissa*.

(E) It was summoned on the 14th of *August*, and surrendered the 8th of *September*. *Ricaut*.



a directly to *Belgrade*, by way of *Semendria*; whose garrison, though consisting of no more than A. D. 1689. one thousand men, under lieutenant-colonel *Weingartler*, bravely sustained a storm of their whole army; but being overpowered were all put to the sword<sup>d</sup>.

As soon as the *Wazîr* arrives at *Belgrade*, he calls a council of the *Pâshâs*, to deliberate whether it was better to proceed by way of siege or blockade. They all advise the latter course, alleging, "That the city being well fortified by nature, and wonderfully strengthened by new works (F), as well as defended by a garrison of eight thousand *Germans*, besides many regiments of *Bulgarians* and *Servians*, could not be subdued within the campaign, nor besieged without great loss: that if the garrison should make a vigorous resistance, and repulse the *Othmâns*, they would immediately lose the courage they had hardly yet recovered by their present successes: but that if the *Wazîr*, leaving *Belgrade* behind him, would with his army pass the *Save*, or fortify the banks, to prevent the enemy from passing, the garrison would that summer, or at farthest in winter, be obliged by famine to surrender. They added, that nothing was to be feared from the imperial army, since the greater part of it was employed in the war against *France*; and the rest, being abandoned by the *Hungarians*, would be more solicitous to defend their own camp than attack the *Othmâns*." Belgrade besieged and taken, by blowing up of the magazines.

b THE *Wazîr*, though far from being of this mind, gives way to the majority, and surrounds the walls of the city for several days: But being informed that the *Imperialists* were hastening to its relief, he sees his error in complying unseasonably with his officers, and instantly opens the siege with one half of his army, appointing the other to hinder the enemy from passing the *Save*. By this change of measures he gained the city: but probably would have failed in his design, if, on the eighth day of the siege, a tower had not blown up by means of a bomb, or by treachery, and demolished great part of the wall. For, hereupon, the *Turks* crying out, that it was an evident proof of God's miraculous assistance, rush into the breaches before the *Germans* could prevent them, and for an hour resist the whole force of the garrison; who, overpowered by numbers, are then forced to retreat, after a great loss, though not unrevenge. A few, with their general *de la Croy*, escape in boats across the *Danube*<sup>e</sup>.

According to the Christian historians, there were not above three thousand two hundred men in *Belgrade* fit for service. The *Wazîr* invested this city on the first of *October* with his troops; who having fired their artillery without waiting till the 8th (on which day the duke of *Croy* arrived by boat), stormed the palisades like madmen. Next morning the blue steeple of the castle, which was the principle magazine for powder, took fire, which was soon put out: but in the afternoon it took fire again, and blew up with such violence, that it quite overturned the great bulwark which defended the castle, and destroyed one thousand of the garrison, who were drawn up as well on the parade as on the walls. So that there were not men enough to defend the breach against the enemy, who were ready to take advantage of the blow, and might have entered with whole squadrons. The duke of *Croy* also was wounded, and half buried in the rubbish of his lodgings.

It is thought this misfortune happened by the treachery of a *Turk*, disguised in a *German* habit; or of some *Frenchmen*, who had been employed in the magazines, and had that morning deserted. However, the besieged made the best resistance possible, till their remaining magazines and store-houses took fire, and blew up one after the other, in such a dreadful manner, that not only the greater part of the garrison perished, but one thousand *Turks*, at that time storming the walls and entering the city, were also destroyed; while such as remained alive were forced to retreat to their camp, unable to proceed for the smoke. But so soon as it had cleared up a little, the enemy observing the consternation which the remaining people were in, returned, and rather entered than stormed the city, where they found very few Christians living, or houses standing. Most of the boats were sunk with the rubbish which fell into them: those who escaped, saved themselves by swimming over the *Danube* or *Save*. General *Aspremont*, who got off with the duke of *Croy*, being blamed afterwards for neglect on this occasion, was cleared by an attestation under the hand of prince *Lewis* of *Baden*<sup>f</sup>.

THE *Wazîr* having thus reduced the bulwark of all *Hungary* sooner than he expected, sends five hundred *Spâhis*, each with two horses, and as many bushels of meal, to the relief of *Temeswar*, which the *Germans* had blocked up for three years, after finding it impracticable, by reason of its difficult situation, to take it by assault. The city was defended by *Koja Jâffer Pâshâ* (G), whose authority was so great with the soldiers, that although many perished by

<sup>d</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.<sup>e</sup> CANT. p. 370.<sup>f</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

(F) The architect was *Andreas Cornaro*, a *Greek* of *Kandia*. He is charged by some authors with betraying *Belgrade*, but unjustly; for being taken by the *Turks*, and discovered to be an architect, he was obliged to perform that service, and others: for which he was well rewarded. CANT.

(G) That is, *old Jaffer*. He was famous for his military skill, prudence, and integrity. He fought several battles with the *Germans*, and held out *Temeswar* and *Belgrade* against them. He was slain at the battle of *Zenta* by the rebellious *Janizaries*. CANT.



A. D. 1689. famine, yet the rest refused to feed upon cats and dogs, which are esteemed impure animals <sup>a</sup> by the *Turks*. They were now reduced to such a degree of necessity, that when the *Spâbis* arrived, the *Janizaries* seized on the meal like ravenous wolves. This occasioned a dispute which ended in a bloody fight between the two parties (H) : of whom a great number on both sides being killed upon the sacks, the rest of the *Spâbis*, with their *Pâshâ*, are forced by the *Janizaries* to a speedy flight.

Lippa reduced, with other places.

KYOPRILI PASHA having repaired the ruins of *Belgrade*, passes the *Danube*, and taking *Lippa*, drives the *German* garrison from *Orsova*. He then assaults *Essek*, a city at the conflux of that river with the *Drave*, in hopes by subduing it to secure his new acquisitions from the enemy's incursions, and recover *Sclavonia* : but he was forced to abandon his design, by the resolution of the garrison, joined to the approach of winter ; and especially by the alteration <sup>b</sup> of affairs in *Transilvania* <sup>c</sup>.

Essek attempted.

AFTER the loss of *Belgrade*, the duke of *Croy* having rallied about four hundred men, marched by the way of *Titul* and *Peterwaradin* to *Essek*, drawing all the force he could out of the garrisons to secure that place ; which the *Wazîr* had ordered the *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia* to attack, while he passed the *Danube* and besieged *Lippa*, on the *Marosk*, near *Arad*. At his approach the *Germans* quitted *Lugos* and *Karanzebes*. *Lippa* surrendered for want of all provisions, on very honourable conditions, after continual storms by the enemy, who lost eight hundred men to ten of the besieged. Mean time, on the 29th of *October*, *Husseyn*, *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia*, appeared before *Essek* with twelve or fifteen thousand men, who, thinking to carry the place at once, immediately stormed the counterescarp ; but were repulsed with great <sup>c</sup> slaughter by the garrison, though consisting only of two thousand men. The *Pâshâ* finding himself mistaken in his account, began to open trenches and raise batteries ; with which, by the fifth of *November*, they had demolished almost all the houses in the town, and seemed to prepare again for a general storm ; but the duke and other generals having entered into the counterescarp with undaunted resolution to oppose them, they attempted nothing, as if struck with fear. The duke then returned to his lodgings, where three *Turks* were brought to him ; who being asked why the enemy had made so violent an assault without either trenches or earth to cover them ? answered, That their design was to have taken the town, if possible, before the Christian army arrived, which they heard was hastening to relieve it. The duke hereupon sent out all the music in the town to some troops beyond the *Drave*, with orders to march to <sup>d</sup> and fro in the night, causing different marches to be beaten, and trumpets sounded from several quarters ; which so alarmed the *Turks*, that they immediately raised their camp, and fled towards *Bosnia*. The news of this deliverance being carried to *Vienna*, the duke of *Croy* and general *Staremberg* were mightily cried up for the stratagem <sup>e</sup>.

The siege raised.

Transilvania taken, and recovered by Tekeli.

Let us now look into the affairs of *Transilvania*. About the beginning of this year *Michael Apafi* (I), prince of that country, died without issue, and left all his dominions to the emperor of *Germany*. On the other hand, the *Turks* had appointed *Tekeli* to be prince, and sent to his assistance the *Serafskier*, with ten thousand *Turks*, the *Khân* of *Tartary*, and *Constantine Brankovan* (K), prince of *Walakhia*. The confederate forces, under his conduct, penetrate into *Transilvania*, through the mountains of *Walakhia*, at the foot of which they unexpectedly inclose *Heusler*, general of <sup>e</sup> the *German* troops appointed for defence of that province. *Heusler*, finding himself drawn into this danger by the treachery of *Brankovan*, endeavours to open a passage with his sword, and bravely sustains the first onset of the enemy. Yet in the heat of the battle the *Hungarians* deserting the *Germans*, attack them in flank, who, terrified at this perfidy, attempt to escape by flight : but being inclosed by the enemy, are almost all either slain or taken ; and among the latter, *Heusler* himself <sup>f</sup>. According to the Christian historians, the *Turkish* army consisted of sixteen thousand horse, two thousand *Janizaries*, and five hundred *Talpats*. With these, *Tekeli*, under whom were nine *Pâshâs*, marched over mountains towards the pass of *Terezwar*, about three leagues from *Kronstadt* ; where general *Heusler* lay encamped, with seventeen hundred horse, and five thousand *Transilvanians*, called *Zeklers*, from the province so named, under general *Tolecki*. The *Imperialists*, nothing dismayed at the appearance of such unequal forces, with their right-wing furiously attacked and put to flight the left of the enemy ; who would have been intirely defeated, had the *Zeklers* seconded so good a beginning : but they flying without firing a musket, the *Germans*, after a long and bloody fight, were put to the rout. In this action, six generals, among whom was *Tolecki*, were killed, besides five

<sup>c</sup> CANT. p. 370, & seq.

<sup>b</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

<sup>d</sup> CANT. p. 371, & seq.

(H) *Ricaut* mentions nothing of this affair. He only says, that on the news of the march of the *Turkish* horse being ordered for *Upper Hungary*, the *Germans* were so alarmed, that they quitted the blockade of *Great Waradin*.

(I) He was of no great family, being son only of the chief magistrate of *Cibimina*.—CANT.

(K) Known in *Europe* by the three names, of *Kantakuzenus*, *Brankovan*, and *Bassaraba* ; all which he pretended belonged to his family, though in fact they did not.—CANT.



- a hundred horse : the rest retreated to *Hermanstadt* with thirteen standards, twenty-nine colours, with four pieces of cannon having been taken by the enemy, who lost three thousand men <sup>k</sup>. A. D. 1689.

TEKELI, after this victory, marches farther, and is received by all the inhabitants of the province with great acclamations. But before he could establish himself in his new acquisition, the prince of *Baden*, hearing that *Belgrade*, which he intended to have relieved, was lost, marches his forces into *Transilvania*, and having taken several cities, endeavours to subdue the rebellious prince. Tekeli, diffident of his strength, on the news of the other's approach, abandons *Cibinium* (or *Hermanstadt*) and retires again into *Turky*, from whence he never after ventured to return <sup>l</sup>.

- To enter into particulars from the Christian historians : prince Lewis having, on the news of Heusler's defeat in *Transilvania*, departed from *Jagodina* in *Servia*, with all the force which could be spared, as hath been already mentioned, passed the *Danube* near *Semendria* ; and on the 16th of *September* arrived at *Karansebes*. On the 21st they marched through the *Iron Gate*, a pass which leads into that province, and encamped near the ruins of *Vulpia Trajana*, a Roman colony, where many of the nobility came in to him ; whilst the *Rascians* entered *Walakbia*, and put all to fire and sword with the utmost cruelty. October the 3d, he came to *Hermanstadt*, the capital, and thence to *Medies*, where several parties of the enemy were defeated. All this while Tekeli and his troops never shewed themselves, keeping at least six leagues distant from the *Imperialists*. As soon as he arrived at *Czick*, on the borders of *Walakbia*, the prince of that country left him to secure his territories against the *Rascians* ; and afterwards the *Transilvanians* deserted him. Mean time, being pursued by prince Lewis, he was chased through the whole country ; and at length was near being surprised about *Marienburg*. Hereupon affrighted, he fled by the pass of *Bocz* into *Walakbia* ; and thus ended his short reign in *Transilvania*.

- On the first of *December* prince Lewis arrived at *Zatmar*, on the *Samos*, in *Upper Hungary* ; Orsova at what time the *Wazir's* son, with fifteen thousand men, ravaged the country, and summoned *St. Jobs* ; but the prince having no more than two thousand horse with him, durst not venture out against them. However, being joined soon after by *Negrili* with two thousand more, he pursued a body of twelve thousand *Turks*, who ravaged the parts about *Clausenburg*, and drove them quite out of *Transilvania*. The campaign concluded on this side by the surrender of the *Isle of Orsova* (in the *Danube*, and borders of *Walakbia*) to the *Turks*, for want of ammunition. The governor, upon the articles granted, desired to be conducted to *Belgrade* ; and although the *Turks* were honest enough to tell him, that it was then in their hands, he would not believe them, but insisted to be convoyed thither. In this at length they obliged him, to the fatal cost of him and his people, who were six hundred men, besides women and children : for, when they came to that city, all the men were confined in prisons, where most of them died, excepting those under twenty, whom they circumcised, and compelled to become *Mohammedans*. As for the women and children they were sold, and all the effects of the unhappy captives seized <sup>m</sup>. Let us now proceed to the war in other provinces.

- In the eleventh month of the same year (L), the king of *Poland* at last brings also his forces into the field, and passing the *Tyras* (or *Niester*), enters *Moldavia* ; but *Cantemir*, prince of that country, knowing what troublesome guests the *Poles* used to be, forbids the inhabitants, under a severe penalty, to sell or carry any corn to them. This obliges the king, who had already passed the *Hierafus* (or *Pruth*) at *Stephanasti*, to send back some of his troops to procure provisions from other parts. These troops coming to *Soroka*, a city on the *Tyras*, and finding it destitute of defence, yet full of stores, take it without opposition ; and leaving a strong garrison, return with the provisions to the camp.

- The king relieved by these supplies, marches as far as *Yakobeni*, a valley five miles from *Jassi* ; but hearing that *Buyukli Mostafa Pâshâ*, with *Nûradîn Soltân*, were advancing against him, he resolves to return to *Poland*. The provisions brought from *Soroka* being spent, he is again obliged to pass through the mountain country, where they are closely followed by the *Tatars*, who kill or take prisoners a great number of them, as they are gathering fruits in the woods. His return would have been very difficult, if the prince of *Moldavia*, desirous to drive out the *Poles*, but not destroy them, had not diverted the *Seraskier* from a pursuit, by telling him that they were then near their own borders, and unable to do the inhabitants any hurt. Had that general advanced with his army, scarce a *Pole* could have escaped : for they were so greatly distressed by famine, that the horse voluntarily submitted to the *Tatars* (M) ; declaring, that they would rather be captives than expire with hunger.

Of

<sup>k</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

<sup>l</sup> CANT. p. 375.

<sup>m</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

(L) Which falls in *August* 1690.

(M) There is hardly an example in history, of an army, which was ever so dispersed without fighting, or reduced to so much misery ; although the *Polish* historians



A. D. 1689.

Venetian  
victories.Kanina  
taken.

Other successes.

The Wazîr  
triumphs.Affairs of  
Hungary.

OF all the Christian powers, the *Venetians* alone met with success. In the beginning of the campaign, *Monembesia* (or *Malvasia*), the only place which opposed them in the *Morea*, and had been blocked up for two summers, is besieged by them, and soon obliged by famine to surrender (N). At sea, their admiral *Daniel Delphino* puts to flight the *Kapudân Pâshâ*, near *Mitylene*, after sinking and taking several of his ships. Afterwards, *Cornaro* reduces *Kanina* and *Valona*; while in *Dalmatia*, *Fin Ali Pâshâ* (O), governor of *Hercegovina*, assaults *Nisikbos* and *Kuzzos*, but is defeated, taken prisoner, and his forces dispersed<sup>n</sup>.

*RICAUT* makes no mention of this defeat of the *Kapudân Pâshâ*, but is particular in his account of the taking of the following places. The *Venetians* landed on the 11th of September at *Valona*, and drove seven thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, who opposed them, beyond the fortress of *Kanina*, situate on the top of a high craggy rock, four miles distant. Against this fortress they raised batteries in twenty-four hours, and attacking it furiously on all sides, the *Turks*, after the town was entered, yielded, on condition of marching out with their baggage. Mean time general *Spar* marched ten miles in pursuit of the fugitives, who on sight of him confusedly fled. The captain-general after this appeared with his whole army before *Valona*; and on the 18th sent a menacing summons to the garrison, who, as if designing to make stout resistance, sent no answer, but in the night silently stole away. They got in both places one hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon, some brass, some iron.

As for the affair of *Hercegovina*, or *Arzigovina*, as our author calls it, the *Pâshâ Kin Ali*, with three thousand men, had a design to surprise the new conquered Greek subjects of the *Venetians* at their *Easter* devotions; but the people of *Nixikhi* (or *Nisikbos*) being informed of it, on his approach, left their churches, and after a sharp conflict routed him, slaying seven hundred of his men; and having taken, carried him in chains to *Kataro*. With the like happy success was the strong fortress of *Filiporikh*, near *Glamez*, taken and destroyed by order of general *Molino*. But the affairs of the *Venetians* did not succeed so well this year by sea; for in March two of their men of war, the *St. Iseppo* and *St. Mark*, being attacked near *Kandia*, by *Mezzo Morto*, Dey of *Algiers*, with ten *Soltâna*'s, after the bravest resistance that could be imagined, the latter was blown up, and the other taken, although it sunk in the night with all its cannon, four hours after<sup>o</sup>.

THE campaign being over in *Hungary*, the *Wazîr* returns with his army to *Adrianople*, where he is received by the people as their deliverer: but the physicians being of opinion that the air of that city did not agree with the *Soltân*, who laboured under a dropsy, *Kyoprili* departs with him to *Constantinople*, which he enters in a triumphant manner. For three days there were rejoicings, accompanied with feasts and games, which the *French* ambassador gave, with no less expence than the *Turks*; thereby to shew them how acceptable the defeat of the Christians was to the most Christian king.

AFTER this, the *Wazîr* applies himself to raising a new and more powerful army than the former, to prosecute the *Hungarian* war, the command of which he resolves to take in person. He appoints *Mostafa Pâshâ* to be *Seraskier* against the *Poles*; and *Kaplân Ali Pâshâ* against the *Venetians*. This last, encamping at the river *Celidnus*, restrains the *Albanians*, just ready to revolt. He also takes possession of *Kanina* and *Valona*, reduced by the *Venetians* the year before, and now deserted by them<sup>p</sup>.

As to the affairs of *Hungary*, it would be too tedious to relate every action which happened before the opening of the campaign in 1691. The brave prince of *Hanover* we find so early as *January* marching against count *Tekeli*, at the pass of *Terez*; but advancing before his troops, was shot dead from an ambuscade near the village of *Sernist*. On the other hand, the castle of *Tacket*, and fort *Waradin*, were taken by colonel *Pobland*; who also defeated the general of *Walakhia* near *Karansebes*, and hindered a great body of *Turks* and *Tatars* from breaking into *Transylvania*. Of these he killed above a thousand, and took three hundred prisoners, besides much booty. In *February*, the garrison of *Great Waradin* were defeated by

<sup>n</sup> CANT. p. 373, & seq.<sup>o</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.<sup>p</sup> CANT. p. 375.

rians conceal it with much care, and extol their king's triumphs. I saw certain *Tatars* bring back each seven *Poles* fettered. They were become so weak with hunger, that they could make no resistance. Their captors, not having food sufficient for them, sold them almost all for three *Taokhimits* apiece.—CANT. Neither prince *Cântemir*, nor count *Marfigli*, in his *Etat. Milit. Emp. Othm.* tell the value of this coin.

(N) *Ricaud* says, that turning the blockade, which had held seventeen months, into a formal siege, they bat-

tered the city both by sea and land. Hereupon the inhabitants, tired out, presently surrendered on the 12th of *August*, on condition of being transported to *Candia*.

(O) *Fin* is the name of certain devils, of a grosser kind than *Shaytan* (or *Satan*). They are supposed to be male and female, and get children. Those who use their parts to the prejudice of others, are called *Fin*, and said to have the mind and cunning of those devils. CANT. He is written *Zin Alee* in *Ricaud*, Z being used for J consonant.



a count *Nigrelli*; and although the *Turks* took the castle of *Novi*, yet the *Kroats* defeated them A. D. 1689.  
near that place, and killed a thousand upon the spot.

NOR were they less unfortunate at *Lugos*, where colonel *Pobland* drew the garrison into an Lugos and  
ambush; and pursuing them to the castle, had it surrendered after eight hundred and fifty of Kbonadraken.  
the defendants were slain out of one thousand. Soon after, the garrison of *Segedin* having  
surprised the city of *Kbonad*, and killed all the inhabitants, the *Turks* abandoned the castle in  
the night. In *March*, the governor of *Essék* sent out *Percilia*, who, with 400 men, surprised  
and destroyed *Inik*, with all in it; routed a body of *Turks* and *Tartars*, killing twelve hundred;  
and returned with a great booty. In like manner *Antonio*, the famous *Rascian* captain, took  
the castle of *Karakowar*, situated on a high rock, by stratagem. After this, he attacked ten  
b ships sailing from *Widdin*, with provisions for *Belgrade*, and took two of them; two others  
fell into the hands of the *Rascians* near *Modava*, and the rest returned. He likewise by artifice  
dispersed a thousand *Turks* on their march to surprise *Lugos*.

IT being now *June*, when the year began to be fit for greater actions, count *Guido* of *Sta-* Titul sur-  
*remberg* drew together the troops from several parts to *Sauseberg*; during which the *Rascians* prised.  
surprised *Titul*, and put four hundred *Turks* to the sword. Mean while, *Veterani*, the general  
in *Servia*, hearing that 300 ships laden with provisions, under the convoy of four thousand  
men, were designed from *Widdin* to *Belgrade*, he sent *Pobland* and *Antonio* to intercept them  
with four thousand men. These drawing together so close that they appeared not to be above  
four hundred, the *Turks* detached one thousand *Janizaries* first, and then another party, out  
c of which one thousand were killed, besides many drowned in their retreat; but the ships escaped  
by getting to the other side of the river. Soon after this, a party of *Rascians* took four hundred  
waggons laden with provisions, between *Belgrade* and *Temeswaer*. Another party attacked  
*Katbina Mostâfa*, and slew fifteen hundred of his men, near *Mitrovitz*, which the *Turks* there-  
upon quitted<sup>1</sup>.

ALL things were now ready for the *Hungarian* expedition; but the *Wazîr* deferred setting Soleyman  
out on account of *Soleyman's* illness; for he feared that if the *Soltân* should die while he was dies.  
absent, one of *Mohammed's* sons might succeed, and deprive him either of the *Wazîrship*, or  
command of the army. At length *Soltân Soleyman*, exhausted by an inveterate dropsy, dies on  
the 26th of *Ramazân* 1102 (P), having lived fifty-two years, and reigned three years nine  
d months.

SOLEYMAN was from his infancy a valetudinarian, of a gross body, low stature, a pale and Hejrah 1102;  
bloated face (Q), with eyes like an ox, a black oblong beard, with a mixture of grey hairs; A. D. 1691.  
of a heavy understanding; easily moved by the whispers of his chamberlains, and the *Koltûk* Person and  
*Wazîrleri* (R): but none among the *Othmân Soltâns* was more eminent for sanctity, devotion, character.  
and (S) observance of the law<sup>2</sup>. *Ricaut* says, that as books were his entertainment in his  
confined life, so he seemed to have had an affection for them in the choice he made of *Kupriogli*  
for his favourite, who was esteemed a learned man in that country, and to have had the best  
library of any man in the whole empire: however, *Soleyman* was no other than a dull, heavy,  
simple, and weak man, fitter to be a *Derwîsh* than an emperor<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

<sup>2</sup> CANT. p. 375, & seq.

<sup>3</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

(P) *June* 11th, 1692.

(Q) *Ricaut* says, he had a long and lean visage, but not an ungraceful aspect. In other respects he agrees with the *Turkish* historian.

(R) So called from having alone the privilege of touching the *Soltân* when he walks or gets on horseback, or of supporting him under the *arm-pits*: which last word *Koltûk* signifies. They are the chief courtiers, who have a prospect to be made *Wazîrs* or *Pâshâs*, when vacancies happen; and among them are the six chief officers at court.—*Cant.*

(S) The *Turks* have no *Soltân*, whose holiness they so much extol. They even ascribe miracles to him. Among the rest, they say, when first placed on the throne, he leaped from thence, and went to a cistern; where finding no water, he, by pronouncing the word *Bismillahi*, brought water out of the marble; and having taken *Abdest*, commanded it to return in again. On other occasions, he knew not the most common affairs of life. One day he took some round fishes roasted for cakes, and next day asked for more of those cakes.—*Cant.*



## C H A P. XXII.

## The Reign of Ahmed II.

A. D. 1691.

21 Soltân  
Ahmed II.Numerous  
army of vo-  
luntiers.A plot laid  
against the  
Wazir.Deceived by  
a mute.

THE death of *Soleymân*, though long expected and wished for, yet filled the *Othmân* court with new and secret commotions. The nobles, with almost all the people, were for advancing either *Mostafa* or *Abmed*, sons of *Mohammed*; and some were even for *Mohammed* himself, whom they had deprived of the crown. The choice of any of these was dangerous to the *Wazîr*: for if *Mohammed* should be restored, he was apprehensive of his life; as being suspected to have been pretty deeply concerned in the sedition which deposed him. On the other hand, if either of that prince's sons were elected, he was afraid lest those youths, who had been liberally educated in the palace, contrary to the custom of the other *Shehzâdehs*, and already instructed in the administration of affairs, might divest him of both his employments.

IN order therefore to avoid the danger, he resolves to advance *Abmed*, younger brother of *Soleymân*, and not superior to him in wisdom. Accordingly, by the authority which he had gained among all the people, by his successes the last year, he procured him to be unanimously saluted *Soltân*, the second day after his brother *Soleymân*'s death. However, lest the malecontents should take occasion from the new *Soltân*'s stupidity to raise a sedition, he departs with him to *Adrianople*, in the beginning of *Shawal*, where he applies himself intirely to preparations for war. The *Musulmâns*, excited by the success of the last campaign, voluntarily come from all parts, in such numbers, that there never was before so numerous an army seen in the *Othmân* camp. The *Wazîr* hereupon orders the *Pâshâs* not to bring more forces into the field than had been appointed: since being to fight against the *Gyawrs*, he said, there was no occasion for a great army; which besides might want provisions before they reached *Buda*.

BUT the soldiers, regardless of this order, flock together in still greater numbers: declaring it was not for hopes of pay, but out of zeal for their law, that they entered into the service: and therefore could be content with their wallet, and place their whole happiness in either becoming *Gâzi* (A), under so successful a general, or being crowned with *Shehâdet* (B).

THE *Wazîr*'s fame thus greatly increasing, envy, the perpetual attendant upon merit, could not but cast her darts upon him from the court, her favourite residence. The *Kizlar Agasi*, and other officers of the inner palace, uneasy to find that *Kyoprili Ogli* was now possessed of the interest which before they had in the *Soltân* and people, who now despised them, all conspire his destruction; and abusing the stupidity of their master, fill his mind with suspicions against the *Wazîr*. They inform him, that the prime minister was contriving to depose him; and had prevailed on the *Janizaries* to set up *Mostafa*, son of *Mohammed*, as soon as he should decamp from *Adrianople*. The *Soltân*, persuaded by this accusation, asks what he thought was to be done? The *Kizlar Agasi* advises him to send the *Baltajilar Kyebayasi* (C) to tell the *Wazîr* he wanted to speak to him, and then to do as he thought fit, when he had him in his power.

DURING the time this eunuch was suggesting these things to the *Soltân*, *Dilsîz Mohammed Aga*, a mute (D), held the curtain of the door; and discovering by the motions of their lips and hands, that they were concerting to depose the *Wazîr*, hastens to that minister, and gives him, by signs, an account of the whole affair. While he was yet telling his story comes the *Baltajilar Kyebayasi*, and acquaints the *Wazîr* that the *Soltân* in haste wanted to speak with him. *Kyoprili Ogli* finding by this, that the mute's account must be true, immediately orders a horse to be got ready for him, and the messenger to go before, telling him that he would presently follow. When he is gone, the *Wazîr* sends privately for the *Janizar Aga*, and some other *Ojak Agalari*, whom he knew to be his friends; and having, in a speech, related the services he had done the empire, by recovering several provinces lost by his predecessors, and what he was likely farther to do by the numerous forces he had raised, tells them, that all was going to be overturned, and they, with himself to be removed from the army, by the artifices of some at court, who had persuaded the *Soltân*, a prince of great goodness, but unskilled in the administration of government (E), that the *Wazîr* and *Janizaries* were plotting to depose

(A) *Gâzi*, or *Ghâzi*, signifies one who conquers in a religious war, or on account of religion.

(B) That is *Martyrdom*; for the *Mohammedans* hold that all who are slain in battle against *Gyawrs*, or infidels, die martyrs.

(C) The chief officer of the regiment of the *Baltaji* (hatchet men, or battle-axes); he is subject in other respects, to the *Kizlar Agasi*.—Cant.

(D) There are many of these in the palace, whose

only business is to hold up the curtain before the door of the room, where the *Soltân* is talking in private with any of his great men. Nor are either they, or the dwarfs and buffoons, ever employed, as most *Europeans* have affirmed, to put persons privately to death, or even sent on any serious message. Cant.

(E) And who knows not how to return any answer to what is proposed to him but *Khoosh*, *Khoosh*.

him.



a him. He adds, that as he foresaw one of the haughty courtiers would succeed him, who might reduce the *Othmân* affairs to a worse condition than ever, he was therefore willing to remind those his friends, that after his removal or death (which, he said, he wished for, that he might not see the approaching ruin of the empire), they would take on them the care of the state, which the emperor was incapable of: "for, concludes he, I scruple to make any resistance to my *Soltân*'s commands; and therefore have determined to-morrow, with your consent, to resign to him the seal of the empire, and desire leave to go to *Mekka* <sup>a</sup>."

THE *Janizar Aga*, and the rest of the officers, on hearing the *Wazîr*'s speech, call the *Soltân* <sup>Sounds the</sup> stupid, imprudent, simple, and cry out, that he is swayed by his courtiers like boughs shaken <sup>soldiery.</sup> by the wind: adding, that if he should persist in his design, they had rather depose him than  
b *Kyoprili Oglî*, the defender of the law, the restorer of the *Othmân* empire, and the invincible general. They promise to shed their blood in defence of a single hair of his head; binding themselves by oath never to suffer any other general during his life, and to execute his commands with the utmost alacrity. The *Wazîr*, who had sent for the officers only to sound how they stood affected to him, finding that he might depend on them, sends an answer by a *Talkbîsh* (F), "That as he was mounting his horse, he was informed that the soldiers, for some injury received from the courtiers, were raising a sedition; that he imagined he might safely defer his obedience to the *Soltân*'s command, in order to put a stop to it: that with such a view he had sent for the officers of the army, and would acquaint his majesty next day with the course that should be taken for appeasing the commotion."

c NEXT day he informs the *Soltân* by another *Talkbîsh*, that he had done his utmost to extin- Ruins his guish the latent flame among the soldiers; but found them so presumptuous as to refuse to return to their duty, till the *Kizlar Agasi* was dismissed, and his secretary delivered up to a trial. He therefore intreats his majesty, that now the army was ready to set out, and himself full of hopes of success, he would not, by an unseasonable indulgence to his officers, stop the progress of victory, and expose himself to great danger. The *Kizlar Agasi*, who, by this letter, perceived his designs were betrayed to the *Wazîr*, desires the *Soltân* to sacrifice him, though a faithful servant, he said, to the good of the empire. But *Ahmed* refusing, through fondness to the deceiver, the *Wazîr* sends a third *Talkbîsh*, which obliges the *Soltân*, for fear of worse consequences, to do as he had desired. Accordingly the *Kizlar Agasi* was banished  
d to *Egypt*, and his secretary, when brought to the *Wazîr*, was ordered to be hanged in his habit, with a silver ink-pot at his girdle.

THAT minister being thus confirmed in his post, to cut off all opportunity from the other court-officers to make the like attempts against him, three days after he removes the army out <sup>Takes the</sup> of *Adrianople*, and encamping near the city, prepares every thing necessary for the campaign. Here he receives with great honour an ambassador from *William III.* king of *England*, who came to offer his master's mediation for settling a peace (G). The *Wazîr* declares he was ready to agree to one upon honourable conditions; but in reality, intended only to amuse the *Germans*, till he made himself master of *Buda*. With this view, he marched with his army to *Belgrade*; but being there informed that the *Imperialists*, under *Lewis*, prince of *Baden*,  
e had taken the field, and were advanced to *Peterwaradin*, he directs his course thither; on whose approach the *German* general pitches his camp near *Isankamen*, on the banks of the *Danube*, and strongly fortifies it.

THE *Wazîr* soon after comes up, and places his troops to the right of the imperial camp, in order to prevent their return. At the same time five thousand *Germans*, marching in haste to reinforce prince *Lewis*, are intercepted, and inclosed by the *Turks*, in sight of the emperor's army, so that not one of them escaped being killed or taken prisoners. The *Germans*, who before had designed to attack the *Othmâns*, on this disaster lose their resolution; and their general too late perceives his error, in suffering himself to be shut up in so narrow a space, where he could neither open his troops, nor defend them from the enemy's cannon: so that  
f there being no other way to extricate himself from this dangerous situation, he resolves to force a passage with the sword. While he meditates this design, the *Turks*, flushed with their late success, rush furiously on the *German* camp, as if they would destroy the whole army at one effort. The battle continues for six hours doubtful, with equal courage, but with unequal

<sup>a</sup> CANTEMIR Hist. Othm. p. 377, & seqq. in Ahmed II.

(F) That is, a relation, or account; the name given to the letters sent by the *Wazîr* to the *Soltân* about publick affairs; which, if rejected, is reckoned a great sign of his being in danger. The *Talkbîsh* must be written by the *Ris Effendi*, or high chancellor, and carried in form. Cant.

(G) Ricaut places this affair in the reign of *Soleymân*, and says, the ambassador, Sir *William Ruffey*, set out for

*Constantinople* on the 12th of *June* (which was the day after the *Soltân* died). He proposed a *Uti possidetis*; but the *Wazîr*, seeming to be intent on war, did not declare himself on the subject. Sir *William*'s arriving so late, for he did not get to *Adrianople* till *June*, was owing to the *Germans* slowness; who, though they wished for peace, were very dilatory in giving him their instructions.



A. D. 1619 strength. The *Imperialists*, now turning despair into resolution, pass the *Turkish* trenches; and the *Turks*, out of shame for loss of the victory snatched out of their hands, drive the *Imperialists* back into their works, which they, in their turn, penetrate.

The Wazir  
slain.

AT last, when the victory seems inclined to the *Othmâns*, the *Wazîr*, to dismay by his presence those who still resisted, with his own troop attacks the right wing of the *Germans*, where he saw the greatest opposition; but in the heat of the battle, being wounded in the temples by a musket bullet, he falls from his horse; and by his death, transfers the victory, already obtained, to the *Germans*: for his chamberlains, confounded at this unexpected disaster, call their companions, and other officers present, to take up their master's body; during which time the *Tubulkbâna* (B) ceases to sound. This cessation occasions great disorder among the *Othmân* troops now victorious: so that the horse, seized with a panic, abandoning the foot, first take to flight, and are soon followed by the *Janizaries*. The *Imperialists*, who were fighting, not with the hopes of victory, but that they might not die unrevenged, beholding the unexpected flight of the enemy, advanced but slowly, that the *Janizaries* might have opportunity to retreat; for their strength was so spent, that they could not have stood another engagement.

The Turks  
overthrown.

THE rest of the *Turkish* foot, when they perceive the *Janizaries* to fly, quitting their cannon and camp, follow them with the utmost precipitation. There fell in the battle twenty-eight thousand *Turks*, but not above three thousand *Germans*, exclusive of the above-mentioned five regiments. However, when *Leopold* was informed of the victory, he is reported to have said, that he should be unwilling to conquer often upon such terms, since he could scarce repair the loss of eight regiments in three years; whereas the *Soltân* could supply the loss of even eighty thousand men in eighty days. After this victory, the prince of *Baden* recovers *Lippa*, taken by the *Turks* the year before, and closely besieges *Waradin*; while the *Turkish* army continuing their flight to *Belgrade*, there stop, and make *Ali Pâshâ* their *Seraskier* <sup>b</sup>.

Recovery of  
Thos.

THUS the *Turkish* historians write. Let us now see if our historians agree with them. The *Wazîr* being arrived at *Belgrade* with an army of one hundred thousand men, besides a vast number of ships and gallies, one hundred of them were sent, with four thousand men under command of a *Pâshâ*, to attack *Titul*; which, on the fourth day, was surrendered by captain *Thos*, on condition that the garrison, consisting of only one hundred and twenty *Germans*, and two hundred *Rascians*, should be conducted to the imperial army. But when they came to march out, the *Pâshâ's* lieutenant would not suffer the *Rascians* to pass, giving orders to put them all to the sword. *Thos*, resolved not to bear this treachery, came to such high words with the *Pâshâ*, that the latter drew his scymiter; but *Thos*, being too quick for him, shot him dead with a pistol, and then another *Turk* near him. The breach now being irreconcilable, he caused his men to fire on the *Turks*; whence ensued a most desperate fight. But the *Imperialists* being over-powered by numbers, they were almost all slain, after killing five hundred of the enemy.

Prince Lewis  
marches to  
Salankemen.

MEAN time, prince *Lewis* being arrived on the 29th of *July* at *Peterwaradin*, next day sent word to the *Wazîr*, by a spy who was taken, that he was marching towards him with his whole army; which soon after, by reinforcements, amounted to sixty-six thousand and seventy men. With these he advanced first to *Carlowitz*, and then to *Salankemen* (C); where being informed, that the whole *Turkish* army had passed the *Save*, and encamped at *Semlin* (or *Semelin*) on the *Danube*, opposite *Belgrade*, he marched on the 12th of *August* within cannon-shot of the *Turkish* camp. This being posted on a rising ground, not to be attacked without great disadvantage, it was resolved next day to march back to *Salankemen*, where their provisions were lodged; the enemy being too strong in shipping for their vessels to attend them.

The 16th, the imperial forces began their march, which the *Turks* mistaking for a flight, on the 17th attacked their rear, but were repulsed with loss. It was now expected that next day there would be a general battle. But, instead of that, the *Wazîr*, following the advice of the *French*, who were about him, marched half a league beyond them (D), that he might cut off their communication with *Peterwaradin*; and there the *Turks* posted themselves with such expedition, that in twenty-four hours they had fortified their camp with regular walls the height of a man, and bastions planted with cannon, leaving only a passage for coming in and going out of the camp.

<sup>b</sup> CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 381, & seqq.

(B) Warlike musick, which in battle is always near the *Wazîr*, and continually playing to animate the soldiers; so that if it happens to cease, the *Janizaries* take it for an ill omen, and can scarce be restrained from flight. CANT.

(C) Or *Slankemen*; which, according to count *Mar-*

*figli*, who gives a plan of the battle, is a ruined castle on the south side of the *Danube*, opposite to the mouth of the river *Tesfe*. *Etat. milit. de l'emp. Ottoman.* part ii. p. 96.

(D) Count *Marfigli* says, he made this forced march under favour of the night.



a THIS was an unlucky step for the *Germans*; for by that means, not only fourteen hundred A. D. 1691. recruits fell into the enemy's hands, and were all slain excepting thirty, but they also intercepted one hundred and fifty waggons carrying provisions to the imperial army from *Peterwaradin*, which was their grand storehouse; besides one hundred ships belonging to their fustlers. The *Imperialists*, after this loss, perceiving no deliverance but in their swords, on the 19th, armed with despair, by break of day put themselves in a posture of battle, and marched directly towards the *Turks*; so that about noon both armies, drawn up, faced each other at a small distance. The prince of *Baden* commanded the right, and count *Donerwaldt* (E) the left wing.

b THE *Turkish* army consisted of about one hundred thousand men (F), of whom sixty thousand were the best soldiers in the *Othmán* empire; besides fifteen thousand of the veteran *Janizaries*. They were advantageously posted, having the *Danube* on their backs (G), and in their front a deep ditch, with earth thrown up behind them. However, their left wing (H) lay somewhat more exposed than the right. On the other hand, the greater part of the imperial infantry was divided into twenty battalions, flanked with two regiments of horse, and the greater part of the biggest cannon. The rest of the army was drawn up in the usual form: and on the signal of a bomb, all marched in an equal line, till within two hundred paces of the enemy; and then the cannon on both sides began to play. At first it was intended to attack the enemy's left wing (I), before the right, to give room for the foot, who were placed on the rising of a hill, opposite to the main intrenchment of the *Turks*, which was fortified c with eighty pieces of cannon: also to charge the enemy's horse drawn up below the hill in the plain, with intent, after having overthrown them, to force through the camp, to that part where the enemy was less fortified.

It seems the right wing, happening to be somewhat too forward, began the engagement before the left, hindered by the high grass and bushes, could come up. But, being arrived at the very intrenchments of the enemy, the *Janizaries* fired on them so furiously from their breast-work, that the regiment of *Souches* was forced to give way, till the foot joined them. And now both cavalry and infantry advancing to the very brink of the trenches, the latter made several attacks on them; and though sometimes repulsed, yet being relieved and directed by the brave dukes of *Holstein* and *Aremberg*, they continued the fight from three in the afternoon till night. In this time, all the superior officers of the infantry were killed, excepting d count *Guido* of *Staremburg*, and prince *Charles* of *Vaudemont*, who yet were both wounded.

MEAN time the enemy attacking their left wing, and flanking it, were bravely repulsed by *Castelli* and *Hoffkerchen*: but the *Turks* rallying all their horse into a body, fell on with greater e fury, and charged the brigade of general *Sarau*, which belonged to the right wing, and cut down two battalions; while those of *Offing*, *Beck*, with the old regiments of *Staremburg* and *Brandenburg*, suffered very much. So that till six o'clock fortune favoured the *Turks*; at which time things were in such a desperate condition, that the generals began to despair of saving one man; for there was no place of retreat for them. However, animated by their danger, the *Imperialists* began to redouble their endeavours; but were ready to turn their backs, when those who kept the baggage, and remained for reserves, advanced to their relief. At the same time, the main body of the army, under the *Brandenburg* generals *Burfu* and *Brandt*, coming up seasonably to succour count *Sarau*, he rallied again, and defended his post till an hour before night; when the brigades of *Hoffkerchen* and *Castelli*, with the right wing commanded by prince *Lewis*, advanced towards that side of the enemy which was not intrenched; and at last, forcing their camp, drove them from the rising grounds where they had planted their cannon.

As soon as this was observed by the *Hungarians* and *Rascians*, who now wanted to escape, f they resumed courage, and came thundering on, cutting down all before them in the camp, which opened a way for the right wing to advance: so that the *Turks* being thus hemmed in, and attacked on all sides, in a narrow ground between their trenches and the *Danube*, they were defeated and began to fly. The horse, for the most part, escaped by the opening made for the right wing; but the infantry continued to defend themselves so resolutely in their trenches, that although the field was yielded to the *Imperialists*, yet they received here their

(E) Or *Tinewold*, as *Marfogli* calls him: he commanded the horse, prince *Lewis* the infantry.

(F) Our author in another place, says, that the *Wazir* had drawn from all parts no fewer than 10,000 good experienced soldiers; besides 10,000 ordered for *Great Waradin*, under the *Seraskier Topal Hussyn, Pâshâ* of *Silistria*. Afterwards they were said to amount to 87,226 horse and foot, being counted as they crossed the *Save*: besides 3000 seamen, some *Szakis*, and the rabble attending armies.

(G) The *Danube* also covered their left flank, as it did the right of the *Imperialists*. Their right wing, which consisted of the cavalry under the *Seraskier*, was not so well covered. Yet, being very numerous, they flanked the imperial horse.

(H) Rather the right more than the left; or the infantry, which was more intrenched with the *Danube*, covering their flank.

(I) Rather it should seem the right wing, for the left was attacked first.



A. D. 1691. <sup>a</sup> greatest loss; for this action cost the life of the duke of *Holstein*, serjeant-general, with a deluge of blood, to subdue the already conquered enemy. The remainder of the *Turkish* cavalry, among whom was the prime *Wazîr* himself, were forced to break their way through the narrow spaces between the lines; in which attempt many were slain, drowned, or mortally wounded. Among these last were the prime *Wazîr*, *Seraskier*, and *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, who all died of their wounds at *Belgrade* (K).

Their loss  
great.

BESIDES these, and many more principal officers, the *Turks* were computed to have lost at least twenty-five thousand men (10,000 of them *Janizaries*), to three thousand one hundred and sixty-one of the *Imperialists*; among whom were many officers of note: and their wounded amounted to four thousand one hundred and thirty-six. Here the prince of *Baden*, to say nothing of the other generals, got immortal honour; and the booty was very great: <sup>b</sup> for besides one hundred and fifty-four pieces of cannon, there were a great number of ensigns, with the grand *Wazîr*'s standard; ten thousand tents; ten waggon-loads of copper-money in the *Wazîr*'s tent; fifty-four trunks in that of the treasurer, twelve in silver; and twenty-four chests of *Kaftâns*, or vests.

THE news of this great defeat coming to the *Soltân* at *Adrianople*, he made *Ali*, *Pâshâ* of *Scio*, and *Kyehaya* to *Kyoprili*, grand *Wazîr* in his room, and sent him to *Belgrade*. Thither Sir *William Hussey* and Mr. *Collier* designed to accompany him to mediate a peace. But Sir *William* dying on the 14th of *September*, an end was put to the treaty; and the *French* ambassador encouraging the *Turks* by a powerful invasion in *Germany*, a continuance of the war was resolved on: notwithstanding the great distress which the *Othmân* empire was in for <sup>c</sup> want of men, money, and bread.

Other advantages.

MEAN time, a consequence of the battle of *Salankemen*, besides the taking of *Lippa* by *Veterani*, was the desertion of *Brodt*, in *Sclavonia*, by the *Turks*; who were defeated likewise in several small rencounters: but the prince of *Baden*'s main design was upon turning the blockade of *Great Waradin* into a formal siege, which he did in *October*. However, although the *Turks*, to avoid a storm, deserted the city, and half the fortress was destroyed by a bomb falling into their magazine of powder; yet winter coming on, and the besieged resolutely holding out, he was obliged to turn the siege again into a blockade, after building a fort which commanded the fortress.

Affairs of the  
Arabs,

IN the beginning of the year 1692, two *Arab Amîrs* infesting the country about *Damaskus*, <sup>d</sup> stopped the karawans going to *Mekka*, till they paid *Kafar*, or custom, and the arrears due to them from the *Soltân*, on account of the pilgrims, were discharged. In *February*, a *Persian* ambassador arrived at *Adrianople*, with three hundred thirty-eight persons in his retinue, and sixty camels laden with presents for the *Soltân*. He was lodged in a magnificent palace, and had his kitchen furniture all of silver. He came to congratulate the *Soltân* on his accession to the throne; and made the longer stay, under pretence of renewing the antient leagues, in order to pry into the weak condition of the *Turks*; who, to conceal their distresses from him, wanted him to be gone. About the same time *Tekeli* arrived at court, where, at the solicitation of *Chateau Neuf*, the *French* ambassador, he had great honours done him by the *Wazîr*; after which he returned to *Hungary* <sup>e</sup>.

of the Poles,

DURING the transactions at the *Save*, the *Poles*, in the last month of this year, pass the *Tyras* (or *Niester*), and make an expedition into *Bassarabia*; but being pressed with want of provisions, they, on report of the *Seraskier*, *Buyukli Mostafa Pâshâ*'s approach, return home without doing any thing remarkable.

and Venetians.

MEAN time the war between the *Venetians* and *Turks* is carried on by artifice rather than arms: for the latter became masters of *Garbusa*, an almost impregnable castle in *Kandia*, by the treachery of a *Spanish* officer (L). They attempt the same at *Suda* and *Spina Longa*; but the *Venetians*, more watchful of those fortresses, discover their design, and put the conspirators to death.

Wicked Wazîr.

IN the interim, *Arabaji Ali Pâshâ* (M), *Kaymaykam* of *Constantinople* (a man inferior to many in abilities, but to none in wickedness), being made *Wazîr* by *Soltân Ahmed*, in the room of *Kyoprili Oglî*, he revives the talk of peace, and lends a favourable ear to the ambassadors of Christian princes; especially *Paget* (N) the *English*, and *Collier* (O) the *Dutch*, who were <sup>f</sup> sent

<sup>b</sup> RICAUT, in Achmet.

(K) The *Turks* say, he died in the field of battle, not flying, but in possession of the victory. Which party is to be believed? The *Turks* perhaps in the first article, the *Germans* in the second.

(L) Named *Aloysius*, to be revenged on the governor of *Garbusa*, who, as he said, had ravished his wife. *Cant.*

(M) *Arabaji* signifies a waggon maker, or waggon driver; a surname given him, either as having been such, or because of his stupidity. *Cant.*

(N) He was of a noble family, very learned, and well skilled in the *Greek* and *Turkish* languages, besides other sciences; was very prudent, and perfectly understood the way of obtaining any thing from the *Turks*, among whom he left a very good name. *Cant.*—This was lord *Paget*.

(O) Born at *Smyrna*, where his father was consul; and having in his youth learned the functions of an ambassador, as well as the *Greek* and *Turkish* tongues, he was reckoned



- a sent for that purpose to the *Porte*. But being informed by *Maurocordatus*, that *Germany* A. D. 1691. was so exhausted of men and money, that very probably the emperor could not support the war above a year or two longer, he immediately cuts off all hopes of peace (P), and applies himself wholly to renew the war; pursuing such measures as might at once supply the exigencies of the treasury, and remove out of the way men of superior abilities to his own. Accordingly, he puts to death many eminent persons of the first rank, under various pretences, and confiscates their estates. Not content with this, he orders even the *Janizaries* and common soldiers, distinguished for their bravery, to be thrown privately by night into the sea; that no person might be left alive, who should be esteemed more worthy of the *Wazîrship* than himself.
- b THIS cruelty being frequently complained of to the court, and those persons, whose lives were spared by accident, or *Arabaji's* ignorance, representing to the *Soltân*, that by this means all the defenders of the *Othmân* empire would be destroyed (Q), *Abmed* at last, after six months, removes him from his post; and having stripped him of his wealth, unjustly acquired, advances *Tarpofski Ali Pâshâ* (R), governor of *Damaskus*, in his room.
- THE new *Wazîr* concerted measures for settling a peace: but the ambassadors, who had been four years at *Vienna*, returning home, and being bribed, 'tis said, by the *French* ambassador, excite the *Turks* to continue the war, representing, that *Germany* was exhausted of its strength; that the emperor, being one hundred millions in debt, could not raise supplies; and that both *Hungary* and *Germany* were afflicted with a dearth: which representations were not so false as agreeable to the *Porte*.
- c THE *Wazîr* therefore laying aside all pacifick measures, applies himself to renew the war: but because the number of *Janizaries* was extremely lessened by the *German* sword, and *Arabaji's* cruelty, while the soldiers, terrified by the late defeat, could not be assembled with expedition, he sends the *Seraskier* with what forces were ready towards *Hungary*, with orders to defend the borders, relieve the *Turkish* cities, and avoid a battle with the *Germans*. He indeed kept the imperial troops from approaching the *Save*; for being weak, they were not desirous of an engagement; but could not hinder *Heusler*, lately set at liberty, from obliging *Waradin*, blocked up the year before, to surrender for want of provisions on the 21st of *Ramazân* 1103<sup>c</sup> (May 25th 1692). Hej. 1103.  
A. D. 1692.
- d HEUSLER, before the *Turks* got into the field, drew together all the forces he could, in order to reduce the place by siege. To this end, in May 1692, he raised two bulwarks opposite those of the enemy, called *Rungar* and *Kapudan*; he caused a bridge also to be laid from the *Palanka* of *Olofchi* to the old city, notwithstanding the sallies of the *Turks*: so that by the 7th the *Imperialists* had surrounded the city, and lodged themselves in the ditch. After this, the bombs and cannon played furiously on both sides, till the 19th, when the heavy cannon coming up, and a larger breach being made, the besiegers, who before rejected the summons on the 28th, seeing the *Imperialists* preparing for the assault, thought fit to capitulate, on condition of being convoyed to *Panzova*. There were found in this important fortress 5000 measures of barley, 1000 of wheat, 300 sacks of rice, 50 vats of flour, 50 brass guns, 22 mortars, 70,000 pounds of good powder, 723,000 of decayed powder, 3500 cannon balls, 30,000 pounds of unwrought, and 4300 of wrought, iron. The garrison, to the number of 1200 fighting men, and in all 12,000 souls, were detained without the city, till the *Turks* had released the garrison at *Pescobara*, who had been detained there contrary to articles.
- e THE *Othmâns* being desirous of revenge, in June detached a strong party towards *Essek*, with a design to make an incursion into *Sclavonia*; but were repulsed here, as well as at *Titul* and *Titz*, by the *Rascians*, while the *Kroats* plundered and burnt *Bebatz* and *Ostrosatz*. In July the *Turks* attacked the fortress of *Portsen* near *Peterwaradin*, but were forced to give over the enterprize; which yet they attempted a second time, no less in vain.
- f THERE happened no considerable action on either side in *Hungary* this campaign, only the *Kroats* and *Rascians* made an incursion towards *Meydan* with good success; and the latter had the luck to break into *Morava*, and take 200,000 dollars, after defeating the *Turkish* convoy<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 383, & seqq.

<sup>d</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

reckoned the wisest and most civil of all the ambassadors among the *Turks*. As he also freely entertained the courtiers, greedy of wine, he got out of them all the *Wazîr's* secrets. *Cant.*

(P) *Ricaut* says, it was looked on as injurious to the *Othmân* empire, as being proposed on the foot of *uti possidetis*; for thus, *Transilvania* was to remain to the emperor, and *Tekeli* to be delivered up. *Ragusa* to pay tribute no longer to the *Porte*, and to be discharged from its arrears. *Poland* required the surrender of *Kaniisk*, *Podolia*, the *Castelli* on the *Dorysthenes* (or *Nieper*) *Moldavia*, and *Walakhia*: also, that the *Porte* should

make good all future damages by the *Tatars*. The *Venetians* required *Livadia*, *Athens*, and *Thebes*, in lieu of the *Morea*, and other territories towards *Lepanto* and *Dalmatia*.

(Q) *Ricaut* takes notice of the cruelty, as well as inexperience of this choleric old *Wazîr*; and says, he was banished, after being ordered to be strangled by the *Soltân*, for applying to him to turn out the *Kaymaykam* of *Adrianople*.

(R) *Tarpus* is a sort of cap worn by the *Turkish* women, of which this *Wazîr* seems to have been a maker in his youth. *Cant.*



A. D. 1692.  
 Affairs of  
 Moldavia.

ABOUT the same time, the *Serafskier* of *Bâbadâghî*, *Daldabân Mostafa Pâshâ*, in conjunction a with *Arap Pâshâ*, governor of *Trebizond*, in the end of the month of *Zilkaadeh*, enters *Moldavia*. There being joined by the prince of that country, and twenty thousand *Tatars*, under the command of *Shabbâz Gyeray Soltân*, marches towards *Soroka*; but being detained for several days by a bloody flux, at the town of *Orbeyus*, four days distant, gives the *Poles*, till then negligent, time to fortify that city, and reinforce the garrison. As soon as the *Serafskier* was recovered, he hastes, and lays siege to *Soroka*, whose garrison was at first terrified; but finding that the enemy had only seven small field pieces, and two mortars, they resume courage, and destroy great numbers of them by sallies in the night. At length the *Serafskier*, finding that the walls could not be undermined, as built on a rock, and that winter approached, is obliged to retire after thirty days siege, and the loss of three thousand men <sup>c</sup>.

*Soroka be-  
 sieged.*

THE siege of this place is represented very differently by our historians. According to *Ricaut*, the *Serafskier Mostafa Pâshâ*, on the 27th of *September*, with 30,000 men, sat down before *Soroka*, whose garrison, consisting of no more than 600 soldiers, bravely resisted so great a power. For though the *Turks* on the 1st of *October* advanced their trenches to the ditch side, yet they lost 600 men in storming the place; and though by their continual firing they made great breaches, yet the besieged, with indefatigable industry, repaired them in the night. On the 6th likewise, they beat the enemy out of the ditch, and countermined their sappings. However, early on the 9th, one of them having thrown down part of the wall, they began the assault, which the *Poles* bravely withstood for four hours, driving them from the walls, as often as they advanced, and planted their colours. In this action, the besieged c took three standards, and killed 800 of the enemy; then prosecuting their success, drove them out of most of their posts and lodgements, slaying 1000 of their men. The *Turks*, dismayed at these repulses, raised their camp in the night, with such precipitation, that they left behind them two great guns, and three mortars, with ammunition and provision <sup>f</sup>.

*Poles refuse  
 peace.*

AT the end of the campaign, the *Khân* of *Krîm Tartary*, *Kior Sefa Gyeray* (S), by advice of *Daltabân Pâshâ*, sends *Darwîsh Shabân Aga*, one of his officers, to the king of *Poland*, offering to restore *Kaminiek*, with all *Podolia* and *Ukrania*, in case he would renounce his alliance with the emperor. But the *Poles*, who had conceived new hopes of subduing all *Moldavia*, from the ill success of the *Turks* against *Soroka*, pay no regard to the *Khân's* proposals.

*Venetian  
 affairs.*

THE same year the *Venetians*, having entirely subdued the *Morea*, resolve to turn their arms d against *Kandia*; and transporting their whole army to that island, think to surprise *Kanea*. But the *Turks*, informed of their design by a *French* ship, had put so strong a garrison into the city, that the *Venetians* are repulsed with great slaughter, and obliged to retire, after a siege of fifty days (T). With equal success *Soleymân Pâshâ*, governor of *Arnaud*, defeats the *Monte Negrini*, meditating a rebellion; he likewise recovers *Zuffa* and *Panduriza*. The *Serafskier* of the *Morea*, encouraged with those advantages, makes several incursions upon the *Venetians*; but attempting to seize *Naupactum* (or *Lepanto*), is repulsed with great loss. Worse luck in *Dalmatia* attends the *Pâshâ* of *Hercegovina*, who endeavouring, by *Ali Beg*, to recover *Gracow*, the besiegers are suddenly attacked by the enemy, and being put to flight, their general is taken prisoner. e

*The Wazîr  
 removed.  
 Hej. 1104.  
 A. D. 1693.*

THE campaign of 1103 being ended, the *Soltân* next year has twins born to him at *Constantinople*, *Selîm* and *Ibrâhîm* (U). As this had never happened to any *Soltân* before, the *Turks* considered it as a presage of future success; and for eight days celebrate the *Donanma* (W), with other sports usual on such occasions. Amidst these rejoicings, the *Wazîr Toposchi Ali Pâshâ* endeavours to renew the negotiations of peace; but being reprehended by the *Mufti*, and *Soltân Ahmed* declaring it done without his knowledge, he is deprived of his dignity, as a betrayer of the law and the empire. His successor, *Buyukli Mostafa Pâshâ*, endeavouring to put a stop to the rapines committed by several great men, through the negligence of former *Wazîrs*, some of the offenders murmur openly, and others form a secret plot

<sup>c</sup> CANT. ubi supra. p. 385.

<sup>f</sup> RICAUT.

(S) This was the only prince of the family of *Chobân Gyeray*, mentioned before in the history, who arrived to the dignity of *Khân*, which he did not enjoy above one year. After his deposition, the empire of *Tartary* returned to the legitimate *Gyerays*. CANT. *Kior* signifies one blind of an eye.

(T) *Ricaut* says, they had hopes of carrying the place, if 1000 *French*, in their service, had not, at their first landing, deserted, and gone over to the *Turks*.

(U) *Ricaut* observes, that in the midst of these rejoicings, a fire broke out in three different places, which burnt 4000 houses, and 2000 shops. At the same time,

one of the *Menâra*, or steeples, of *Soltân Soleymân's* mosque fell to the ground; which was esteemed an evil omen, presaging the next campaign to be a bad one. About the same time, according to the same author, *Soltân Ahmed* began to be afflicted with the dropsy, the fatal distemper of his family.

(W) So the *Turks* call their public rejoicings for a victory, or a fortress taken. On such occasions the shops are kept open day and night, all sorts of diversions, and even wine allowed to be drunk publicly. CANT.

against



a against him ; but their assemblies being disturbed by the *Janizar Agasi*, his friend, and the ringleaders either put to death or banished, the city is restored to its former tranquility. A. D. 1692.

WHILE the new *Wazîr* was employed in making preparations for war, and had now encamped without *Constantinople*, the *Sheykh* of *Prusa*, *Misri Effendi* (X), erects his standard in that city ; and lifts above three thousand volunteers, under the title of *Darwishes*, without pay, or allowance of provision, merely in the name of God, and in confidence of the divine assistance. With these he comes to *Adrianople* ; and marching to *Selim's* temple, at the time of noon-day prayers, first performs his orisons with great devotion, and then makes a speech ; in which he tells them, " It was revealed to him from God, that the cause of the *Othmâns* ill success of late was not the valour of the *Germans*, nor the sins of the whole nation, but the ill conduct of seventeen great men, and governors of the empire, as the *Wazîr*, *Janizar Aga*, *Kaymakâm*, *Tefterdâr*, *Reis Effendi*, and others whom he named : that unless these were put to death, no advantage could be hoped against the *Germans*, but greater calamities, and even the destruction of the whole empire were to be expected ; that there being no occasion for a numerous army against the infidels, he had, by God's command, collected a body of soldiers, few in number, and unarmed, but animated by a divine power, and untainted with sin ; with whom he would undertake, not only to stop an innumerable host of *Gyawrs*, but likewise drive them from the borders of the empire." Sedition begun by Misri Effendi.

THE noise of this affair bringing together great numbers, not only of the common people, but *Janizaries*, *Spahis*, and others of the better sort, the *Sheykh* harangues them for four hours together. The *Wazîr* being informed hereof, and fearing a sedition, sends the *Kaymakâm* to desire the *Sheykh* to come to him : but *Misri Effendi* answers, " That he was the servant of God, sent to the people of God, to declare what had been revealed to him ; and could see no reason why he should abandon his call, in obedience to such a *Gyawr* as the *Wazîr* was." The *Kaymakâm* perceiving, on account of the people, that he could use no compulsion, returns to the *Wazîr*, tells him what he had heard, and advises him instantly to disperse the assembly, since the *Sheykh's* whole discourse tended to sedition against the nobles, and probably the *Soltân* himself. The *Wazîr* having sent for the *Janizar Aga*, and other officers, branded by *Misri Effendi* with the name of infidels, they send to inform *Ahmed*, by a *Talkbîsh*, that the *Sheykh*, with a body of soldiers disguised like *Darwishes*, was in the *Selimiyah*, giving odious appellations to his majesty, and charging the great officers of state with being infidels, as well as friends to the *Germans* ; whence he declared, that the divine blessing could not be expected upon the *Othmân* court. The Wazîr alarmed.

THE *Soltân*, enraged by such misrepresentations, orders the rebel to be seized ; and since he could not be put to death, as wearing the green turban (Y), to be banished with his followers to *Prusa*. *Buyukli Mostafa* hereupon sends again the *Kaymakân*, attended by the *Janizar Agasi*, and a good number of soldiers, who, in the *Soltân's* name salute the *Sheykh*, still holding forth, and inform him, that his majesty hearing of his sanctity, desired to enjoy his conversation, and that he would instantly come to the palace. *Misri Effendi* told them, " That although they seemed to be sent rather by *Sheytân* than the *Soltân*, yet that he would go where-ever they led him : he added, that, to convince them he spoke nothing of himself, they should, in a few hours, receive tokens of a divine evidence." Having said this, he mounted the *Soltân's* chariot, attended with the guards ; and passes with great honour through crowds of people : but as soon as he is at some distance from the populace, he is put into a covered waggon, and conveyed to *Rodos*, from whence he is transported to *Prusa* (Z). Gets him banished.

HIS prediction however was fulfilled two days after by a great whirlwind and storm, which threw down almost all the tents in the camp ; some of which falling on the fires prepared for dressing dinner, and the flames catching hold of some others, above a thousand tents were consumed in one hour's space : nor were the rest saved without great difficulty. The people looked on without giving their assistance, saying, it was a judgment for banishing the servant of God, and witness of the truth. The *Soltân* himself, struck with terror, sends the *Sheykh* a respectful letter, and, " intreats his pardon ; confessing himself deceived by the treachery of his ministers ; and desiring him to return to *Adrianople*, in order to give the army his benediction." *Misri Effendi* answers, " That he knew at the first the fault of his banishment was in the great men, and not in the *Soltân* : that he had therefore long since forgiven, His prediction verified.

(X) He was in great renown for his sanctity ; yet many thought him too great a favourer of the Christian religion, for some expressions in the divine poems which he published, and ordered to be sung in the *Jami*. Cant.

(Y) Which belongs to the *Amîrs*, or kindred of *Mohammed*, mentioned in a former note,

(Z) *Ricaut* mentions this sedition of a learned *Turk* against the *Soltân*, as well as the *Wazîr*, and ministers in

general. He places it on the 15th of *October*, 1694, and says it was quashed by the *Kaymakâm*, who seized the preacher, and put to death the chief ringleaders ; among whom were a rapacious *Pâshâ*, two *Agas*, eleven officers, and an astrologer, who could not foresee his own fate. These tumults were followed by reports of strange prodigies and apparitions, with which the *Soltân* was very much affrighted.



A. D. 1693. "and even forgotten the crime; but that he could not return to *Adrianople*, because the spirit, which had prompted him to the first journey thither, would not permit a second."

Fire at Constantinople. MEAN time a fire happened at *Constantinople*, which burnt down 20,000 houses and shops. This disaster was succeeded by the news that the new *Amir* of the *Arabs*, descended from *Mohammed*, threatened to besiege *Bassora* (or *Basrah*), in the *Persian* gulf, to which he pretended an hereditary right: so that the *Soltān* was obliged to send troops over, under the command of the *Pāshā* of *Bosnia*, to reinforce the militia of those quarters. But being arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, which is all a flat country, the *Arabs* let out the river by sluices, which overflowing the camp of the *Turks*, six or seven thousand of them perished in the waters, and the rest were all put to the sword.

Jeno taken. SINCE the taking of *Great Waradin*, *Giula* and *Jeno* had been much streightened by the *Imperialists*. The latter particularly having been for some time blocked up by *Heussler*, that general, on the 16th of *June* began to attack its suburbs, which he took; and having, in a few days more, by his bombs and cannon, made a breach in the city walls, the *Turks*, not willing to abide a storm, capitulated on the 27th of the same month. Presently after which he went and took the fortrefs of *Philagoras*<sup>h</sup>.

Belgrade besieged. ABOUT the same time, the *Wazir* marches from *Adrianople*, with a design to penetrate by *Tekeli's* route into *Transilvania* (A). But hearing at *Distra*, that the *Germans*, after taking *Jeno* and *Villagothwar*, had besieged *Belgrade*, he returns towards *Chenghe Daghlar*, and with no less danger than difficulty, conducts his army through the streights of those mountains, scarce wide enough for an unarmed man to pass. The *German* general being informed that the *Wazir* was attempting the conquest of *Transilvania*, went slowly on with the siege, which had continued twenty days already (B). But when he found *Buyukli Mostafa* had passed the mountains, he pushed it with such vigour, that by his cannon and mines he had, in eight days, not only demolished the outer walls, but also shaken the inner, in such a manner, as seemed to render him master of the city, although defended by sixteen thousand *Othmāns*; if the *Wazir*, leaving behind him his baggage and larger cannon, had not, on the eighth day, advanced to its relief.

The Tatars overthrown. THE *Germans* perceiving, from the smallness of their numbers, that they could not at the same time carry on the siege and make a stand against the *Wazir*, who was about to attack their camp, break up, and pass the *Save* with their whole army. The *Othmān* general taking their retreat for a flight, informs the *Soltān* that he had gained a victory; but not daring to cross the river and attack their camp, he sends *Selim Gyeray Khān*, with his *Tatars*, to ravage the adjacent provinces of *Hungary*, and cut off the *Germans* from all opportunity of procuring provisions. The *Khān* roving about incautiously, is surrounded at *Khonad* by the *Imperialists* appointed to guard those parts, under the command of *Hoffkerchen*; and shut up in so narrow a space, that he could not make use of his horse, or find any means of escape. Being thus reduced to the necessity of submitting or starving, if he continued in this situation, and finding no other way to get out of it, he engaged the *Tatars* in a project never before heard of, or practised among them: this was, to kill their horses, and fall upon the enemy on foot with their swords. So unexpected an attack at first confounds the *Germans*, till, resuming their courage, they inclose them a second time, now almost escaped, and make such a slaughter, that except the *Khān*, and a few of his attendants, scarce a man of them was saved<sup>i</sup>.

Defeated at Giula. RICAUT gives no account of this action, but does of another of the same general, before *Giula*, on the 19th of *October*, citing his letter to the duke of *Croy*; in which he says, that he fell on the *Turks* and *Tatars* unexpectedly, drove them beyond the first *Palanka*, and made his dragoons pass the ditch on foot: that the enemy were very strong, consisting of 40 troops of horse, 1200 *Janizaries*, and 2800 *Tatars*, who came to convoy provisions into the fortrefs: that 1000 of these last were killed, 2500 beasts taken, and all their provision burned. He adds, that he was preparing to follow the *Tatars* who were marching to *Debresin*; and perhaps the defeat of them may be the action ascribed to *Hoffkerchen* by the *Turkish* historians.

Brunzen Maydan taken. THE *Imperialists* had this year one other piece of success against the *Turks*: for count *Batheim*, *Ban* of *Kroatia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Sclavonia*, having marched from the river *Unna* and *Kostannizza*, on the 19th of *September* arrived at *Brunzein Maydan* (C); which was one of the *Soltān's* magazines, and famous for the iron and copper mines in its neighbourhood. Next day the

<sup>g</sup> CANT. ubi supra. p. 386, & seq.

<sup>h</sup> RICAUT, in Achmet.

<sup>i</sup> CANT. p. 390. See also RICAUT.

(A) *Ricaud* says, he left *Adrianople* the 26th of *June*, O. S. with that design; but hearing the siege of *Belgrade* was intended, he marched that way with 80,000 men, and supplied the garrison with 3000 men.

(B) According to *Ricaud*, many blunders were committed in the management of this siege, under the duke of *Croy*, which ended about the 10th of *September* 1693;

for the trenches were not opened till 13 days after the place was invested: neither was the fleet for hindering provisions coming to the town ready before it was invested; nor the cannon brought before the place till five weeks after it was invested.

(C) It stands on the river *Sana*, between *Kasanzwitz* and *Bibacz*, to the east.



a artillery began to play ; and for two hours the *Turks* defended themselves bravely : but at last, the pallisades being cut down, the city-walls were forced, and above 500 men and women put to the sword, among whom were two chief commanders, and a third taken, with many other persons of note. They found a great number of bombs, some 200 weight, store of brass curiously wrought, and other rich plunder, which they carried off, and then burned the city, with its suburbs, to ashes. This loss chagrined the *Porte* ; but they were more alarmed at a fire which happened at *Constantinople* on the 26th of *August*, and burned down one fourth part of the city <sup>k</sup>.

WHILE the *Imperialists* were revenging on the *Tatars* the many defeats given by them to the *Poles* and *Polish* armies, the *Poles* themselves, either amused with new offers from *Selim Gyera*y, or deterred by former misfortunes, continue unactive (D). The *Venetian* arms are likewise quiet in *Greece*. However, in *Dalmatia* they besiege *Klobukhi*, under the conduct of *Erizzo*, governor of *Katarri* (or *Kattarro*), but are repulsed with considerable loss by the *Pâshâ* of *Hercegovina* ; who notwithstanding is soon after defeated by *Canegotti*. <sup>*Poles and Venetians inactive.*</sup>

MEAN time the *Wazîr* returns to *Adrianople* ; but while he expects to be rewarded for raising the siege of *Belgrade*, and driving the enemy from the borders of the empire, he is deprived of his dignity on a very slight occasion. For going out one day to divert himself with hawking, the *Koltûk Wazîrleri*, who had long been his enemies, take a handle from hence to persuade the easy *Soltân*, that he neglected the affairs of state, and minded nothing but his pleasures. Hereupon *Ahmed* takes from him the imperial seal, and gives it to *Shâm Tarabolus Ali Pâshâ* (E). However, not to seem ungrateful for his services, the *Soltân* takes away neither his estate nor his liberty, but makes him also governor of *Damaskus* ; a rare example among the *Turks*. <sup>*The Wazîr changed.*</sup>

ALI PASHA considering the distressed state of the empire, and despairing of victory, as soon as he is advanced to the *Wazîrship*, endeavours to make peace with the *Germans* and *Poles* (F), exclusive of the *Venetians* : but as, on one hand, the emperor refused to treat on any terms, unless they were parties ; and on the other, the *French* ambassador, by presents and great promises, had gained both the nobles and *Ulema* firmly on his side, they unanimously opposed that design. The *Wazîr* being thus disappointed, in the end of the year 1105, sends the *Seraskier* into *Hungary*, who assaulting *Titul*, is repulsed with great loss by *Caprara*, general of the *Imperialists* ; but the *Germans* were not able to improve this victory ; the emperor, intent on the war with *France*, having left but a small army in *Hungary* <sup>Peace opposed.</sup>.

TITUL, in the *Turkish* account, seems to be a mistake for *Peterwaradin* ; and one of the most famous actions in all this war is here passed over in silence. The imperial army in 1694, not being so numerous as it used to be, the marshal count *Caprara* who commanded it, understanding, that the *Wazîr* intended to attack *Peterwaradin*, entrenched himself about that place. In effect, the *Wazîr* did arrive with his army in view of the *Imperialists* ; but instead of falling on them, he also entrenched himself ; and, what till then was unheard of, began his approaches against the retrenchments of the enemy. Count *Caprara*, surprised at this novelty, found it expedient to make another retrenchment between the former and the town ; to which, upon occasion, he might retire ; and to furnish it with mines before the ditches, in order to stop the *Wazîr's* progress. To this general account of the matter given by count *Marfigli* <sup>m</sup>, who, according to his method, has also inserted a plan of the whole with explanations, we shall add the particulars from *Ricaut*. <sup>*The Germans attacked at Peterwaradin by the Wazîr,*</sup>

THE imperial troops increasing but slowly, they resolved to act only upon the defensive, and therefore to remain encamped at *Peterwaradin*, within the retrenchment of last year. On the 9th of *September* the *Turkish* army arriving from *Belgrade*, under the *Wazîr Ali Pâshâ* of *Tripoli* (G), appeared in sight of the *Imperialists*, who had scarce time to repair the damages made the day before by a storm, which had carried away all their tents, broken their bridge of boats, and sunk several of their ships. On the 10th, the whole army came within half an

<sup>k</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 390, & seqq.

<sup>m</sup> L'Etat. Milit. Emp. Oth. p. 98, & seqq. part ii.

(D) *Ricaut* observes, that the *French* ambassador procured an ambassador from the *Porte* to be sent to *Warsaw* ; so that it was generally believed a peace would be concluded : but he says, the *Venetians* neither did, nor attempted any thing in the year 1693.

(E) That is, *Ali Pâshâ*, governor of *Tripoli* in *Syria*.

(F) *Ricaut* says, that about *May* 1694, the *Polish* ambassador was dismissed from *Adrianople*, *re infecta* ; and that the mystery of his embassy (which was properly to the *Tatar Khân*, who gave him audience, his letter being directed to that prince), could never be unravelled ; for that though he pretended to treat of peace in the name of all the confederates, the rest knew nothing of

it : but it was supposed to have been an artifice of the *French* to bring *Poland* into a separate peace ; which perhaps had taken effect, had not the ambassador too earnestly insisted on the surrender of *Kaminiek*, with all the provisions, arms, and fortresses ; besides the *uti possidetis*, which term the *Turks* mortally hated.

(G) According to *Ricaut*, this *Pâshâ* of *Tripoli* was different from the *Ali* of the *Turkish* historians. That author makes two of the name, and says, one was made *Wazîr* early in *March* ; and being soon after deposed, was succeeded by the second *Ali* of *Tripoli*, who arrived from *Asia* the 18th of *April* following.



A. D. 1694. hour's march of the imperial intrenchments; the foot took their quarters next to the *German* front; the horse to the left of their foot; and on the left of those was camped the *Tatars*. Their fleet consisting of 110, came likewise within cannon-shot of the imperial ships, and cast anchor in a line of battle.

NEXT day it was thought the *Turks* would have stormed the imperial camp; for they appeared within 800 paces of the retrenchment, behind the earth of a ditch, which covered them so well, that the imperial guns could but little annoy them. On the 12th, the camps and fleets began to fire furiously on each other: the attack of the *Turks* seeming to be a formal siege both of *Peterwaradin*, and the imperial camp; for they plied both with their bombs and cannon till the 18th, when they shewed themselves beyond the imperial intrenchments, but were quickly driven back by the *Hussars*. They likewise drew a new parallel line 60 paces nearer to the imperial camp, and were busy to close it with their line of communication. On the 19th, the *German* left wing, with great guns and muskets, from an eminence, very much annoyed the first line of the *Turks*, who ran, horse and foot from all sides, to strengthen their left wing; and that evening, six battalions of *Brandenburg* foot arriving, the enemy seemed less brisk in their attack.

who is repulsed.

BUT what most incommoded them, was the loss of 25 of their provision ships taken by the governor of *Titul*, who also sunk three frigates; and fifteen hundred *Tatars* cut off in an incursion by general *Bassompierre*. The son of the *Khân* being among the slain, that prince incensed, threatened to return with his troops. For all this, the *Wazîr* persisted in his attacks till the 13th of *October*, when the rains falling for seven days successively, so that the soldiers were up to their knees in the trenches, he at length drew off in the night<sup>n</sup>. These terrible rains, says count *Marsigli*, convinced the *Wazîr* of his folly; nor could he have succeeded in his design, had his army been double the number<sup>o</sup>. The *Turks* thus ended the campaign; but the *Germans*, after this, added *Giula* to their other conquests. Let us now return to the *Turkish* historians.

Venetians take Khios:

THE *Polish* and *Russian* forces this year also continue to guard their own frontiers, neither power performing or attempting any thing remarkable. The *Venetians* alone push the *Turks* this campaign with vigour, and effect that which would have gained them the dominion of the sea, if they had known how to use their good fortune with prudence and moderation. Early in spring, they send out a fleet by invitation of the inhabitants of *Khios*, devoted to the *Romish* religion (H), and attack that island. *Silahdar Hassan Pâshâ*, who was then governor, had resolved to make a brave defence; but finding the Christian inhabitants endeavour to deliver up the town without his consent, and having but a few *Turkish* forces in garrison, to avoid being made a prisoner, surrenders the place himself (I). The *Venetians* hereupon, to oblige the pope, shut up the *Greek* churches; and partly by force, and partly by artifice, compel the inhabitants to conform to the *Romish* church: acting also in many other things contrary to justice, and the terms of the surrender.

Threaten Smyrna:

HAVING settled at pleasure the affairs of *Khios*, they resolve to besiege *Smyrna*: but the *French*, *English*, and *Dutch* consuls, meeting them in their march, intercede for that city; urging, among other reasons against a siege, that almost all the warehouses there were full of merchandize of their respective nations; and that if they should be destroyed or plundered by the soldiers, the republick would be responsible to their masters for the damage with interest. Upon this the *Venetians* desist from their design, and return with their fleet. In *Dalmatia*, however, under the command of *Delfini*, they take *Kiklut* and *Klobukh*, which last they attempted the year before. The *Seraskier*, *Soleyman Pâshâ*, governor of *Albania*, endeavouring twice to recover the former, is both times repulsed: for which reason, being accused of negligence to the *Soltân*, he is deprived of his post, and succeeded by *Elmas Mehemmed Pâshâ*, governor of *Bosnia*, lately sent from the *Saray*.

Success in Dalmatia.

<sup>n</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

<sup>o</sup> L'Etat Milit. ubi supra.

(H) Originally from *Italy*, chiefly *Venice*. They possessed the greater part of the island; the *Greeks* the rest; and enjoyed more privileges than the other subjects of the *Othmân* empire. After the *Vienna* defeat, they became spies for the *Venetians*, and sent them an account of whatever was done in the *Turkish* fleet. When the *Venetians* had conquered the *Morea*, they resolved to deliver up their island to them: but first founded the *Greeks*, who, believing they could depend neither on their integrity nor protection against the *Turks*, sent notice to the *Kâpudân Pâshâ* to be on his guard. The *Latins* having discovered this, invite the *Venetian* admiral, who comes and takes the city, as

mentioned in the text. The *Venetians*, now masters, exercise cruelty equally on the *Greeks* and *Turks*; forbid the exercise of their religion; and deem them rebels, unless they frequent the *Romish* churches. But next year, the island being taken by *Medzomorto*, they were justly treated in the same manner themselves. *Cant.*

(I) *Ricaut* only says, that the *Venetians* by surprise, with little difficulty, took the island in a few days; that at first both the castle and forts capitulated; and on the 19th of *September* 1694, all was delivered up. Lastly, that the *Turks* were struck with a terrible consternation at the news.



a WHILE the *Othmân* arms are successful in all parts of *Europe*, a new sedition breaks out in *Asia*. *Amîr Mobammed*, one of the *Arab* princes, with several thousands of his countrymen, plunder and spoil the karawân going in pilgrimage to *Mekka* (K). A. D. 1694.  
The Arabs  
in arms.

AFTERWARDS, augmenting the number of his troops, he besieges *Mekka* itself : but touched with reverence for the place, and the dread of sacrilege, retires from before it. The *Beglerbeg* of *Shâm* (or *Damaskus*), attended by the other *Pâshâs* of those parts, is sent against him : but the *Shaykh* defeats them all by a stratagem, and puts them to flight <sup>p</sup>.

b THE *Amîr Mobammed*, in the foregoing paragraph, seems, from circumstances, to be the *Amîr* mentioned before from *Ricaut*, who about this time speaks of the *Sharîf* (L) being in arms ; and having plundered a very rich city, he says, that his army, which observed exact discipline, was divided in two parts : that one division remained with the *Sharîf*, encamped between *Mekka* and *Medina* ; the other in the province of *Bâfrab*, to oppose the *Pâshâs* on that side, and cut off all communication with *Hâlep*, or *Aleppo*. At length the *Mufti*, from a sense of the empire's low condition, wrote to the *Sharîf*, exhorting him to peace ; declaring, that he could not, without betraying the *Musulman* interest, persist in war against the *Soltân*, at a time when the *Othmân* empire was oppressed on all sides with enemies. This letter of the *Mufti* was seconded by exhortations from many *Pâshâs*, *Mollahs*, *Kâdis*, *Shaykhs*, and other religious : even *Kalailikos Ahmed Pâshâ*, who was sent with forces against the *Sharîf*, became an advocate for peace, making use of the pen instead of the sword. These admonitions in behalf of religion, had so good effect, that first several *Arab* princes fell off from their alliance with the *Sharîf*, and at length the *Sharîf* himself desisted from hostilities. Persuaded to  
peace.

c THE year 1695 began with a terrible fire in *Constantinople*, which consumed 4000 houses and shops : however, preparations for war went on both by sea and land <sup>q</sup>. Mean time, the empire being surrounded with so many enemies, and almost intirely ruined, *Soltân Ahmed*, in the year 1106, leaves (M) the world, having lived fifty years, and reigned four. Ahmed dies.  
Hej. 1106.  
A. D. 1695.

d IN his temper and disposition, he intirely resembled his brother *Soleymân*, to whom in devotion he was a little inferior ; but was of a somewhat more lively, though not acute genius. He listened to the calumnies raised by his domestic officers ; and on their suggestions, often for flight causes, changed the most important affairs. He affected to appear a lover of justice, though, by reason of his stupidity, he could not discharge the function of a judge ; and believed every thing which his friends, bribed by the contending parties, represented to him <sup>r</sup>.

*RICAUT* gives a more advantageous character of him ; as that he was a very good-natured prince, who feared no hurt himself, nor intended harm to any body : that he was of a lively, free, jocund humour ; being both a poet and musician, so that he made verses and sang them. He played well also on the *Citern* and *Koloffeo*, after the *Persian* manner. The same author says, that the cause of his death was a great defluxion on the lungs ; that in his last agony, he desired to speak to his brother *Mostafa* : and that *Mostafa* not being to be persuaded to go to him, he ordered him to be told, all his desire was, that he would permit his son to live <sup>s</sup>.

e He had large black eyes, a pale complexion, a round sandy beard, with a mixture of black ; a strait and long nose, a middle stature, with a prominent belly, occasioned rather by the dropfy than fat <sup>t</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> CANT. p. 391, & seq.  
<sup>t</sup> CANT. ubi supra.

<sup>q</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

<sup>r</sup> CANT. p. 394.

<sup>s</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

(K) After the time of *Selim I.* 40,000 gold crowns were paid yearly to the *Arabs* of the desert between *Damaskus*, *Bâgdâd*, and *Mekka*, by way of bounty, under the denomination of *Surreh*, as if paid them for securing the roads, but, in reality, to restrain them from robbing the karawâns. Now the *Surreh* not being sent for some years, on account of the *Hungarian* war, was the occasion of this attack. But the most illustrious

*Khân* of *Tartary* being taken among the pilgrims, the *Arabs* obliged him to carry their complaint to the *Soltân* ; and he never rested till the arrears were paid. *Cant.*

(L) This must be understood of the prince of *Mekka*, who pretends to be a descendant of *Mohammed*.

(M) The 27th of *January*, 1694-5. *Ricaut* puts it on the same day.



## C H A P. XXIII.

## The Reign of Mostafa II.

## S E C T. I.

## Transactions to the Battle of Olash.

A. D. 1794;  
1212  
Mostafa II.

**A**FTER Ahmed's death, the *Wazîr Shâm Tarabolus Ali Pâshâ* attempts to set aside *Mostafa*, eldest son of *Mohammed IV.* as *Kyoprili Mostafa Pâshâ* had done on the death of *Soltân Selym II.* but not with the like success. To gain this point, he calls a council of the principal officers of state, and exhorts them to place *Ibrâhîm*, the son of *Abmed*, a prince of three years old, on the throne; alleging that it was unjust to give the crown from the son of a *Soltân* who died in possession of it, to the son of one who had been deposed. These were his pretences: but his true reason was, that he feared to lose, under a prince of vigour, and versed in affairs as *Mostafa* was, that absolute power over the state and army which he had enjoyed under *Abmed*, and hoped to continue, without danger or controul, under his infant son. But before he could gain the great men to his opinion, *Nezîr Aga*, the *Hazandâr Bâshi* (N), informs *Mostafa* of his brother's death; and releasing him from his confinement, calls on him to assume the *Othmân* sceptre. The prince readily agrees to such grateful advice; and, while the *Wazîr* is consulting about the election of a *Soltân*, without his knowlege ascends the throne, where he is first saluted emperor by *Chalik Abmed Aga* (O), and *Cherkies Mohammed Aga* (P).

Confirms the  
Wazir.

THIS election being notified to the rest of the courtiers, it was extremely agreeable to them, and all met to kiss the *Soltân's* robe. The *Wazîr* himself, finding his designs prevented by the domestic officers, hastens, with an air of joy in his countenance, to pay his devoir; and is presented with a robe lined with fables by the new emperor; who dissembling his resentment, orders him to take care of the affairs; and the third day after declares his intention to command the army in person against the *Germans* (Q). He examines, orders, and disposes every thing; appoints great cannon to be cast, and directs the military preparations: nor was he unmindful of his father's faithful officers, dispersed in distant countries; these he rewards with new posts. Among the rest, *Elmas Mohammed Pâshâ* (R), his father's most beloved chamberlain, is sent for out of *Bosnia*, and first made *Nishânji Pâshâ* (S), then *Rekiub Kaymaykâm* (T). By this means he gains such a reputation, that the people revere him as a sun rising from behind a thick cloud; and the soldiers come voluntarily, offering themselves to serve under him the ensuing campaign.

Puts him to  
death.

ALL things being ready, early in the spring he commands the *Wazîr* to encamp without *Adrianople*. Three days after, disguising himself, to know what was said of him and his ministers by the soldiers, he finds, that they still supposed every thing to be directed at pleasure by the *Wazîr*, without his knowlege. As this increased his resentment against that great officer, he resolves to destroy him; and perceiving, while he examines the warlike stores, that the carriages of the larger cannon were not sufficiently strengthened with iron, sharply reprimands him. The *Wazîr*, to clear himself, casts the blame on the *Topchi Bâshi* (U): but this

(N) Or keeper of the treasure deposited in the women's *Saray*. He was soon after made *Kizler Aga*, and continued so the whole reign of *Mostafa*, with so much authority, that the *Wazîrs* feared him. But after *Mostafa's* deposition, the rebels laying on him the blame of all which had been done amiss, he was sent to *Egypt*. *Cant.*

(O) *Chalik* signifies maimed or wounded. He was *Imrabor*, but would never accept of a *Pâshâlik*. There was another of the name, who was made *Janizar Aga* by the rebels under *Abmed III.* *Cant.*

(P) He succeeded *Chalik Abmed Aga* as *Buyûk Imrabor*, or great sword-bearer; was afterwards *Pâshâ* of *Halep*; then of *Jerusalem*; and lastly, *Seraskier* of the *Morta*, as he now is. *Cant.*

(Q) According to *Ricaut*, on this occasion, there having been only 15 purses left in the treasury by *Abmed*, the great officers and *Ulema* were taxed; the *Wazîr* in a million and half, besides five millions in jewels. The queen mother advanced seven millions

and a half in ready money; and half a million was taken from the widow of the late *Soltân*.

(R) For his great beauty called *Elmas*, or the diamond, by *Soltân Mohammed IV.* He was discrete, sober, and prudent, free from covetousness (a rare instance among the *Turkish* nobility), and a great lover of justice; except when reasons of state obliged him to make away with rivals. Though not so experienced in war as other old *Pâshâs*, the defect was supplied by good natural parts, and a wonderful quickness in executing affairs. *Cant.*

(S) He who sets the *Tura*, mark, or character, of the *Soltân's* name at the top of all the *Fermâns*, or orders which are made. This is a very honourable place. *Cant.*

(T) That is, *Deputy stirrup-holder*, who is appointed to transact affairs when the *Wazîr* is at war. *Cant.*

(U) Overseer of the cannon, and soldiers thereto belonging, with the *Kambaraji*, or gunners. The powder, balls, and rest of the artillery, are under the care of the *Jebiji Fâshi*. *Cant.*

latter,



a latter, in his own defence, declares, that the *Wazîr* had refused to give him the iron that was wanting. The *Wazîr* not being able to deny this, *Soltân Mostafa* orders him to be put to death, and his body to be exposed for three days in the *Sirik Meydân* <sup>A. D. 1695.</sup>

He is succeeded by *Elmas Mohammed Pâshâ* before-mentioned, a person of most acute genius, and worthy that dignity; but not without the murmurs of the old *Pâshâs*, who resented that they should be commanded by a youth unexperienced in affairs. However, *Soltân Mostafa*, regardless of these murmurs, passes the *Danube* (W), with his army, near *Belgrade*, and takes *Lippa* (X). Afterwards he reduces *Titul*, and demolishes the walls of both places. Mean time, being informed by the *Tatar* scouts, that *Veterani*, with 7000 *Germans*, from *Transylvania*, was within eight hours march of the imperial army, commanded by *Frederick Augustus* (Y), elector of *Saxony*, he sends *Mahmûd Beg Oglî*, *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm-Ili*, with the light-armed forces to intercept them, and follows hastily with the rest of his army. The second day he comes in sight of the *Germans*, who might be called the most courageous troops which Germany ever produced: for, without any sign of fear, they halt; and in a manner challenge to battle the *Turks*, pouring upon them in prodigious numbers.

MAHMUD BEG OGLI, though much superior in strength, orders his troops not to engage, but only keep the enemy in play till the arrival of the *Soltân*, who immediately orders his *Janizaries* to attack them on all sides. On the other hand, the imperial general, leaving two regiments to guard the camp, had drawn out but 5000 men into the field; who yet so bravely sustain the shock of the *Othmâns*, that, after a short opposition, they are obliged to retire. The *Soltân* perceiving from a distance so unexpected a slaughter of his men, in a rage advances; and killing several of the runaways with his own hand, urges the rest to renew the fight. The *Turks*, excited by the shame of their repulse, passing by the left wing of the *Germans*, attack their camp surrounded with carriages, and break into it, though with considerable loss. *Veterani* seeing this, leads back his troops; and falling on the plunderers, makes a greater slaughter than before.

HEREUPON the *Turks* again fly without stopping, till met by the *Soltân*: who, seeing *Shahîn Mohammed Pâshâ*, reproaches him in these terms; "He was guilty of a great error who called thee *Shahîn*, that is, the falcon, since thou doest not, like a falcon with rapacious talon, strike at thy enemy's head; but like a crane, draw after thee a company of fugitives." *Shahîn*, stung with these expressions, rallies with *Mohammed Beg* the flying troops; and resolving to conquer or die, makes a third attack upon the *Germans*. The *Janizâr Aga*, reprimanded by the *Wazîr*, does the like by the dispersed *Janizaries*. Thus the fight being renewed, continues for several hours with great ardor; and the *Germans* would probably have withstood all their efforts, if *Veterani* had not, in the heat of the battle, been obliged by a wound (Z) to quit his horse, and get into a waggon; for on sight of this, the *Imperialists*, destitute of a commander, retire.

HOWEVER, this retreat was performed in so good order, that *Soltân Mostafa*, perceiving it dangerous by pursuit to drive such valiant hearts to despair, privately orders the *Mufti*, by some means, to keep the *Othmân* army in the camp. This that prelate effects by a *Fetvâ*, declaring, That it is contrary to the precepts of the *Korân* to pursue too closely a flying enemy; and that he would lose the crown of martyrdom, who should perish in such a case. And indeed the *Soltân* had many important reasons for restraining his soldiers from any farther engagement; since the death of 1000 horse and 1500 foot, slain on the enemy's part, had been revenged by the slaughter of the chief officers of the army (A), with about 10,000 common soldiers. The *Soltân* therefore, leaving the *Germans* to make a secure retreat, leads back his forces towards the *Danube*. In this march he takes *Logush* and *Karansebes*, places destitute of defence (B); and demolishing

\* CANT. in *Mostafa II.* p. 395, & seqq.

(W) He set out the 10th of June, with an army of 50,000 men, ordering, among other regulations, that no man should be served by boys, or ride into cultivated grounds. *Ricaut.*

(X) On the 7th of September 1695, putting all the garrison to the sword: for the *Turks* having got a good way before, the elector of *Saxony*, who had a somewhat stronger army, not able to overtake them, on account of the bad ways, after four days march, was obliged to turn back to his former camp, leaving the enemy at liberty to attack *Lippa*; which they took by storm, after four hours desperate engagement. *Ricaut.*

(Y) Called by the *Turks*, *Naal Kiran*, or the horse-breaker; on account of his wonderful strength when young. *Cant.* The elector was advanced again, in

hopes to overtake the *Turks* at *Lippa*; but they being reinforced with 6000 *Tatars*, were marched towards *Transylvania* to attack *Veterani* in his camp, where he had 6500 men. *Ricaut.*

(Z) He was shot through the body with a musket-ball, and cut over the head with a scymitar, of which wounds he died. All his men were cut to pieces, having had to deal with 18,000 *Janizaries*, and 40,000 *Spahis*. *Ricaut.*

(A) *Mahmûd Beg Oglî*, *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm-Ili*; *Shahîn Mehemed Pâshâ*; *Îbrâhîm Pâshâ*, brother of *Kojah Jaffer Pâshâ*, and others of the first rank.

(B) According to *Ricaut*, the *Soltân*, for these exploits, got great esteem among his great men; altho' nothing could be ascribed to his experience, nor did he give any great



A. D. 1695. demolishing them, returns triumphant through *Walakbia* (C) to *Constantinople*. On the other <sup>a</sup> hand, *Frederick Augustus* having rather shewn his troops to the enemy, than led them to battle, without any trophies sends them into winter-quarters.

The Poles  
quiet.

THE *Poles*, either on account of the king's indisposition, or deterred by their former losses, do not venture to re-enter *Moldavia* this campaign; content with having secured their conquests, and defended their borders from the perpetual incursions of the *Tatars*. These never failed every year to lay waste *Podolia* and *Pokutia*, as far as *Leopolis*, and take the inhabitants prisoners, who confided too much in the *Polish* arms; nay the winter was hardly over, when *Kaplân Gyeray*, *Khân* of *Krîm*, assaulted the very suburbs of that city, carried off four pieces of cannon from the very gate, and returned with above 14,000 prisoners; having been within a little of seizing general *Yablonowski* himself (D). *Peter I. Czar* of *Russia*, with a <sup>b</sup> design intirely to destroy this pest, in the beginning of summer attacks *Azak* (or *Asof*) the strongest bulwark of *Krîm Tartary*; but his soldiers, not being yet used to sieges, he was forced to retire (E) without success.

Venetian  
affairs.

THE war was carried on most successfully this year against the *Venetians* (F), who, flushed with their conquest of *Kbios* (G), claimed the dominion of the sea; and the *Turkish* ships not daring to appear, frequent consultations were held at the *Porte*, for the restoration of their naval power. In these *Mezzo Morto* (H), at that time no more than the commander of a single ship, made a figure: for being sent for to the council, he not only advised them against a defensive war, which the majority was inclined to, but undertook to recover *Kbios* himself with four *Soltâns* only, and eight galleys. The admiral *Amujeh Oglî Huseyn Pâshâ*, at this <sup>c</sup> proposal, treats him with contempt, as a presumptuous rash man; and even adds threats to his reprimand. But the *Seraskier*, *Mesrî Oglî* (I), who had the chief direction of the war against the *Venetians*, approving of his scheme, delivers to him the ships which he wanted <sup>w</sup>.

Defeated by  
Mezzo  
Morto.

WITH these *Mezzo Morto* sails for *Kbios*, followed soon after by the whole *Turkish* fleet; and after taking two of the *Venetian* ships, appointed for the defence of the haven, obliges the rest to fly (K). The garrison, who before contemned the *Turks*, on sight of this defeat, quite lose their courage. They never imagined, that the *Turkish* fleet, so often defeated, could be repaired so soon; or that there was any person among the enemy able to teach them the art of naval war: so that trusting solely to their fleet, they had taken no care to fortify their city. And as their whole business there had been to shut up the *Greek* churches, and commit other <sup>d</sup> violences in breach of their faith, so now finding themselves unable to defend the place against so numerous an army, they turn their resentment against their fellow citizens; and calling them traitors, resolve to plunder and kill them. The *Greeks* seeing themselves in this dangerous situation, endeavour to mitigate the fury of their tyrants, and incline them to mercy, by giv-

<sup>w</sup> CANT. ubi supra, p. 397 & seq.

great indication of bravery: for in all actions he kept at a distance, and out of musket-shot; yet he wrote several letters to his mother, and several *Pâshâs*, extolling his actions, and declaring, that he had slain 10,000 *Germans*, and taken 3000 prisoners.

(C) In passing through *Walakbia*, strict discipline was kept. A *Tatar* was hanged for taking a kid by force; and two *Turks* for robbing a bee-hive. The *Soltân* stopped a while about *Widdin*, and crossed the *Danube* opposite to *Nikopolis*.

(D) *Ricaut* inserts a letter of the *Polish* general himself, who gives a different account, viz. That on the 10th of February, 1695, *Zabas* (or *Shabaz*) *Gherey*, son of the *Khân*, encamped with 70,000 *Tatars*, in the plains of *Crakowian Leopolis*, with design to plunder, and carry off slaves, which they did for eight days: that next day the general gathering only 3000 men, making a sally to secure the suburbs, was attacked by the enemy, who strove to force the outworks, fortified only with hedges, and a wall of matts; but after thirteen desperate attacks in four hours, were repulsed with great slaughter: that they then got between them and the city, with design to keep the *Poles* employed on that side, while they broke through the hedge on the other side; but after two hours assault, were repulsed with great loss, though the number was unknown. Of the *Poles*, only 100 were killed. Next day the *Tatars* marched homeward.

(E) According to *Ricaut*, the *Russians* took *Asof* after 57 days siege, the *Khân* of *Krîm* arriving there two days after the surrender.

(F) They however have success in the *Morea*, from whence a strong party of them advance as far as *Thebes*; when, after giving the *Turks* an intire defeat, they ravage all the country, and carry off a great booty, besides a vast number of prisoners. *Ricaut*.

(G) It is by the *Turks* called *Sakis*, which signifies *Maslick*, because the island abounds with it. It is commonly named *Scio* by *Europeans*.

(H) *Mezzo*, pronounced *Metzo*.—An *African*, born of *Moorish* parents, famous for his piracies when young, from *Tunis*. Being so grievously wounded in a fight, wherein he was taken by the *Spaniards*, that his life was despaired of, he got the name of *Mezzo Morto*, or half dead. After 17 years imprisonment, he was redeemed, and fell to his old trade with great success. For his services at *Kbios*, he was made captain of a galley; and when the *Soltân* was going to confer on him the honour of admiral and *Wazîr*, with three *Tûgs*, he was allowed to retain his sailor's habit. When urged by the other *Wazîrs* to lay it aside, he said, the *Turkish* dress did not suit with sailors, and that fine cloaths were the greatest reproach to a mariner; so that since then, all the admirals and captains of ships have worn the sea habit. He instructed the sailors and marine forces in the art of fighting at sea. *Cant*.

(I) Next to *Koja Jaffer* for bravery. He was so called as being the son of *Egyptian* parents. *Cant*.

(K) *Ricaut* says, they were worsted in two engagements at sea, to the great wonder of *Europe*, and loss of their reputation; and that the *Turks*, had they followed their blow, might have destroyed the whole fleet.

ing



a ing them strong proofs of their fidelity : but finding the calumnies of their accusers prevail against them, for want of a better remedy, they inform the *Seraskier* of the danger they are in. A. D. 1695.

THAT general, imagining this to be a stratagem of the *Venetians* to prevent a sudden attack, defers undertaking the siege of *Khios* ; and so gives the *Venetians* time, after plundering the inhabitants and churches, to embark with their effects on board the ships remaining in the harbour (L). Next day the *Seraskier*, acquainted with the flight of the *Venetians*, takes the city ; and dragging out from their lurking places such as their ships could not contain, puts them to death. He likewise constrains those *Khians*, who had turned *Romanists*, either to conform to the *Greek* church, or submit to captivity ; and restoring to the *Greeks* the churches taken from them, shuts up those of the *Latins* (M) : thus retaliating on the latter all the acts of tyranny which they had exercised on the former (N). Nor was their misfortune much alleviated by a victory gained by them near *Argos*, in which 400 *Turks* were said to have been slain. They desert Khios.

IN *Arabia*, the rebel *Shaykh Amîr Mohammed* is defeated by the pilgrims guarded by *Arslân Pâshâ*, governor of *Tripoli*, with some troops ; and that dangerous wound of the *Othmân* empire healed for a time. *Soltân Mostafa*, on his return to *Adrianople*, solemnizes, with great pomp, these victories, as so many happy omens of his reign ; and appoints *Mezzo Morto*, by whose conduct he had recovered *Khios*, high admiral. He likewise rewards the rest, who had distinguished themselves in this campaign ; while the *Turks* in general, animated by their late successes, on issuing his commands for raising a more numerous army, list themselves voluntarily in great numbers. But, before he had made the necessary preparations for the field, *Frederick Augustus*, elector of *Saxony*, at the end of the year 1107, besieges *Temeswaer*, with the imperial army. The *Soltân* on this news, hastes to its relief ; on whose approach the *Germans* abandon the enterprise, and encamp eight hours distance from that city, with a resolution to wait for the *Othmâns*. The Arabs defeated. Hejrah, 1107. A. D. 1696.

THE *Othmâns* soon after come up, and pitching their tents in sight of the enemy, by advice of *Tekeli*, who attended on the *Soltân*, fortify their camp with strong ramparts, as well as wide and deep trenches ; a method unusual with the *Turks*. The night following the imperial general resolves on a bold attempt, which would have been very glorious, if crowned with success. There lay between the two camps a place full of briars, surrounded with a marshy ground, scarce an *Italian* mile over ; but so thick, that a person unarmed could not pass through it. Here he orders twenty-four different paths to be cut ; and at day break, the army, with as many cannon, to march through, and attack the *Turkish* ramparts. The soldiers execute these orders with great bravery ; and having discharged their artillery three or four times, make a vigorous assault on the *Soltân's* camp : but unluckily for the *Imperialists*, they happened upon the strongest part of it, where the *Janizaries*, and *Mesrli* with his *Egyptians*, were posted. For all this, they penetrated their trenches, and made a great slaughter, which struck such a terror into their whole army, that the *Soltân* himself left his tent, and retired to the farthest part of the camp : but soon after they are overpowered by numbers, and repulsed with great loss of men, besides their twenty-four cannon. The Turks attacked, and Germans repulsed.

c THIS victory was chiefly owing to the *Wazîr Etmas Mohammed Pâshâ*, who first, with his men, stopped the fury of the *Germans*, now pressing to the *Soltân's* pavilions ; and by his example encouraged the *Janizaries*, thrown into the utmost confusion by the sudden irruption of the enemy. After the *Germans* had given way, they were intirely routed by the *Bostânji* (O) ; who, though designed only for the *Soltân's* guard, and never employed before in any military service, were, in this danger, sent by *Mostafa* to assist the *Janizaries*. However, there were slain on the side of the *Turks*, *Mostafa Pâshâ*, governor of *Temeswaer*, the *Wazîr's*

(L) *Ricaut* only says, that all things being put in a consternation at *Scio*, from the two defeats suffered by the fleet, the *Venetian* commanders most shamefully abandoned the island in the night ; leaving some troops, who were abroad to guard the isle, to be made slaves of.

(M) When *Mezzo Morto* had taken the island, the *Latins* earnestly desired the same privileges from whence they had excluded the *Greeks* : but the latter representing, that they could not be safe, while mixed with the *Latins*, who had lately betrayed the town, and would do so again, the *Soltân*, on the *Kâpudan Pâshâ's* report, condemns them all to the galleys, and their effects to be distributed among the *Greeks*. Nor could the *French* ambassador get them exempted from the galleys upon any other condition, but that they should renounce the *Romish*, and profess the *Greek* religion : so that at present there is not the least sign of a papist in *Khios*. Cant.

(N) According to *Ricaut*, they hanged up four ; two

of whom were deputies appointed to protect the *Romish* religion. Some however escaped, with 40 of the chief families, who left all their possessions and immovables behind them : by which revolution the *Greeks* gained a full ascendant over the *Latins*.

(O) Or gardeners, instituted with a view, that, while they exercised themselves in the culture of gardens, they might be accustomed to heat, cold, and other severities of the weather ; and so become fitter to bear the fatigues of war. From them were formerly chosen the *Azapli*, or furious, the lowest kind of soldiery ; and out of these the *Janizaries*. But these latter being now recruited out of their own sons, and such as will enlist, the *Bostânji* are employed only to guard the *Soltân's* palace, dress his gardens, and row his barge. They are commanded by an officer, called *Bostânji Pâshi*, and never were used before this action, as soldiers to repel an enemy. Cant.



A. D. 1696. brother, and many other officers of note, besides several thousand *Janizaries* and *Egyptians*.<sup>a</sup> Of the *Germans*, those only were killed who were found in the trenches. The rest of the army stood the whole day in order of battle, expecting the *Othmâns*: but the *Soltân*, content with the present victory, orders the *Mufti*, by a *Fetva*, to prohibit any farther engagement; and a few days after, marching eastward, puts an end to the campaign\*.

Turks how  
posted.

As our historians are silent with regard to the *Germans* cutting roads through the bushes, so they mention other circumstances of moment not related by the *Turks*. According to them, the elector of *Saxony*, on the 30th of *August*, N. S. marched from his camp at *Olasch*; and, having given out, that he designed to besiege *Temeswaer*, the *Turks* passed the *Danube* in order to observe his motions. On the 20th of *September* the elector advanced, and repulsed some of the enemy's cavalry with considerable slaughter, and next day was informed, by a *Chausb*<sup>b</sup> taken prisoner, that the *Janizaries* were advantageously posted on the right side of a morass, their quarters reaching to the banks of the *Temes*: that another body of them encamped to the left, along the banks of the brook *Bege*, against which place their cannon was pointed, as being the only passage for an enemy to come at them; and that their camp was so well fortified on all sides, that they were not to be attacked without much difficulty and danger.

Battle of  
Olasch.

To invite the *Imperialists* to a battle, the *Turks*, on the 24th, sallied out of their intrenchments, and in two hours time made other lines, where, having planted their artillery, the cannonading began briskly on both sides. On the 26th, they advanced in order of battle; and having, under cover of bushes, shrubs, and some trees, posted themselves between *Temeswaer* and the *Imperialists*, the latter marched directly to attack them: but they were so fortified with the bushes and ditches, that it was difficult to come at them. They had also a bog behind them, and a marsh on their left, besides three ranks of waggons chained together in the front; so that the attack seemed almost impracticable: however the generals being resolved upon it, at five in the evening six battalions of foot, sustained by two regiments of dragoons, under general *Heusler*, marching into the bushes, charged the *Turks* in flank, whom they galled exceedingly with their fire.

The armies  
fight with va-  
rious success.

THE enemy's horse hereupon advanced, and charging the imperial line with great fury, 1200 of their best horse broke through two *Saxon* battalions, notwithstanding their brave resistance. But lieutenant-general *Zinzendorf*, with some regiments of horse belonging to the same line, beat them back, and again closed the line with *Saxon* battalions; after which he attacked the *Janizaries* in their intrenchments, and beat them back from their post. For all this, the enemy's foot being reinforced, and their horse taking the *Germans* in the flank, they were obliged to retire; only two regiments of dragoons, commanded by the young prince of *Vaudemont*, advanced to sustain them, and repulsed the *Turkish* horse. But the *Janizaries* returning to the charge, the dragoons suffered very much by their fire, officers as well as soldiers; when general *Heusler*, bringing up another regiment to their assistance, beat back the enemy to their intrenchments, although he was himself dangerously wounded.

MEAN time another body of *Turkish* horse charged a body of *Germans* on the second line, who received them in such a manner as gave a check to their fury. Then *Roses* advancing with the horse of the same line, drove them back, and pursued them above nine *Hungarian* miles, at which time victory began to declare in favour of the *Imperialists*; and that general had orders to give over the pursuit. However some other squadrons of horse followed them to their intrenchments, from whence the *Turks* made so fierce a fire, both with great and small shot, that they were forced to retire, and were pursued by the enemy's horse, who put into disorder another of the imperial regiments which fell in their way. *Roses*, observing this, advanced with the regiment of *Caprara*, and, charging the enemy in flank, cut off above 1000 of them.

HEREUPON the whole line marched forward, and pushed the *Turks* into their trenches; where they were in such a consternation, that the *Soltân* himself, with much difficulty, obliged them to keep their ground, and defend their intrenchments, killing several, who would have fled, with his own hand.

Their losses.

AT length the approach of night put an end to the battle, which the *Imperialists* would have renewed the next day, but that the *Turks* had so fortified their camp before morning, as to have rendered it almost impregnable. The *Imperialists* lost here a great many men, besides several brave officers, particularly general *Heusler*, and major-general *Poland*, who died of their wounds: they likewise lost some cannon in the heat of the action, because their carriages were shot to pieces. On the other hand, the *Turks* had above 8000 men killed, according to the report of a *Pâshâ* taken prisoner in the battle<sup>†</sup>.

\* CANT. p. 400, & seqq.

† RICAUT, in *Mosafa* II.



a THE *Poles*, besides their usual slowness, were prevented this year from raising an army, by the death of *John Sobieski*, after a long illness, on the 17th of *Zilkaadeh* (P); whence ensued the cabals which attend the election of a new king of that nation. Mean time *Peter, Czar* of *Russia*, assisted by officers and gunners brought from *Germany*, with a larger and better disciplined army than the year before, assaults *Azâk* (or *Asof*) with such vigour, that the garrison, after being reduced to 400, surrendered the castle on the 18th of *Zilbajeh* (Q): and their example is soon followed by those of the castle of *Luttikh*, opposite to it.

A. D. 1697.  
Russians take  
Asof.

b WHILE the *Russians* prevail on this side, the *Venetians* besiege *Dulcineum*, a port famous for the resort of the *Turkish* pirates; but are obliged by the garrison to raise the siege, after they had bravely repulsed *Omer Beg, Pâshâ* of *Arnaud*, from their trenches: although it is likely they would have received a notable defeat, had not *Liberakhi*, prince of *Mania*, drawn his countrymen, by a stratagem to revolt, so that the *Othmân* forces being thus weakened, the *Seraskier* thought fit to retreat. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, content with defending their former acquisitions, apply themselves to repair *Hexamilion* (R), in order to secure the *Morea* by land.

Venetian af-  
fairs.

AT sea, *Mezzo Morto, Kapudân Pâshâ*, regulates the fleet, in a manner before unknown to the *Turks*; avoids engaging, as his predecessors used, without regard to wind or situation; and watches all the motions of the *Venetians*; who, struck with admiration at his conduct, dare not hazard an engagement; so that nothing memorable was performed on either side the whole year.

c MOSTAFA having led back and disbanded his army at *Adrianople*, removes to his other capital, which he enters with as much pomp as if his victories had been far superior to those of the conquerors of *Constantinople, Hungary, and Egypt* (S). Yet the greatest ornament of this triumph was the 24 pieces of cannon taken from the *Germans* near *Temeswaer*, followed by several noble captives taken in the former battle against *Veterani*. On the third day after this public entry, the *Soltân* visits the monument of *Abu Ayûb Ansîri*, where he is girt with a sword by the *Shaykh* of that *Jâmi* <sup>2</sup>.

Mostafa's  
triumph.

d ON the 1st of *November* an ambassador from *Persia* (T) arrives at *Constantinople*, and on the 20th makes his entry into *Adrianople*, in great pomp, with a retinue of 150 persons; and had audience of the *Soltân*. The business of his embassy was to get *Babek Soleyman Bey* removed from his government of *Karamania*, on account of his unquiet disposition; to have a place assigned the *Persians* to pray in the temple of *Mekka*, separate from other nations; and that precedence might be given in the *Holy-Land* to the *Armenian* patriarchs, before others of the Christian sects who were subjects of the king *Persia*. After 25 days stay, the ambassador was answered, that *Babek*, being an hereditary prince, could not be removed without breach of the law: that the temple of *Mekka* being holy, and free alike to all *Mohammedans*, no separate place could be assigned in it to the *Persians*: lastly, that, in the time of the *Wazîr Mostafa Pâshâ*, the pre-eminence in the *Holy-Land* had been given to the *Franks* in so solemn a manner, that it could not be taken away or violated. Indeed, at his request, a place of devotion at *Balata* in *Constantinople* was restored to the subjects of *Persia*, as having formerly belonged to the *Armenians*; but after his departure it was taken away, and the *Armenian* commissary could find no redress <sup>2</sup>.

Persian am-  
bassador.

e THE ceremonies before-mentioned being over, the *Soltân* applies himself wholly to warlike preparations; orders 36 large ships of war to be built, designing part of them against the *Venetians*, and part against the *Russians* (who, since the taking of *Azâk* (V), had begun to raise a fleet in the *Euxine Sea*), with a great number of gallies and galliots. He honours *Mezzo Morto*, the admiral, habited in a mariner's dress, with three *Tûgs*, and gives him the command of the whole sea, with the islands in it. He likewise bestows handsome rewards on the rest of the sea officers, who had distinguished themselves in former expeditions. To supply his army he enrolls 12,000 *Yamaghi Janizaries* (U), and 8000 *Levendi* (W); exercises daily the

Preparations  
for war.

<sup>2</sup> CANT. p. 402, & seqq.

<sup>2</sup> RICAUT, ubi supr.

(P) June 6, 1697.

(Q) The 6th of July.

(R) A wall six miles long, built across the *Isthmus* of *Korinth*, with a town not far off to the south-west.

(S) *Ricaut* says they did not brag there much of their success this year, although they had, in reality, withstood a greater force of the *Christians* than for many years before; which they, in a great measure, ascribe to the valour of the *Soltân* himself.

(T) This must be understood to have been sent by *Shâh Selim II.* otherwise called *Soleyman Huseyn*, who succeeded his father *Shâh Seîm I.* son of *Shâh Abbas II.*

in 1694, and was dethroned in 1722, by *Mahmûd*, son of *Mir Vaez*, or *Wâis*, commonly called *Mirîwâis*.

(V) This seems to confirm *Ricaut's* account, that *Asof* was taken at the time when the *Turkish* historians say the siege was raised.

(U) These newly listed, or taken occasionally out of the *Jebeji*, or other new troops.—CANT.

(W) A corruption of some *Italian* word. It denotes the marine forces; a disorderly kind of men, but brought under some regulation by *Mezzo Morto*. They are 14,000 in time of peace. In war the *Soltân* raises any number for six months, paying them for that time twenty-



A. D. 1697. *the soldiers and courtiers in Kyaghîz Khaneh (X) in the use of arms; and having published a a*  
*Fermân, orders the whole strength of the empire to be assembled at Adrianople about Hedre-*  
*lez<sup>b</sup>, or St. George's day. To enable him to do all these things, his first care was to provide*  
*money, by laying taxes on the people and employments. He likewise made a new regulation*  
*in the coin, never thought of by any of his predecessors, and unprecedented in any country*  
*except in England the year before; which was, that all the pieces of gold and silver current*  
*through the Othmân empire should be stamped with his own name. In consequence of this*  
*the French five Sol-pieces, Venetian Chekins, and Dutch lion dollars, many millions of which*  
*had been imported in a few years, were carried to the mint; and when recoined were delivered*  
*out for bullion, or other coin. He likewise reduced the charges of officers as much as conve-*  
*niently could be: among the rest, Tekeli's pension suffered a great retrenchment, no more than b*  
*five dollars a day being allowed for the maintenance of himself, his consort, and retinue;*  
*only to help them, they were licensed to sell wine, which was at that time prohibited. Accord-*  
*ingly the prince set up a wine-cellar within the Greek liberties, where he followed the vintner's*  
*trade to great advantage*

French vani-  
ty.

THE French presuming on the obligations which the *Porte* had to them, grew very imperi-  
 ous; of which we meet with an instance in the case of the *Pâshâ* of *Kayro's Bankier*, the  
 most considerable Jew in *Egypt*. This Jew being complained of by the French consul in that  
 city, for being wanting in some punctilio of respect which he claimed to himself, *Chateauneuf*,  
 the ambassador, made such a noise about it, threatening to depart home, if satisfaction was not  
 given, that the *Wazîr* thought fit to send for the Jew from *Egypt*, and imprison him. How- c  
 ever, soon after the French influence began much to decline, when the court came to discover  
 that they were busy in making peace with all the confederate powers then at war with them,  
 although at first the ambassador confidently denied it.

<sup>b</sup> CANT. p. 403, & seqq.

twenty-five dollars. It is the only branch of the *Turkish*  
 militia wherein Christians are admitted. Cant.

(X) That is, *the paper-shop, or house*; so called from  
 paper-mills formerly there; now a foundery for ammu-  
 nition. 'Tis a very pleasant place, near the suburbs of

*Ayûb*. In the meadows about it the *Soltân's* horses  
 graze in spring; and the mud of its river has supplied  
*Constantinople* with very good bricks and tiles, which  
 have been used in the buildings erected there for so many  
 ages. Cant.

## S E C T. II.

### Battle of Zenta, and panic of the Turks.

Rebellion in  
Asia.

THE *Soltân* all the while was very intent on preparing for the campaign: but the troops d  
 of *Asia* were detained by the progress which the rebels made in that part of the empire;  
 where they were grown so powerful, that they were forbidden by proclamation to transport  
 themselves into *Europe*, on penalty of having their houses demolished, their *Timârs* and  
*Ziamets* destroyed, with all the lands they held of the *Soltân*. These menaces so incensed  
 them, as being soldiers, that they cut off the ears and noses of all they took prisoners, and in  
 that condition sent them to *Constantinople*. However, soon after, the *Soltân* promising them  
 a general pardon, 10,000 deserted the cause, and came to serve him in his war.

Mostafa sets  
forward.

MOSTAFA was now at *Sofia* in his march to *Hungary*, where the *Imperialists* had been  
 forced to raise the siege of *Bibacz*; and though for want of recruits from several parts he  
 had not above 40,000 men, yet he was resolved to proceed. He was so well pleased also on e  
 hearing the prince of *Conti* was elected king of *Poland*, that he ordered the *Wazîr* to write  
*Tekeli* word that he had declared him king of *Hungary*, and at the same time sent him his com-  
 mission, with a letter superscribed *Orla Majjar Krâli, To the king of Hungary*. This misera-  
 ble prince was gone to the baths of *Prusa*, or *Bursa*, in *Anatolia*, for the benefit of his health;  
 and though he was then grievously afflicted with the gout and palsy, was hurried away in a  
 waggon by the *Chaussh*, without the least regard either to his dignity or indisposition. At length  
 the *Soltân* marched to join the forces already in *Hungary*<sup>c</sup>. But it is time now to return to  
 the *Turkish* historians.

Marches to  
Belgrade  
against the  
Germans.

THE *Soltân* relying on this military force, though informed that the king of *France* had  
 concluded the war with the emperor, yet rejects the peace offered by the *English* and *Dutch* f  
 ambassadors, boasting that he was alone able not only to repress but subdue him. Towards

<sup>c</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.



<sup>a</sup> summer therefore he marches his troops to *Belgrade*, where, on mustering his army, he finds it to consist of 135,000 men; besides the families and servants of the *Pâshâs* (a very great number of which attend the camp), with a multitude of other useless persons. To this strong army the emperor had only opposed 46,000 *Germans*, under the command of prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, with orders not to attack the *Turks*, or engage in battle without compulsion; but only to guard *Peterwaradin*, and the other fortresses of *Hungary*, situate on the *Danube*. A. D. 1687.

THE *Turks* having extorted this intelligence from the prisoners by torture, it is resolved in council to avoid the *Germans* encamped at *Segedin*, and penetrate into *Transylvania*. This advice was given by *Tekeli*, who alleged that it would be easy to subdue that country, both because the emperor's general had drained the garrisons of their men, and the *Hungarian* rebels, assembled to the number of 50,000, offered to join the *Othmân* troops. The army, having passed the *Danube*, was ordered to move towards *Temeswaer*: but in his second day's march, hearing that the *Imperialists* were advanced to *Titul*, he again calls a council, wherein it was determined to attack the enemy, lest while the *Soltân* was in *Transylvania* they should take *Belgrade*; and by defeating them lay all *Hungary* open to the *Turkish* arms. To put this design in execution, the *Soltân* orders his fleet to mount the *Danube* to the mouth of the *Teisse*, and marches his land forces towards *Titul*.

MEAN time the *Germans*, though but 6000 horse, perceiving the approach of the *Turks* from the high mountain on which that fortress stands, to prevent their passage, fortify its banks with ramparts and cannon. The *Soltân*, perceiving himself braved by so small a body, orders several *Pâshâs* to cross the river in open boats (Y), promising to the soldiers fifty gold crowns for every *German* taken alive, and 25 for every head. Not knowing that the banks were fortified, they pass over without any order: but when several thousands of them were gotten on the other side, and their number began to increase, the *Germans*, who were quiet at first, discharge their cannon among the thickest of them, and, mounting their ramparts, attack them sword in hand. The *Janizaries*, terrified with the unexpected noise of the cannon, and taking to flight, three thousand of them were slain: nor could one have escaped, if the fleet had not luckily come up in the nick of time, and seized the isle in the middle of the *Teisse*; by which means the *Janizaries* cross the river lower down, and then march in a body against the enemy's ramparts. Hereupon a second but slighter engagement ensues: for the *Germans* seeing the *Janizaries* continually increase, to avoid being oppressed by numbers, retire first to the city, and thence to the plain of *Kobila* (Z). In the evening some *Haydûks*, who staid behind, set fire to the castle, and then follow their companions <sup>d</sup>.

THE *Soltân* hereupon passes the *Teisse* with the rest of his forces, and marches towards the enemy, still encamped at *Segedin*. Finding in the plain the bridge left intire by the *Germans* (through design or haste), he turns his army towards the *Danube*, and stops at the lower end of the isle formed by that river opposite to *Peterwaradin*. Here in a third consultation it is resolved to besiege that fortress; and running a bridge over the stream, pass the army before the *Imperialists* could march thither from their camp. This bridge was computed a work of two days, and might have been finished the second day, if some of the garrison of *Peterwaradin*, concealed in the island with four cannon, had not, when they saw the *Turks* near the bank, pierced several of their boats with great shot. For although, on the coming-up of the *Othmân* fleet, they are obliged to quit the isle, yet they prevented the *Turks* from finishing the bridge till the third day, and by that means deprived them of the victory.

FOR prince *Eugene*, who, on the news of the *Soltân*'s march, had left *Segedin*, with great expedition arrived that day at sun-set, and passing by the enemy's camp, hastens to the head of the bridge, in spite of the endeavours of *Shabbaz Gyeray Soltân* (A), who, to stop his swift progress, had, with 12,000 *Tatars*, burnt up all the grass; so that neither forage nor water were to be found for the space of nine hours. On this unexpected arrival of the *Germans* a fourth consultation is held, whether it was proper to attack the enemy in such an open plain, before they had fortified their camp, or to wait till they should assault the *Othmâns* in their trenches.

THE prime *Wazîr* endeavours to persuade the *Soltân* to the former opinion, alleging, "That it was not honourable to suffer the enemy, who were so near, to escape without offering them battle: that the impatience with which God had inspired the soldiers for a battle, sufficiently declared that then was the time to defeat the enemy; and that if this ardour should be repressed, it was to be feared it would throw the whole army into a pernicious

<sup>d</sup> CANT. p. 404, & seq.

(Y) Called *Dumba*, which the *Turks* carry in waggons to serve for the foundation of bridges run over rivers.

(Z) So the *Turks* call that large plain which reaches from the *Danube* to the *Teisse*, between *Titul*, *Segedin*, and *Peterwaradin*. CANT

(A) Was *Khân* after his father *Selim Gyeray*, under *Abmed III.* but soon after was surprised and slain by the *Cherkassians*, as before related. CANT.



A. D. 1697.

opposed by  
Jâffer Pâshâ.

“ languor, or excite in them thoughts of sedition, for want of other employment.” This a  
 opinion of the *Wazîr* was boldly opposed by *Koja Jâffer Pâshâ*, an experienced soldier, who  
 had been present in almost all the battles against the *Germans*. He urged, “ That he had  
 “ observed, whenever the enemy fought in an open plain, in which they could at pleasure open  
 “ their front, advance, or retire, they had always gained the victory, even though the *Oth-*  
 “ *mân* troops were much superior in number; whereas they had never so great an  
 “ army in the field as at present: and that they were now commanded by a general of  
 “ approved valour and conduct, who, as he imagined, would not provoke the *Turks* to a  
 “ battle, unless he had placed his own troops to such advantage, as to be in a manner sure of  
 “ victory.”

THE *Wazîr* observing almost all the *Pâshâs* to be swayed by *Jâffer*’s opinion, to prevent it b  
 taking place of his own, stiles him an infidel and traitor for giving such advice, as if he had  
 been bribed by the enemy, to prevent the *Soltân* from taking wholesome counsel. *Jâffer Pâshâ*,  
 finding the *Wazîr*’s obstinacy could not be surmounted any other way, desires the *Soltân* to  
 remove the curtain (B), and hear in person what he had to say for the advantage of the *Oth-*  
*mân* interest. This being granted, *Jâffer* goes on, “ But if, brother, you have gained such  
 “ high favour with God, that he inspires you with counsels, and assures you of the events,  
 “ you cannot blame me, if, not knowing it to be so, I do not believe it. I am content to be  
 “ laid in irons, by his majesty’s order, while you attack the enemy; and if, within an hour or  
 “ two, you do not betake yourself to a shameful flight, I will submit to suffer like a stinking  
 “ dog, whatever punishment his majesty pleases to inflict: but if, which God forbid, my c  
 “ prediction should be fulfilled, may you give an account of your imprudence to the Deity  
 “ and the *Soltân*.” He added, “ That whatever happened to himself he should adhere to  
 “ his former opinion, and advise not to engage the enemy, but only fortify their trenches,  
 “ and wait to be attacked: that by this means, although the *Othmâns* should not prove vic-  
 “ torious, yet he could with certainty promise they should not be defeated: that even in case  
 “ the enemy should pass by their camp, and advance to the head of the bridge, he was of  
 “ opinion they ought not to march out against them, but surround them with ramparts;  
 “ which would oblige them, for want of provisions, either to attack their camp, or pass the  
 “ *Danube*, and so give the *Turks* an opportunity of falling on them in their passage, without  
 “ any hazard.” d

The *Soltân*  
doubtful.

THE *Soltân*, although he approved of *Jâffer*’s advice, yet adjourns the council till next day;  
 but commands his men to keep in their trenches, and the *Chausbi* (C) to beat back those who,  
 of their own accord, had already taken the field. This not being sufficient to restrain the ardour  
 of the soldiers for a battle, the *Mufti* proclaims by a *Fetva*, *That whoever should fall in such a*  
*battle would not only lose the crown of Shebadet (or martyrdom), but also lament their unseason-*  
*able boldness in hell.*

Moved at last  
to besiege Se-  
gedin.

MEAN while prince *Eugene*, having advanced as far as the bridge, and with the waters of  
 the *Danube* refreshed his troops, almost dead with thirst and heat, drew them up, and in this  
 posture remained all night. The *Turkish* soldiers were on this occasion seized with great ter-  
 ror, thinking that they had been restrained from fighting by their general’s fear, which they c  
 considered as the worst of omens to the *Othmân* affairs. The *Wazîr* making use of these dis-  
 courses in the camp, to expose *Jâffer Pâshâ* to the *Soltân*, urges how fatal that officer’s too great  
 caution might prove, unless immediately obviated: for that the enemy could not be deprived  
 of necessaries, since they had the *Danube* open, and were masters of all the towns above them;  
 while by the *Othmân* inactivity time was lost, the army languished in idleness, and the *Ger-*  
*mans* every day strengthened °.

BUT although the *Soltân* could not consent to attack the *Germans*, yet he complied to go  
 and besiege *Segedin*, the *Wazîr* suggesting that it could not hold out above ten days: that,  
 when taken, the whole country between the *Teisse* and *Danube* would be reduced to the *Oth-*  
*mân* obedience, and the neighbouring parts of *Hungary* laid open to be wasted by the *Tatars*: f  
 that the *German* army was so heavy and fatigued as not to be able to follow them: that they  
 might indeed besiege *Belgrade*, but could have no hopes of succeeding against a place pro-  
 vided with such a strong garrison, plenty of provisions, and a fleet at hand to throw in

° CANT. p. 405, &amp; seq.

(B) When upon an expedition a *Galibe Diwân* is  
 called, the *Soltân* sits indeed in it, but in a particular  
 place, with a *Perdeb*, or certain curtain, drawn before  
 him, where he can hear all that is said, without being  
 seen. *Cant.*

(C) There are two sorts of *Chausb*. The first are em-  
 ployed in the *Wazîr*’s *Diwân*, to receive petitions of the  
 plaintiff; to carry the *Wazîr*’s orders to the judge;

and put his sentence in execution. The others, called  
*Alay Chausbi*, are made in time of war, to carry the  
*Wazîr*’s orders to the *Pâshâs*; to take care that the  
 horse stand in a straight line; to give the signal of  
 battle; to sound a retreat, and the like; in which  
 they are not half so dexterous as the regular *Aids de*  
*camp*. *Cant.*

supplies;



a supplies : that however, the more effectually to secure it, *Jâffer Pâshâ* might be sent there as governor, whose abilities in defending cities had sufficiently appeared in the siege of *Temefwaer*. A. D. 1697.

As this part of the *Wazîr*'s advice was given with a view to remove *Jâffer Pâshâ* from the *Soltân*, and then find occasion to put him to death, for a warning to others, *Mostafa*, who perceived it, would not consent, under pretence that *Jâffer*'s counsels would be necessary in the army. Next morning, being the 5th of *Jomazio*'lawel, at day-break, he set forward with his forces, and after nine hours march pitches his tents near a lake, with a bridge over it, where the *Germans* had lately encamped. Next day, leaving *Kyuchûk Jâffer Pâshâ* (D) behind, with 500 horse, he proceeds before day to *Zenta*, a castle, little noted before, on the banks of the *Teiffe*, with extraordinary expedition. *Marches to Zenta*

PRINCE *Eugene*, on hearing the *Tubulkhâna*, imagined it was the signal for battle, and drew up his troops to receive the *Turks* : but when he understood by his scouts that they were marching to *Zenta*, taking this to be a flight, he orders the *Hungarian* horse to hasten before, and leaving behind the heavier and weaker part of his army, immediately follows, with less prudence than courage, at the head of only 16,000 men. The *Hungarians* that night coming to the lake, find the *Turks* sleeping, who expected nothing less than the enemy, and cut off the whole party, excepting the *Pâshâ*'s chamberlain. This person, who escaped by means of the darkness, immediately flies to *Zenta*, and informs the *Wazîr* of this disaster, and the approach of the *Germans*. That minister, to prevent the report from raising new commotions in the camp, immediately beheads the messenger of it ; and informs the *Soltân* that the *Hungarians* had indeed surprised *Jâffer Pâshâ*, but were afterwards defeated by the *Othmân* forces. He had scarce made this report, when some *Tatar* troops arrive, and inform the camp that the whole *German* army were pursuing the *Othmân* forces with the utmost speed, and were now just at hand. *Prince Eugene follows.*

HEREUPON the *Soltân* commands his men to halt, and a bridge to be thrown over the *Teiffe*, which was performed in four hours. At noon the *Soltân* passes over first on horseback, and when the *Wazîr* came to kiss his stirrup, puts him off with a stern countenance ; at the same time bidding him take care to convey over safely whatever was in the camp, for that if the enemy should take but a single waggon he should suffer an ignominious death. The *Wazîr*, knowing it required at least two days to transport every thing, and that his ruin was inevitable if he should ever appear before the *Soltân*, at first sends over eight cannon with their ammunition, and allows the *Spahis*, with the troops commanded by the *Pâshâs*, to pass, but stops the rest ; alleging, that the remainder of the cannon and army, which was the greater part, ought to be detained for defence of the camp, in case the enemy should attack it in the rear. *Mostafa flies.*

THESE forces were scarce gotten over next day at noon, when the *Wazîr* being informed the *Germans* were within three hours march of the camp, that he might not die without his rivals, sends for all the *Pâshâs* who had already passed over with their troops, under pretence of consulting them. They being obliged to obey his order, return on foot, as the waggons on the bridge would not allow horses to pass ; and being all assembled, except the *Kaymaykâm*, *Buyukli Mostafa Pâshâ*, the *Wazîr* tells them, " That the enemy being now in sight, they " who had refused to fight when they had a convenient place and opportunity, should now be " forced to do it, without those advantages : that they had but one happiness left, to be *Gazi*, " if they conquered, or *Shebîd*, if they died valiantly ; and as one of those inestimable privileges waited for him that day, he thought it unreasonable to defraud them, his brethren, " of the right they had to be partakers with him. Behold, therefore, continued he, paradise " open before you, which I command you, by the divine injunction to enter, and enjoy the " delights promised by our prophet : but if you refuse to obey the law, and my orders, my " sword (which he shewed) shall deprive you both of the life which you desire, and the " paradise which you despise." *The Wazîr says.*

THE *Pâshâs*, not daring to oppose the *Wazîr* in the midst of the camp, or knowing how to escape, pretend obedience, and retire to the trenches ; which being too extensive for the forces which remained, they began to form a lesser trench within the greater. The soldiers indeed complained, and reproached the *Wazîr* to his face with their imminent danger, yet obeyed his orders, as their own safety was concerned. Mean time the *German* army appears, and covers the whole plain ; at which sight the *Soltân*, enraged, sends repeated *Khatishârif*s to the *Wazîr*, commanding him to send over the *Janizaries*, cannon, and ammunition, let what *Resolved to die fighting.*

(D) Being taken here by the *Germans*, he gave them an exact account of the state of the *Othmân* army ; for which he was set at liberty after the battle. Nor was he, at his return, punished by the *Soltân* for this treachery, but restored to his dignity. However he died the next year. *Cant.*



A. D. 1697. would become of the other carriages. But *Elmâs Mohammed* conceals these orders from the the *Pâshâs*, and answers the bearer, *that he had rather die fighting valiantly with his sword, than be put to death by the Soltân*; and stops the *Janizaries* from passing. In this he is assisted by the negligence of the herdsman, who, seeing the *Germans* approach, drive all the cattle appointed for drawing so many thousand waggons into the river. The stream forcing them against the bridge, they endeavour to mount it, and thus sink three of the boats on which it was founded; so that no more than one man at a time could make a shift to pass upon planks laid across.

*Battle of Zenta.* THE imperial forces arrive about three hours before night; and imagining the *Turkish* camp to be only guarded by the carriages, fall on at once, but are repulsed with considerable loss. Therefore when they find, that, besides two rows of waggons chained together, the *Turks* were fortified by a double trench, and that the forces on this side the river were much superior in number to their own, they resolve to go another way to work. The chanel of the *Teisse*, when swollen by the autumnal or winter rains, is full of water, which falling in summer, leaves a space of thirty paces at the foot of the western banks of the river, which are high and craggy. Here prince *Eugene* orders a trench to be dug a little below the *Turkish* camp, and several regiments to fall on the enemy that way within, while he attacked them without. And lest the *Soltân*, to reinforce the *Wazîr*, should repair the bridge, he plants two cannon near the head of it, which quickly demolish it. To prevent this, *Mostafa* had ordered *Arnaud Abdi* the *Kyehaya* (E), with four cannon, to fire from the opposite bank; but having nothing to secure the engineers but a place covered with reeds, he was forced to remove them, after several of them had been killed.

*The Turks overthrown.* INDEED every thing seemed to conspire the destruction of the *Turks*: for the *Janizaries* themselves, having repulsed the *Germans* from the outer trench, retire into the inner, and declare their resolution to defend it. But the *Wazîr*, with the rest of the *Pâshâs*, endeavouring to divert them from their purpose, first by intreaties, and afterwards by force, they turn their despair into rage, and destroy not only the *Wazîr* and *Pâshâs*, but all their own officers, excepting their *Agâ Delli Bâlta Oglî* (F). In the midst of this confusion part of the *German* forces seize the outer trench abandoned by the *Turks*, and feign to attack the inner; with a view to draw the enemy from that side of the camp next the river, and by disposing their own men along the bank, render the assault more easy. These appearing suddenly at the head of the bridge, the *Othmâns* struck with terror, employ their whole strength in that part, to hinder the *Germans* from entering. The inner trench being left thus negligently guarded, the *Imperialists*, who were on that side, seize it, and fall in the rear upon the *Turks* fighting at the river; who, now inclosed, and pressed on all hands, fight bravely, though in confusion. But at length, having in vain attempted to force a passage, in the space of three hours are all slain to a man.

THE account *Ricaut* gives of this famous battle is as follows. The *Imperialists* under prince *Eugene*, having marched towards *Titul* and the *Teisse*, to meet the *Turks*, strongly entrenched themselves. Hereupon the *Wazîr* assembles all his *Pâshâs*, fifteen in number, and leaves the *Soltân* on the other side of the river, with part of the army: the *Arnauds* observing the *Germans* advance to attack them, endeavoured to pass the bridge and fly. Their example the *Janizaries* intended to follow, saying they were deserted by the *Spahis*: but the *Wazîr* interposing with his *Pâshâs*, to prevent their flight, and killing a great number of the *Arnauds*, they mutinied, and killed him. However, some *Spahis* posting themselves at the farther end of the bridge, would let none pass over. By this time the *Imperialists*, having put themselves in order of battle, furiously assailed the *Turks* on all sides, who, at the second attack, began to give way; and being strangely terrified at the great slaughter which was made, threw themselves headlong into the river, where the major part of them were drowned. So considerable a number of men was never before known to have been destroyed in so short a space of time; for the whole action did not last above two or three hours.

*Direct fighting.* By the lists there appeared to have been killed 14,070 *Janizaries*, with their *Agâ*; 73 *Ojâk* and *Bulâk Agulari*; 3700 *Topchi* and *Jebeji*; 7000 *Arnauds* (G). The *Wazîr Elmâs Mo-*

<sup>f</sup> CANT. p. 407, & seq.

<sup>g</sup> RICAUT, in Mustapha II.

(E) He was inferior to none in courage and political knowledge. After the battle of Zenta, being the only surviving *Pâshâ*, he was honoured by the *Soltân* with three *Tûgs*, and ordered to conduct the forces to *Belgrade*. And as this was what never happened to any before (for all the *Pâshâs* are created by the *Wazîr*, and receive from him their badges of authority), he obtained the name of *Pâdishâh Cbiraghi*. He was afterwards made *Pâshâ* of Egypt. Cant.

(F) Surnamed *Delli*, or *the Mad*, on account of his excessive daringness, in rushing on the enemy. Cant.

(G) They are the bravest and boldest of all men in war, as resolute, yet more discreet, in attacks than the *Janizaries*. They are so expert in shooting, as to make nothing of taking an egg or apple from off their wife's or mother's head with a bullet, at 200 paces distance. Cant.



a *hammed Pâshâ*, fifteen *Pâshâs* of three horse-tails (H); twenty-seven *Pâshâs* of two or one horse-tail; besides a great number of the usual attendants on *Turkish* camps: so that the whole number of the slain may be justly computed (I) at above thirty thousand. The only person who escaped was *Mahmûd Ebn Oglî* (K) *Pâshâ* of the *Arnauds*; who, being twice wounded, was saved by the strength of his horse, which conveyed him over the river. However, the *Othmâns* did not fall unrevenged, for six thousand *Germans* are said to have perished in that expedition (L).

SOLTÂN *Mostafa*, who was a melancholy, as well as idle, spectator of this misfortune, was seized with such a panic, that at midnight, without any guide or light, he abandons his camp, although there was nothing to be feared from the *Germans*; who, fatigued with toil, could not repair the bridge in sight of his numerous army. He directs his course towards *Temeswaer*, putting to death *Kâpuji Bâshî*, *Shabân Mohammed*, a *Venetian* by birth, as a dignified Christian, and bribed by the *Germans* to suggest pernicious counsels; only because he advised him not to leave his camp dishonourably, and by an unnecessary flight give the enemy, who had destroyed but a small part of his army, an entire victory. To add to the misfortune, the night was so dark, that the *Soltân's* retinue, unable to discern the road, turning too much to the right, towards the *Teisse*, fell into marshy grounds, from which they were obliged to free themselves by leaving their horses and baggage behind. At length, about sun-rise, *Soltân Mostafa* comes to the place where a battle had been fought the year before with the *Germans*; and there changing his horse as well as habit, unknown to all, flies with the utmost speed to the city whither he was bound.

THE army arriving at noon near the same place, and perceiving neither the *Soltân*, nor any of the great officers among them, are struck with great surprise; which being increased by a rumour that the *Soltân* was taken by the *Hungarians*, or betrayed by his followers to the enemy, the soldiers disperse themselves different ways, every one anxious how to escape the *Germans*, whom they every moment imagined to be at their heels. In the evening, when they came to *Temeswaer*, the governor, who had been ordered by the *Soltân* to conceal his arrival, lest the *Germans* hearing of it should invest him there, shuts the gates against them; which increases the rumour of *Mostafa's* being taken, as well as their distress: for, having been too much in haste to bring provision with them, both men and beasts were ready to die with thirst; and if there were any stinking puddles to be found in the dried-up morasses, about *Temeswaer*, those who were strongest (M) seized them, and excluded the rest.

AT last, after the *Othmân* army had, for three days, been like a ship in a stormy sea, without either rudder or pilot, *Soltân Mostafa*, finding there was no danger from the *Germans*, discovers himself to his soldiers. These testify their joy on sight of him, as if he had returned in triumph, and cry out, they regard not their misfortune, since they were assured of their emperor's safety, and would take a severe revenge upon the enemy. Next day *Mostafa* leads his troops towards *Belgrade*, and being met at *Ali-bunar* (N), by *Amûkje-ogli Housseyn Pâshâ*, governor of that city, whom he had sent for, as there were present no other *Pâshâs* honoured with three *Tûgs*, he confers on him the *Wazîrship*. After a short stay at *Belgrade*, he returns, in the end of *Jomazio'lawel*, 1109, with his army to *Adrianople*.

THIS was the fate of the *Turkish* forces after the battle. As for the *Imperialists*, they continued all night in the place of victory, apprehensive of some stratagem usual among the *Turks*, but next day passed the *Teisse*, and gleaned up what *Tekeli* (O) had left in the camp. After this, being discouraged from the siege of such strong cities as *Temeswaer* and *Belgrade*, by the

<sup>b</sup> CANT. p. 411, & seq.

(H) The most eminent of whom were *Koja Jaffer Pâshâ*, *Mosli Oglî*, who recovered *Khios*, *Kiesli Halil Pâshâ* of *Dyabekr*, and *Fazli Pâshâ* of *Sherculi* (*Shabr-zâl*). This last was famous for his learning (whence called *Fazli*), and other excellent qualities. He was, for his fine writing, made *Kyehâya* by the *Wazîr Elmas Mohammed*. *Cant.* *Ricaut* mentions all the *Pâshâs* above recited.

(I) The *Turks* were never known to fight so stoutly; for not one was taken alive. And had not the *Janizaries*, before the battle, slain their commanders, men renowned for valour, 'tis generally thought, that, with their assistance, they might easily have repulsed, if not defeated, the *Germans*, who were much inferior to them in number. *Cant.*

(K) *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm-ili* (or *Rumelia*), whose family has there a great estate. *Cant.*

(L) The emperor, in his letter to *William III.* king of *England*, inserted by *Ricaut*, says, that in this battle,


fought 10th August 1697, the *Turks* were 30,000 strong; that 10,000 were killed on the spot; and that the bridge being too narrow for the rest to get over, they threw themselves into the river, and were most of them drowned: that 72 cannon were taken, and some thousands of waggons laden with provisions; and that only 500 *Germans* were killed, and as many wounded.

(M) Prince *Cantemir*, who was in the army at that time, gives a particular account of the confusion and distress it was in.

(N) The fountain of *Ali*, between *Temeswaer* and *Belgrade*. As it lies very high for a prospect, the spies commonly meet there. *Cant.*

(O) After the defeat, knowing the bridge could not be repaired by the *Germans* in so short a time, he staid all night in the camp, where he plundered all which was most valuable; and by that means got greater riches than he could have done from the *Soltân's* pension, which was hardly sufficient to maintain him. *Cant.*



A. D. 1698.  lateness of the season (P), they turned their arms against *Bosnia*, took the castle of *Doba* and *Mogla*, set fire to *Saray*, the capital of the country, and reduced almost the whole province. In this distress the *Turkish* forces appointed to guard the same, not knowing what other method to take, go to *Dâltabân Mostafa Pâshâ* (Q), who then happened to be at *Bickkia*, a town of *Bosnia*, and force him to take the command upon him. Under his conduct the *Turks* resume their courage, and not only repress the victorious *Germans*, but oblige them to retreat beyond the *Save*, and take from them four and twenty castles, situated on both sides of that river.

Russian and  
Venetian in-  
clinations to  
peace.

If we turn our eyes to other quarters, we shall find, that the *Russians* this summer employ themselves in fortifying *Azak* and *Luktikh* with new works, without any disturbance from their enemies; while the new king of *Poland*, *Frederick Augustus*, before elector of *Saxony*, is busy to gain the nobles, and prepare for the next campaign. Not long after the *Venetians* send a fleet into the *Mediterranean*; and *Kiel Mehemed Beg* (R), with his gallies, attempts *Tinos*: but being repulsed by *Bartolomeo Moro*, quits that island. Several other slight battles happened at sea with various success. The *Turkish* fleet, taking three pirate ships, carry them to *Constantinople*: on the other hand, as the *Turks*, after a short dispute, twice seemed to avoid a fight, the *Venetians* challenge two victories<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 414—422.

(P) However, on the 30th of *October*, some troops were detached towards *Karansebes* and *Vipalanka*; which being invested on the 4th of *November*, by general *Rabatin*, was taken by storm on the 6th, and all the garrison of 800 men put to the sword, with the loss only of ten *Germans*; and thus the campaign ended. *Ricaut*.

(Q) Famous for his warlike virtues. From a simple *Janizary* he at length became *Janizar Aga*; and from walking on foot about the city, instead of on horseback, both day and night, to see if order was observed, got the name of *Dâltabân*, that is, *unshod*, or *barefooted*. He was, by the *Wazir Housseyn Pâshâ* made governor of *Baghdâd*,

and sent against the *Arabs*, whom he defeated, though 120,000 strong, and killed 32,000, with only 12 regiments. He also recovered *Bostra* [a mistake for *Bâsrah*, or *Bassora*] from them. *Cant*.

(R) There are in the isles many *Begs*, who have one galley at least; wherewith they trade in time of peace, and exercise piracy in time of war. *Mehemed Beg* was richer than the rest, and kept three galleys at his own charge. The name of *Kiel* was given him, for having a bald and scurfy head. The *Greeks* called him *Kafida*. *Cant*.

### S E C T. III.

#### *The peace of Carlovitz, and deposition of Mostafa.*

SUCH were the events of this campaign. The beginning of the next might be justly said to confirm the *Turkish* proverb, *An enemy does never perfectly know the state of his enemy*. *Soltân Mostafa*, after his return to *Constantinople*, makes all possible preparations for war; but with a mind troubled, and foreboding ill success. The *Turks*, who had before entered voluntarily into the service, are now backward in obeying even the *Soltân's* commands, and inflexible either to intreaties or threats. *Mostafa*, while he passes in disguise through the assemblies of the people, frequently hears these words from the citizens and soldiers, “the *Othmâns* to defeat the *Germans* is a thing beyond their power. God has publicly testified, that he is on the side of the *Gyawrs*. He has signified his decree in that respect by sufficient tokens. It is in vain therefore to shed such torrents of *Musulmân* blood, while we are to contend as well against God as man.” The *Soltân*, who knew how necessary peace was to recover the exhausted state of the empire, earnestly wished for it: but was prevented from proposing it, lest the enemy should become elated, and the honour of the *Othmân* empire diminished. The *German* emperor was no less impatient on his part for an end of the war: not that he despaired of victory against the *Turks*, but he feared that, if the king of *Spain* should die before the war was finished, the disputes which would arise concerning the succession might stop the progress of his arms. However, he thought it dishonourable to desire peace of a conquered enemy, and of his own accord offer him the palm. The *English* and *Dutch* ambassadors, indeed, were at hand to mediate a peace: but their offers having been so often rejected, they chose rather to hear peace sought for, than to propose it.

Maurokordatus's contrivance to compass it.

THE chief interpreter of the *Othmân* court, *Alexander Maurokordatus*, perceives the inclination of both parties; and as he was no less sagacious and fond of glory, than devoted to the interest of the *Porte*, resolves to raise himself a great reputation by rescuing the *Turkish* empire from destruction. As his hopes of this were chiefly grounded on the pacifick disposition of the *Wazir Housseyn Pâshâ*, he, in a visit to him, turning the conversation upon the subject of peace, tells



a tells him, that by considering the present situation of affairs in *Chriſtendom*, he could with certainty affirm the *German* emperor was very deſirous of a peace with the *Othmâns*. The *Wazîr* answers, it was not probable that the emperor, ſuſhed with his late victory, and full of hopes, would accept of peace, though offered, much leſs deſire it. *Maurokordatus* replies, it might ſeem ſo indeed: but that if a week's time was allowed him to ſound the *Chriſtian* ambaffadors, he would engage to procure not only the emperor's conſent, but even his requeſt for a negotiation.

HAVING eaſily obtained leave, *Maurokordatus* waits on the ambaffadors, and pretending, "That he came of his own accord, in gratitude for the favours he had received from the emperor, and to demonſtrate the fidelity due from him as a *Chriſtian*; ſaid, he knew the emperor, from his apprehenſions of a *French* war, was very deſirous of peace; that he would not diſcover this to the *Turks*, leſt it ſhould make them more large in their demands: but that, if they would confide in him, with a power to manage the affair as he ſhould think proper, he would undertake to ſettle a peace on ſuch terms as the emperor might reaſonably deſire." In the mean time he required of them an oath of ſecrecy, alleging the danger both himſelf and family ſhould be expoſed to, if ſuſpected by the *Turks* of the leaſt unfaithfulneſs. The ambaffadors replied, "That the emperor would not perhaps reject honourable conditions of peace, yet would never aſk it of the *Porte*: but that in caſe the interpreter, in his own name, would propoſe the affair, he would lay a great obligation on his imperial majeſty."

c MAUROKORDATUS, returning to the *Wazîr*, gives him a very different account: for he tells him, he found, by the *Chriſtian* ambaffadors, that the emperor was not only not averſe to peace, but very deſirous of it, and had requeſted them, by any means, to put an end to the war. The *Wazîr* ſeemed by this ſpeech to be raiſed from the dead; and embracing the artful framer of lies (S), ſays to him, "If you execute this divine work, and reſtore the wiſhed-for tranquility to our empire, you may be aſſured that you will highly oblige the *Soltân*, and for ever endear the memory of your ſervices to the rulers of the *Othmân* ſtate." By theſe artifices of *Maurokordatus* both the *Turks* and *Chriſtians* are induced to ſpeak a little more openly concerning the affair of peace, and think they may do it without detriment to the honour of their reſpective maſters, becauſe each party being deceived by the *Othmân* interpreter, imagines the firſt propoſal came from the enemy.

d As ſoon as theſe things became public, *Feriolé* (T), the *French* ambaffador, endeavoured, by bribes, promiſes, and other arts, to prevent a negotiation; alleging, that his maſter had only made a ſhort truce with the emperor, and that in a few years he would invade *Germany* with a greater force than ever. But the *Othmân* court having, by fatal experience, often found the infincerity of *French* promiſes, that ambaffador's efforts are to no purpoſe; and he is ordered to deſiſt from his deſign.

MEAN time the *Turks*, omitting no meaſures proper to ſtop the progreſs of the *Germans*, *Hoſtilities* *Soltân Moſtafa*, in the end of *Zilkaadeh*, 1109, removes to *Adrianople*; from whence, on the firſt of the next month, he orders the *Wazîr* to march with the army towards *Hungary*, while he ſpends the ſummer in the village of *Akbunar* (U), expecting the iſſue of the conferences relating to peace. In the ſame hopes both armies, the *Imperialiſts* at *Peterwaradin*, and the *Turks* near *Belgrade*, continue without motion, and only guard their borders. The like is done by the *Ruſſians* and *Poles*. The *Venetians* indeed have a ſlight engagement, near *Mitylene*, with the *Othmân* fleet, which is put to flight; and in *Dalmatia* attempt to take *Stolaz* by ſtratagem, but are forced to retire. The *Seraskier*, on the other hand, endeavours to reduce *Cing*; but on the approach of the *Venetians* raiſes the ſiege.

Thus much for the ſtate of hoſtilities this campaign. Let us now ſee what paſſed with regard to peace. The preliminaries having been ſettled at *Conſtantinople*, ambaffadors were appointed by all the princes engaged in the war. The *Turks* choſe *Rami Mehemed Rais Effendi* and *Alexander Maurokordatus*, honoured with the title of *Beg* and *Mahremî Eſrar* (X); the emperor, count *Pettingen* and count *Schlik*, his privy-counſellors; the *Czar* of *Ruſſia*, *Proko-*

\* CANT. p. 422, & ſeqq.

(S) *Alexander*, who had a perfect knowledge of the eaſtern languages and poetry, ſeems herein to have followed the inſtructions of *Sheykh Saadi*, the famous *Persian* poet, eſpecially where he ſays in his *Gyuliſtân*, "A lie which does a [good] work, is better than truth which breeds confuſion." CANT.

(T) He ſucceeded *Chateaufort*; was haughty and obſtinate; oppoſed the *Porte* in many reſpects, and demanded ſeveral things contrary to the uſage of the *Othmân* court: which cauſed ill blood, and ſometimes danger; of which our author produces inſtances. Yet

he was endowed with many virtues, was courageous, liberal, an agreeable companion, of eaſy acceſs, a moſt ſincere and conſtant friend in all times. He fell at laſt into a frenzy, and was ſent chained to *France*. CANT.

(U) That is, the white fountain, near *Adrianople*.

(X) That is, to whom ſecrets are diſcovered. He invented this name himſelf, and long ſolicited the princes of *Moldavia* and *Wallakia* to give him the title of moſt illuſtrious in their letters, inſtead of moſt excellent, which uſed to be given him as chief interpreter, and is not reckoned ſo honourable as the other. CANT.

pius:



A. D. 1698. *pius Bogdanowitz Woznicini*; the *Poles*, *Stanislaus Mikhelowski*, *Waywod* of *Poznania*; and a the *Venetians*, *Ruzini*; *Paget* and *Collier*, the *English* and *Dutch* ambassadors, were to act as mediators of the peace. They all met about the end of the year 1110 at *Carlowitz*, between *Peterwaradin* and *Belgrade*, where they pitched their tents on both sides of the river of the same name.

At first there arose disputes concerning the place of conference, the seats of the ambassadors, and the order in which they were to visit each other. The *Turks* insisted on having the first place, which was claimed by the emperor's ambassadors: next to whom the *Polish* plenipotentiary demanded to sit, which was objected to by the *Russian*, and all the rest, excepting the *Venetian* minister, who claimed the next seat to the *English*. The contest on this head grew so high at last, that what had been already done must have come to nothing, had not *Maurokordatus* found out an expedient to reconcile the ambassadors, now incensed beyond measure against each other. He proposes that a round building should be run up for the place of conference with as many doors as there were parties, each facing the country from whence the ambassador came: that the tents should be ranged in the same manner round the building; and on the first day of the conference, the ministers, proceeding from their pavilions with an equal pace, should reach the house at the same time, and saluting one another at the entrance, take the seats next to them (Y).

Peace concluded.

Hej. 1110.

A. D. 1698.

THIS expedient being approved by all, after many conferences and disputes, the peace wished for by the whole world, excepting the *French*, is at last concluded on the 26th of *Rajeb* 1110 (Z), and the instruments signed by all the ambassadors. The emperor made a truce for 25 years, upon condition that all *Transilvania* should be resigned to him in the same extent as it had been held by *Mikhael Apafi*, and his predecessors: that *Temeswaer* should be left to the *Soltân*; and to prevent its being blocked up by the adjacent castles, *Lippa*, *Khonad*, *Karansebes*, *Lugos*, *Herkonisia*, *Bech*, *Bechkerek*, and *Sabbia* (A), were to have their walls demolished: that the navigation of the *Teisse* and *Maros* should be free to the subjects of both empires; and the country between the *Danube* and *Teisse*, called *Bachkâb*, remain in the emperor's hands: that the boundary of the eastern part of *Hungary*, belonging to the emperor, should be a right line drawn from the mouth of the *Maros* towards the banks of the *Teisse*, to the mouth of the *Bossut*, where it falls into the *Save*: that towards the south the *Save* should part the *Turkish* from the imperial limits, till it receives the *Unna*; and that no new castles, besides *Belgrade* and *Peterwaradin* should be erected, or old ones fortified, anywhere within those boundaries.

Terms agreed on by all parties.

THE *Russian* ambassador made a truce only for two years (B), upon the foot of each party possessing what he had taken. The *Poles* made a truce on the like terms with the *Soltân*; namely, that they should have *Kaminiek*, *Podolia*, and *Ukrania*, restored to them, in the same extent as possessed by them before *Soltân Mohammed's* first expedition into *Poland*: and, on the other hand, resign *Soczawa*, *Nemoz*, and *Soroka* in *Moldavia*, to the *Turks*. The *Venetians* obtained these conditions, that all the *Morea*, as far as *Hexamilos*, should belong to them; and the firm land, with *Naupaktum* (or *Lepanto*), *Prevesa*, and the castle of *Romania*, which had been demolished, should be restored to the *Turks*: that the bay of *Korinth* should be common to both; and the *Venetians* possess *Lenkade*, with the adjacent islands. The yearly tribute paid by the islands in the *Archipelago* to the *Venetians* was to be abolished; and *Zakynth* to be declared free from the like burthen by the *Turks*. In *Dalmatia*, *Knin*, *Cing*, *Kiklut*, *Verlika*, *Duare*, and *Vergoraz*, were to be left to the republic, and fixed as the boundaries of their dominions on that side. The *Ragusians* were to continue free, and the *Venetians* to retain the castles of *Castelnuovo* and *Risano*, with what they possessed in the neighbourhood. Both parties were allowed to fortify their borders with new fortresses; or to repair those which were decayed, excepting *Naupaktum*, *Prevesa*, and the castle of *Romania* before-mentioned (C).

(Y) The tent or house appointed for the conferences had four doors, at which the several ambassadors entered; and, after mutual compliments, took their seats, placed in the middle of the tent, one opposite to the other, in such a manner, as that there could be no exceptions taken, or dispute about precedence. The secretaries were placed behind their respective ambassadors, at a small table, where they took down the minutes of articles. *Maurokordatus* stood a while behind the *Rais Effendi*; but afterwards was ordered to sit on the ground after the *Turkish* manner. The doors were guarded by an equal number of *Turks* and *Germans*. *Ricaut*.

(Z) This year begins *June* 29th, 1698; so that the 26th of *Rajeb* falls on *January* the 15th, 1698-9.

(A) *Ricaut* has *Czanad* for *Khonad*, *Bersche* for *Bech*, and *Sabia* for *Sabbia*.

(B) But afterwards, on sending an ambassador to the *Porte*, the time was enlarged to 30 years, on condition that the *Russians* should retain *Asof*, and all other places on the *Nieper* taken from the *Turks*; only *Kasikermen*, near the mouth of that river, was to be demolished, and left to the *Turks*. Neither could our author, *Ricaut*, find that the *Russians* could obtain a free trade in the *Black Sea*, with all the instances they made for it.

(C) *Ricaut* has given the treaties made with the several confederate powers at large. The conferences began about the middle of *November* 1698, and by disputes were spun out in that cold place, till the new year began. The *Russians* were the first who signed the treaty; the *Poles* and *Germans* signed two days after; the *Venetians* last of all.



- a THE *Turkish* ambassadors, at their return to *Adrianople*, receive royal rewards for their services from the *Soltân*; who having settled a peace with all his enemies, disbands his army, and departs for *Constantinople*. There committing the whole administration of affairs to *Husséyn Pâshâ*, he removes with his court to *Karîshîrân* (D), to divert, by hunting, his regret for the loss of so many provinces. But the people, especially the soldiery, grow uneasy at this recess of their *Soltân*, after so many toils, as if the peace was granted them for no other end but to watch and censure his words and actions. They blushed not to say in their assemblies, that he seemed disposed to imitate his father in all things; and that, like him, after applying the first years of his reign wholly to the affairs of state, he was now resolved to follow dogs and hunting, though he was yet young, and not so conspicuous for his services to the *Othmân* empire as *Soltân Mohammed*: alleging that he had recovered nothing from the enemy, nor done any thing deserving the thanks of the public during the late war, except in hindering the enemy to penetrate farther into the empire. They therefore conclude, that since his father, illustrious for so many victories, was deposed on account of his excessive fondness for hunting, it was to be feared that a like, if not a worse, fate would attend the son, who was much inferior to him<sup>1</sup>.

A. D. 1698.  
First murder against the Soltân.

Haj. 1111.  
A. D. 1699.

- To avoid those reproaches, *Soltân Mostafa* takes a method, often tried, and retires to *Adrianople* with the *Wazîr*, and all the great officers of the empire; which had the desired effect. During his stay there, in the month of *Rajeb*, 1111 (E), he is informed by letters from the *Khân* of *Tartary*, that the *Czar* of *Russia* having changed the habit and religious ceremonies of his country (F), had introduced those of *Germany*, and raised a very numerous army, disciplined after the *German* manner: that he was preparing a fleet with the utmost expedition, as well as building new cities and castles on the *Don*, *Nieper*, and other rivers: that therefore the *Soltân* ought to take care, lest, while he was at ease from the *Germans* in the west, a new *Nemche Gyawr* (G) from the north did not endanger the *Othmân* empire; since nothing could hinder the *Russians* from over-running all *Krim Tartary* in the first campaign, before the *Othmâns* could come to its relief: that it was necessary therefore either to settle a firm peace, or immediately to declare war, before the enemy could strengthen themselves; and that if the *Soltân* should doubt the truth of this report, he would do well to send a trusty officer, who might examine it on the spot.

Russian preparations.

- d HEREUPON *Soltân Mostafa* sends his master of horse, *Kibleli Oglî*, son to the *Wazîr*'s sister, without that minister's knowledge, into *Krim Tartary*; with orders strictly to pry into the conduct of the *Russians*, and immediately return, without acquainting any person with the occasion of his journey. For all this charge *Kibleli Oglî*, before his departure, secretly informs his uncle of the *Soltân*'s commission. *Husséyn Pâshâ*, for fear this spark should become a greater flame than what had been extinguished, directs his kinsman to come to him, at his return, for instructions what to say before he went to the *Soltân*. *Kibleli* obeys his uncle's orders; and, being returned, goes to him in disguise, and acquaints him, that the *Russians* had built a large fleet at two places, *Varoneshi* and *Azak* (H), and were every day increasing it; that they had fortified *Taganorok* in a surprizing manner; and that above 20,000 workmen were employed in building new fortifications: that the works at *Kamenzatón*, above the *Nieper*, were already finished, and the cataracts of that river opened fit for navigation: That the *Tatars* had nothing secure beyond the *Kberfonesus*; and were perpetually annoyed by the incursions of the *Kofaks*.

false report detected and punished.

- e THE *Wazîr*, considering that if these and many other facts of the like nature were related to the *Soltân*, they would occasion a more dreadful war than the former, desires his nephew to conceal them, and persuade his master that the *Khân*'s report of things was a mere fiction, aggravated after the usual manner of the *Tatars*, impatient for plunder: that the *Russians* had, indeed, during the war, begun several castles, but had now discontinued their works; were desirous of nothing more than preserving the peace and commerce between both nations; and for that end would soon dispatch an ambassador extraordinary to the resplendent *Porte*. *Kibleli Oglî*, furnished with this false story, next day waits on *Soltân Mostafa*, as if just come from his journey, and tells him exactly what he had been taught. The *Soltân* not suspecting his fidelity, is extremely incensed against the *Khân*; and, in a letter, severely reprimands him for his false information. The *Khân*, perceiving by this that the *Soltân* had been

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 425, & seq.

(D) A town between *Chorlo* (or *Chîurli*) and *Purgaz*, near the road to *Adrianople*, where is a fine palace built by *Mohammed IV.* for the conveniency of hunting in that pleasant country, whose hares are famous for their swiftness. CANT.

(E) December, 1699.

(F) The first is true; the last false. CANT.

(G) That is, a new *German infidel*; in allusion doubtless to the *Czar*'s introducing the *German* discipline. For *Nemche* with the *Turks* signifies *Germany*, or *Germans*.

(H) *Vronitz* and *Ajof*.



A. D. 1699. imposed on by his master of horse, answers, that he never dared presume to offer falsehoods to his majesty, but judged that *Kibleli Oglı*, bribed by the enemy, had concealed what he had seen and heard in the *Krim*, and perhaps had accused him of falsehood, because he had not received such rich presents from him as he expected: adding, that the account which he had before given his majesty was as evident as the light of the sun, and that *Kibleli Oglı* himself would not deny it, in case he was strictly examined.

THIS answer of the *Khân* being delivered by unknown persons to the *Soltân*, as he was coming out of the *Yâmi*, he immediately sends for *Kibleli Oglı*, who, threatened with death in case he did not declare the truth, acknowledges that every thing which the *Khân* had asserted was fact; and humbly begging pardon for his crime, alleges, that what he did was by persuasion of the *Wazır*, whose commands he could not refuse on account both of his authority and relationship. The imposture of both being thus detected, the *Soltân* deprives *Kibleli Oglı* of his post, and banishes him; but soon after orders him to be put to death. At the same time removing *Husseyn Pâshâ* from the office of *Wazır*, he banishes him to a village near *Sillebria*, tho' without touching his estate. After his removal, the *Wazırship*, by a very rare example, was vacant forty days, till the arrival of *Dâltabân Mostafa Pâshâ*, governor of *Baghdâd*, whom the *Soltân* had resolved to advance to that dignity, for having subdued the *Arabs* (I); and during this interval *Silabdar Hassan Pâshâ* had the administration of affairs under the title of *Vekil*<sup>m</sup>.

*Dâltabân  
made Wazır.*

As soon as the new *Wazır* was invested with his office, he calls for a list of the castles which the *Othmân* empire was possessed of before the last war with the *Germans*; and finding by it that a great many towns beyond the *Saave*, which he had taken from the *Germans* when *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia*, were restored to them by the peace, he is extremely provoked, declaring that the persons who had made the peace were no less *Gyawrs* than the *Germans* themselves, since they had delivered up, without any necessity, so many places reduced to the *Othmân* obedience by his own blood; and had given *Kaminiek*, a city designed by *Soltân Mohammed* for the bulwark of the whole empire, as well as a noble monument of the *Musulman* religion, by the erection of a magnificent *Yâmi*, in exchange for three towns of *Moldavia*, filled with Christians. Not content with reproaching the makers of the peace, he resolves to break it, and particularly to declare war against the *Poles*, whose weakness, while *Seraskier* on that side, he had observed; and the rather, as the confused state of *Europe*, on the death of the king of *Spain*, was such, that neither the emperor, nor any other Christian power, could assist them.

*Plots against  
the Mufti.*

HIS next business was to seek a handle for declaring war, lest the people, thinking the truce violated, might fear the event: but having no pretence to accuse the *Poles* of a breach of the treaty, he declares, that the *Othmân* ambassadors had acted contrary to the *Korân*, and the *Soltân's* command, by giving up more than their orders would justify; for which reason he resolves to put them to death. But perceiving that the *Mufti's* authority would be a great obstacle in this affair, since he had not only approved of the peace by his *Fetva*, but was also a profest patron of the ambassadors, he determines to dispatch him privately, in reference to his office. With this view he feigns a sincere friendship for him, often visiting him in a familiar manner, and discoursing with him about public affairs. At last, when he thought the matter ripe for execution, he invites the *Mufti* to a splendid entertainment, directing some of his chamberlains suddenly to strangle that prelate with a cord, when the water was pouring out for him to wash his hands.

*His Kyeha-  
ya's treachery.*

BUT this plot, through his own imprudence, proved his ruin: for having discovered the secret to his *Kyehaya Ibrâhîm Aga* (K), the latter, to ingratiate himself with the *Mufti*, goes with the *Kasâb Râshî* (L), and informs him of the danger. On this the *Mufti*, pretending sickness, throws himself on his bed; and, in a faint voice, answers the *Wazır*, now come to invite him (M), that he was extremely sorry his sudden indisposition should prevent his going:

<sup>m</sup> CANT. p. 428, & seq.

(I) This *Pâshâ* having been falsely accused during this expedition, by *Râmi Reis Effendi*, as if favouring the *Arabs*, an officer was sent to take off his head: but finding he had subdued them, and that it was dangerous to execute his commission, he returns and tells the *Soltân* how matters stood. After this, *Dâltabân*, knowing the *Mufti's* covetousness, and great interest with the *Soltân*, whose preceptor he had been, sends him a present of 60,000 gold crowns. *Feizallah Effendi*, in return, offers to get him made *Wazır* (*Husseyn Pâshâ* being sickly, and become unfit for affairs by his drunkenness); which he accordingly performed. *Cant.*

(K) For this treachery he was, by the *Mufti's* application, made *Pâshâ* of *Saloniki*; and on account of his

lameness named *Topal Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, that is, *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ the lame*: but died a few months after in horrible torments, as it was said, calling on the name of his master. *Cant.*

(L) Or *chief butcher*; whose business is to see that none but sound and fresh meat be brought to market, or sold above the stated price. There is another made in time of war, to buy cattle for the army. He was named *Kara Mehemed Aga*, from his blackish complexion, and was the richest *Turk* in his time: for he often lent 500 or 1000 purses at three days notice, but was stripped of all at last; as is commonly the case with such men, on a false accusation. *Cant.*

(M) The *Wazır* and *Mufti*, who hold the highest offices



a going : but that he would send his son, the *Nakib Effendi*, to supply his place. When the *Wazîr* was gone, the *Mufti* sends for the *Reis Effendi*, *Râmi Mehemed Pâshâ*, lately made a *Kubbeh Wazîr* (N), and *Maurokordatus*; who being made acquainted with the design against them, it was agreed, by some accusation, true or false, to procure the *Wazîr* to be removed; and, if possible, to be put to death. The *Mufti* undertakes this province, and next day informs *Soltân Mostafa*, that the *Wazîr* was engaged in some new designs destructive to the whole *Othmân* empire; had secretly lifted a very numerous army; made his dependants officers in it; and ordered them to excite the soldiers to demand a rupture of the peace, with a charge to depose his majesty, if he refused to gratify their desires".

THE *Soltân* readily believing what that prelate, for whom he had a great esteem, falsely charged upon the *Wazîr*, orders him to be sent for; and, having loaded him with reproaches, commands him to be put to death (O), without suffering him to speak in his own defence (P), and gave his post to *Râmi Mehemed Pâshâ*. But from the *Wazîr*'s blood, as from a copious fountain, torrents of human gore flowed out. The *Ulema*, citizens and soldiers of *Constantinople*, hearing what had happened at *Adrianople*, began to complain openly of the present administration; declaring, "That the new *Wazîr*, *Mufti*, and other great officers, were traitors; and that their whole management tended to the ruin of the empire: that for this purpose they had persuaded the *Soltân* to put to death *Dâltabân Mostafa Pâshâ*, one of the greatest heroes of the age, who had twice signalized his abilities against the *Germans* and *Arabs*; so that supposing he had been guilty of some misconduct, he should rather have been banished, that he might, when occasion required, be let loose upon an enemy: but that they, being jealous of his merit, would not suffer him to live; and had raised to the *Wazîrship* *Râmi Mehemed Effendi*, a good scribe indeed, and a learned man, but unfit for such an office: that this was the reason of persuading the *Soltân*, thereby become haughty, to reside at *Adrianople*, and wander in the woods, while the capital of the empire, by absence of the court and tyranny of governors, was reduced to the lowest poverty: that to disgrace it the more, *Kyoprili Abdo'lla Pâshâ* (Q), a youth of eighteen, who, except the glory of his father, had nothing to recommend him but his marriage with the *Mufti*'s daughter, was appointed *Kaymaykâm*; as if no bounds could be set to the *Mufti*'s will, who wanted but little of engrossing, with his family, the whole *Othmân* empire: that all the best *Mollahships* were filled by his young sons, or those who could purchase them; for that his house was become the office of avarice, where justice and ecclesiastical dignities were sold to the rich, instead of being bestowed on men of integrity and learning."

SUCH discourses as these sufficiently indicated the people's readiness to revolt: all they wanted was a leader, and plausible occasion; which last is soon given them by the *Kaymaykâm* himself. For in *Moharram* 1114, after the *Janizaries* had received their pay, the *Jebeji*,  
*New provocation given by the Kaymaykâm.*

<sup>a</sup> CANT. p. 430, & seq.    <sup>o</sup> CANT. p. 432, & seq. See also MOTRAYS'S Travels, vol. i. c. 13. p. 230.

sices in the state, never meet without great previous ceremonies; the *Mufti* sending a proper officer to know if the *Wazîr* is at leisure for a visit; the *Wazîr* sends his officer to conduct him. Being come in his chariot to the *Wazîr*'s palace, he is led under the arms by two other domestic officers to the stair-case, where the *Wazîr* meets him on the first step, and salutes him. Then going up, the *Mufti* follows, and, with both hands on his breast, blesses the people on both sides, with a *peace be with you*. Being come into the room, he is seated on the right hand of the *Wazîr*. Cant.

(N) He was of mean birth, and applied himself to learning and poetry. When he had finished his studies, and left the academy (where he got the name of *Râmi*), he frequented taverns, where, being handsome, and having a sweet voice, as well as skill in music, he got a tolerable livelihood. He was removed from this way of life by the famous poet *Nâbi Effendi*, by whose instructions he was esteemed at court a good writer, for he outdid all the *Turkish* writers in quickness of wit and elegance of expression. He was first promoted by the *Wazîr Elmas*, and made *Reis Effendi* by *Husséyn Pâshâ*, who joined him with *Maurokordatus* in making the peace; although in effect he did nothing but what the latter proposed. After the rebellion he was made *Pâshâ* of *Egypt*, under the *Wazîr Husséyn*, and thence removed to *Cyprus*, where his constitution being proof against the bad air too long, an officer was sent to put

him to death; but he died while saying his prayers. Cant.

(O) *Motraye*, who was then at *Constantinople*, passes over this remarkable event with as little notice as if he had been a thousand miles off. He only says, that *Usseim Pâshâ*, having, in *October*, desired leave to lay down his *Wazîrship*, one *Altâban Mustafa*, a *Georgian* slave, a bold, haughty, unpolite man, who could not write his own name, succeeded him, and was strangled some weeks after, occasioned, as it was said, by a quarrel with the *Mufti*. Travels, vol. i. p. 218.

(P) The history of this affair is told at large by prince *Cantemir*, in a note, p. 414, & seq. where the folly, as well as injustice of the *Soltân*, appears to a surprising degree in putting *Dâltabân* to death, on the bare accusation of the *Mufti*, without allowing him the hearing, though he had something of importance to impart to him. Being asked, at the place of execution, what it was he had to say to the *Soltân*, he answered, *that he could impart it to none but him: although he should not then behold, without horror, the face of such a Soltân as put those to death who faithfully served him.* Cant.

(Q) The son of *Kyoprili Mostafa Pâshâ*, slain in the battle of *Salankamen*, 1691. After these troubles, growing wiser with age, he acted with more moderation; and after he had quelled a rebellion, was made *Pâshâ* of *Sivas* (or *Sebastia* in *Anatolia*) by *Soltân Ahmed III.*—Cant.

who



A. D. 1697. who are next in order, went to the houses of the *Kaymaykâm* and *Tefterdâr*, desiring also to be paid : but *Kyoprili Abdo'lla* putting them off from day to day, about forty of them go to the *Diwân*, while he is hearing causes, and by an *Arzûkal* beseech him to grant their demand in turn. This petition firing his youthful blood, he reproaches the *Jebeji* in very injurious language, and bids them wait, because there was no money in the treasury. The soldiers, provoked at this treatment, in going off return the *Kaymaykâm's* reproaches with great sharpness, on the very stairs of the *Diwân*, and so loud that the by-standers could hear almost every word.

THE *Kaymaykâm* being informed of this, commands the *Muhzurs* (R) to seize and carry them to their chief officer, to be put to death : for it is a capital crime among the *Turks* to contradict, or use reproachful terms to any judge, especially the *Kaymaykâm*, who is supposed to be the *Soltân's* vicerent. The *Muhzurs* using force, are resisted by the *Jebeji*, who, raising a tumult in the street, in the usual phrase of the soldiers, *Yoldash Yokmidur ? Are no companions at hand ?* call out for assistance. At this cry the *Jebeji*, flocking from all parts, rescue their fellows from the officers of justice, and returning to their quarters, there give an account of what had happened ; adding, that it was in vain to expect their pay, whilst the distribution was in the hands of a boy, whose brains were turned by his high and undeserved dignity. The resentment thus kindled, is inflamed by *Karakash Mehemed*, a man of great boldness, and fond of changes in the government ; who, exciting the whole assembly to revenge the injury, they immediately take arms, and run to the *Kaymaykâm's* palace.

THE *Kyoprili Abdo'lla Pâshâ* being informed of their approach, escapes through a back-door, while the *Jebeji*, on their disappointment, run about in parties to stir up the *Janizaries* and *Ulema*. Next day the leaders of the sedition meet in the *At-meydân* (S), and there bind themselves by oath either to destroy the *Wazîr*, *Mufti*, and other oppressors of the people, or perish in the attempt. In this assembly *Firâri Hassan Pâshâ* offers to be their leader, and is, by them, appointed *Kaymaykâm* (T) in the room of *Kyoprili Oglî*. The *Nakib Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi* (U) assumes the office of *Mufti*, and *Dorojan Ahmed Pâshâ*, a person of no note, who had been recalled from his *Pâshalik*, and lived privately, is made *Wazîr* by the rebels. *Kul-kyebaya Chalik Ahmed Aga* is appointed *Janizar Agasi*, and *Diw Ali Aga* (X), who had been deprived of the post of *Kul-kyebaya*, is restored to that office. By their advice the conspirators shut the gates of the city, and suffer no man to go forth unless sent by themselves, to prevent the *Soltân* being informed of their designs. After this they plunder the magazines of the arms kept there ; and prepare themselves for war with the empire.

MARCHING IN ARMS towards Adrianople. *SOLTÂN Mostafa*, when he heard of this sedition, sends *Mostafa Effendi*, the chief secretary, to enquire into the reason of so great a rebellion in his capital city, with a promise to grant all their desires : but, arriving at the gate on the eighth day of the sedition, the guard force him from his horse, and carry him to the *At-meydân*, where the people seizing him as a spy, before their leaders could restrain them, beat him almost to death, and tortured him to such a degree, to make him confess what the *Soltân* was doing, that they left him neither sense nor speech to declare any thing. Yet this (which they imputed to his obstinacy, rather than their own cruel treatment) incensing them more against the *Soltân*, they assemble above 50,000 soldiers on the 19th day ; and, leaving the city, resolve utterly to destroy *Adrianople*, as the rival of the capital, in case the inhabitants should dare to oppose them. Being come to *Hapsa*, a town not far from thence, they send to inform the *Soltân*, “ That they had not taken up arms either to fight against him, or the *Musulmâns*, but only to oblige the evil ministers to submit to be tried by the divine judgment of the *Korân* ; but that, if he should use the sword to decide this affair, they would repel force with force ; and he would be accountable to God for the needless effusion of *Musulmân* blood.” They likewise privately warn the inhabitants of *Adrianople*, not to appear in arms, if they would avoid being plundered ; since they came not to fight with their brethren, but to punish the betrayers and oppressors of the *Othman* empire<sup>z</sup>.

<sup>z</sup> CANT. p. 433, & seq.

(R) Their name is derived from *Ibzar*, to bring, because their business, besides guarding the *Wazîr's* palace, is to bring the guilty, and if any are to be confined, to keep them till the next *Diwân*.—To put malefactors to death there is a body taken out of the *Muhzuri*, who, from the *Falanga*, or instrument used in beheading, are called *Falangaji*. Cant.

(S) Or *Hippodrome*, built by *Justinian*, near *St. Sophia*, and still used to air and exercise the *Soltân's* horses.—Cant.

(T) *Motrayes* says that *Firalli* having strangled the *Kâpîji Bâshi*, who was sent to strangle him, he hid himself among his women in *Constantinople*, and appeared on being cried by a public crier.

(U) He was of the race of *Amîrs*, and had been *Mufti* in the reign of *Mohammed IV*. He was called *Kiazibi*, or *liar*, as being thought much given to lying. Cant.

(X) He was the only one of the rebel party who escaped the pursuit of *Abmed III*. flying to *Fezayri*, or *Algiers* ; so that he could never be found. Cant.



<sup>a</sup> THE Soltân, on this message, assembles his *European* troops with the utmost expedition, A. D. 1699. and orders them to march under the conduct of the *Wazîr*, *Râmi Mehemed*, against the rebels : who, by a *Fetva* of the *Mufti*, *Feyzo'llah Effendi* (Z), are declared *Gyavrs* ; and <sup>Army join them.</sup> those promised a crown of martyrdom, who should die fighting valiantly against them. But, when both armies were in fight, the *Nakib Effendi*, who acted as *Mufti* among the conspirators, holds up the *Korân* to the Soltân's forces, and desires them to consider, " That they " were brethren of the same religion, the same blood, and subjects of the same dominion : " that the people of *Constantinople* had not taken up arms to overturn the empire, or attempt " any thing against the sacred law ; but to punish the infidels and contemners of the law, " agreeably to its precepts ; and that if they endeavoured to oppose so pious a design, they " would draw upon themselves, not only the indignation of God, but likewise the severest " punishments." The Soltân's troops are so affected with this speech, that they abandon the *Wazîr*, and join the rebels, saluting them brethren.

THE *Wazîr*, in this desperate state, flies with two servants in disguise to *Varna* ; and from thence back to *Constantinople*, concealing himself for some time in a house which he had in the suburbs of *Ayûb*. Mean time the rebels encamped under the city, at *Solâk Chesbmehi* (A) ; and from thence send to demand the heads of the *Wazîr*, the *Mufti* with his sons, and *Maurokordatus*. The Soltân, expecting this, had sent off the *Mufti* two days before, but with several *Bostânjis* to attend him, with design to stop his flight, if the danger increased : finding therefore the rebels more obstinate in their demands, he sends for him back, and delivers him <sup>The Mufti tortured.</sup> up, with his two sons. As soon as they have him in their power, they fix nails in his knees ; and, by other horrid cruelties, endeavour to make him discover the immense treasures he was reported to have amassed : but, being a man of great courage, he bears all with singular patience ; and utters not one word, excepting to desire vengeance from God on such an impious and ungrateful people. At length, exhausted with so many torments, he is put to death ; and his body (B) thrown into the river, as if he had been an infidel, and unworthy of burial.

THE Soltân, perceiving from these circumstances that the people were more exasperated against him than he had imagined, sends to *Dorojân Ahmed Pâshâ* (C), the *Wazîr* of the rebels, the seal belonging to that employment, and confirms the other officers chosen by them in their posts, with a promise to grant all their demands, and deliver up to them the *Wazîr* <sup>Mostafa resigns the throne to Ahmed.</sup> and *Maurokordatus*, who were fled, as soon as they should be taken. But, growing more presumptuous by the Soltân's condescension, they concert measures to depose him. For this end, they dispatch a letter to *Abmed*, brother of Soltân Mostafa, desiring him, since they scrupled to enter the imperial palace with an armed force, to come, if possible, to the camp, either with or without his brother's leave, and the army would immediately proclaim him emperor.

SOLTÂN Mostafa, intercepting this letter, continues long in suspense, whether he should kill his brother, or voluntarily resign the scepter to him. Many of his domestic officers advise the fratricide ; alleging, that the conspirators would be obliged to confirm him in the throne, in case there were no other heirs to the empire. But the Soltân abhors such a deed, and resolves <sup>e</sup> to commit himself to the Divine Providence. He goes therefore to *Abmed*, and, embracing him with great affection, informs him, that he was universally desired to fill the throne ; and first

(Z) He was a native of *Wân* in *Armenia*, and of the *Amîr* race. In the time of *Mohammed IV.* when *Munderis*, or master of the *Soleymâniyah* school, he was appointed *Shehzadeh Hoja*, or preceptor to the Soltân's children, *Mostafa* and *Abmed*. After having often changed, contrary to custom, his ecclesiastical employments, he was created *Mufti*, and continued in that dignity for seven years ; a thing unheard of among the *Turks*. He was a man of no great learning, and more crafty than wise : yet had such an ascendant over the Soltân, that he never did any thing without consulting him, nor could refuse him any thing. He was so covetous, that he took presents with both hands ; would ask for them if not offered him ; and would for money give any *Fetva* desired of him, whether right or wrong. The eldest of his four sons he appointed *Nakib*, and conferred rich *Mollahships* on the other three, though but young ; which gained him the hatred of the *Ulema*, as well as people. What was worse, he encouraged them, like another *Eli*, in all sorts of extravagancies. Cant.

(A) The fountain of *Solâk*, so called, either because the builder was of the order of the *Solâki*, or else had lost a hand. It is in a field a mile from *Adrianople*, in the road to *Constantinople*. Cant.

(B) As the laws of the *Korân*, and the empire, forbid putting a *Mufti* or *Mollah* to death (the highest punishment of the whole order of the *Ulema* and *Kâdis* being banishment), the rebels, to excuse their treatment of him, declared he was a *Gyavur* ; and would not allow his body *Mohammedan* burial, but hired a *Greek* priest to put him in the ground. This man got some person to drag him along, while he went before singing, instead of the burial hymn, *Ordure be upon thy soul* ; and, at last, flung it into the river, having first, it is said, perfumed it with frankincense, and repeated two *Turkish* verses, whose sense is, *neither yours nor ours, he is gone directly to hell* ; with which the *Turks* were so pleased, that they both praised and rewarded the *Pâpâ* for his ingenuity. Cant.

(C) So called by the rebels, because like *Doroshenko*, *Hetmân* of the *Kosaks*, who was called *Doroshân* by the *Turks*. But he was before named *Damad Ahmed Pâshâ*, that is, *Abmed Pâshâ the son-in-law* ; because he had married the sister of the *Wazîr Amur Oglî Hussyn Pâshâ*, and granddaughter of *Kyepirli Mostapha Pâshâ* ; the handsomest woman in her time, but so lascivious, that she kept many gallants, especially *Franks*. Cant.



A. D. 1699. salutes him *Soltân*. At his departure he speaks as follows: "Remember, brother, that while I a  
 " governed the empire, you enjoyed the utmost liberty; I desire you will allow me the same.  
 " Think also, that although you by right ascend this throne, as having been possessed by your  
 " father and brother, yet that the instruments of your advancement are treacherous rebels,  
 " who, if you suffer them to escape with impunity, will quickly treat you as they do me (D)  
 " at present." Having said this, he retires to the same chamber in which he had kept his  
 brother; where, six months after his deposition (E), he died of a distemper contracted through  
 melancholy. He reigned eight years and some months.

*His character.* SOLTAN *Mostafa* was a prince of great expectations in the beginning of his reign; but fortune afterwards blasted them. He had greater advantages from nature than both his predecessors: for he was of a mature judgment, great application, and strict sobriety. Neither covetous in collecting, nor profuse in distributing, the public monies. He was a good archer, and expert horseman. A lover of justice (F), and very devout in his religion. He gained great reputation by the peace of *Carlowitz*; which, having been in vain attempted by his father and uncles, he settled, by wonderfully reconciling all parties.

*His person.* HE was, as to his person, of a moderate size; his face round, and beautified with red and white: his beard red, thin, and not long: his nose short, and a little turned up: his eyes blue, and his brows thin and yellow. In the spring he used to have spots break out in his face, which disappeared in the winter. He left no son alive (F), although he had been father of several. He was particularly fond of *Ibrâkîm* (G), son of his uncle *Abmed*, whom he always carried with him; and designed, as was thought, for his successor, in case he died without issue<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 435, & seqq.

(D) *Abmed* followed the advice of his brother, and, probably, by that means, escaped an early deposition. However that fate befel him at last: for he was deposed in 1730, by a sedition of the soldiery, which a corrupt administration had given occasion to, and his nephew *Mahmûd* advanced in his room. *Abmed* died in 1736.

(E) More properly his abdication, which is a voluntary deposition; by which he prevented a forcible one.

(F) His treatment of *Doltabân* calls in question both his judgment and justice.

(F) *Motraye* says he left three sons, *Jesus*, *Mustafa*, and *Mahomet*. Trav. vol. i. p. 247. Perhaps *Mahomet* is a mistake for *Mahmûd*, who succeeded *Abmed* III.

(G) He was a hopeful and good-natured prince; but died at *Constantinople* after I left that city. Cant.



## B O O K XX.

## C H A P. I.

*The history of the dispersion of the Jews; or an account of their distressed state, from the destruction of Jerufalem to the end of the last century.*

<sup>a</sup> **W**E concluded the second part of the antient history of the *Jews*, with an account of <sup>*Impiety of the Jewish nation at the time of their dispersion.*</sup> the dreadful siege of their once celebrated metropolis; the horrid slaughter of some myriads of its inhabitants; and the dispersion and miserable slavery of the rest of the *Jewish* nation †: all which, we there observed, beset them as a just punishment for their horrid and complicated impieties, which were by that time grown to such a monstrous height, that *Josephus* himself scruples not to say, That, if this dreadful vengeance had not fallen upon them, the earth would, of its own accord, have opened itself to swallow up those ungrateful miscreants. Although the thing which, above all others, aggravated their guilt, was their rejecting and crucifying the so long promised and expected Messiah; who, in consequence of their unbelief, injustice, and horrid ingratitude, expressly, and in the clearest <sup>b</sup> terms, denounced all those woes which have happened to them exactly according to his divine and infallible prediction. However had the divine vengeance stopped here, and had God contented himself with the destruction of a city and a temple, in which his worship had been so impiously prophaned; and with the dispersion of a rebellious nation, whom he had so often tried to gather under his wings; or had the effects of his vengeance fallen only on the guilty, especially on the chiefs of the nation, the Scribes and Pharisees, who were deepest in the guilt; there would have been nothing surprising in all their punishment, how heavy soever.

<sup>c</sup> **B**UT that it would have continued from generation to generation, and from age to age; <sup>*Their woful state ever since.*</sup> that their posterity should have already groaned under the same severe captivity almost seven-teen centuries, without the least glimpse of relief or abatement, is what may justly fill us with wonder: especially if we add to it, that the *Jewish* nation, as unhappy and numerous as it is over the world, hath preserved itself so long, under all the contempt and hatred, ill treatment and cruelty, and sometimes under the most bloody persecutions raised against it, almost in all the places of their dispersion. Such infinite difficulties and discouragements have they met with from Christians and *Turks*, as well as all other sorts of nations, that their history is hardly any thing but a continued series of woes and miseries, of injustice and violence, the most flagrant calamities, and bloody cruelties exercised against them: so that one cannot but wonder, how a people, whom he might rather have expected to find long since drowned in those seas of blood which had been drawn from them, should yet subsist in so many parts of <sup>d</sup> the world; unless we suppose, that the Divine Providence has preserved them hitherto for some great and glorious purpose. <sup>*Preserved hitherto by Divine Providence for a miraculous conversion.*</sup>

**A**ND, if neither the length and dreadfulnefs of this their last captivity, nor the learned books which have been since written by Christians against them, exposing the poor shifts which their rabbies have been driven to, as well as the many palpable lies, forgeries, false glosses, and interpretations of the sacred books, to keep up their desponding hope in a Messiah not yet come, have not hitherto been able to open their eyes to their fatal errors; if all attempts made by Christians, whether by fair arguments or by violence, have hitherto proved ineffectual to persuade them to seek for truth, peace, and happiness, in the gospel of Christ; and, if they have

† See before, vol iv. p. 287, & seq.



all along preferred a miserable and ignominious slavery to their temporal, as well as eternal, a welfare, we may justly conclude, that the divine wisdom and goodness, which hath so wonderfully preserved them through such a series of ages, and through such vast difficulties and dreadful persecutions, designs their conversion in his own time to be altogether as miraculous as that of the heathen world. When that glorious and happy time will come is one of those inscrutable secrets, which God hath been pleased to reserve in his own disposal<sup>a</sup>: although, we cannot read the sacred books of the Old and New Testament with any attention, without observing indisputable promises of their call and total conversion. But, as this last is out of our province, we shall readily refer our readers to those many and learned treatises which have been written on the subject, particularly those which the reader will find in the margin<sup>b</sup>; whilst we confine ourselves to what more properly relates to their history, their dispersion over the b world, their various settlements in the east and west, their sufferings, their learned men and writings, false Messiahs and miracles, their academies and famed professors, their disputes with Christians and other nations, as well as among themselves; likewise to such material occurrences as have happened to them since the destruction of their city and temple by the Romans, to the close of the foregoing century, beginning with those who retired immediately after the sad catastrophe into the eastern, and ending with those who settled in the western, parts of the world, from which they came to be distinguished into eastern and western Jews (A).

The chief subject of this history.

Jewish accounts fraught with fables.

Their chronology very imperfect;

By this vast scope of time, place, and matter, which this chapter comprehends, the reader will easily imagine, that we do not intend to give a full and regular history of the whole nation, c in every place of their dispersion, much less a chronological one through every age to this time, which would rather require some volumes; and, consequently, can have no place in a work so comprehensive as this. Neither would the greater part of it be either instructive or delightful to him, as most of our knowledge of it is fetched from the Jewish writers; who are justly noted, not only for their more than ordinary partiality to their own, and hatred as well as contempt for other nations, but likewise for their constant dealing in the most palpable falsehoods and absurdities. In reality, they outdo all the fabulous writers in the number, variety, and extraordinariness, of their miracles and surprising events; the sublime character of their doctors, saints, and martyrs; the exaggerated descriptions of their schools, academies, and cities; their riches, populousness, and a vast number of other pretences. The whole d calculated indeed to raise the credit of the Jewish nation above all others, even under all the disadvantages lately mentioned; but in effect these stupendous stories are couched in such positive and unguarded terms, and with such magisterial confidence, as serves rather to expose either their imposture or credulity (B). To this if we add, that they are the most wretched chronologists,

<sup>a</sup> Acts i. 7. <sup>b</sup> Vid. int. al. JOSE. MEDE, JURIEU, MEKLING, RHOD, and a late treatise on the restoration of the Jews and Israel. Bishop SHERLOCK on Prophecy, & al. plur.

(A) We must here take notice to our readers, that, by this distinction, we do not mean that antient one which was made between the Jews, who were transplanted beyond the *Euphrates*; and whose situation being easterly from those of *Judea*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, &c. were called eastern, and these western. But, by the former, we mean those who have dispersed themselves through the eastern part of the world, such as *Turkey*, *Persia*, *Egypt*, *Palestine*, &c.; and, by the latter, or western, those who have been, or still are, tolerated in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France*, *England*, *Germany*, and other provinces of *Europe*, where they have had, or still have, very considerable settlements.

Besides this distinction, the *European Jews* divide themselves into northern and southern; the former of whom, being those who for many ages lived in *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, and other northern provinces, not only differ in their liturgy, ceremonies, and in some of their tenets; but, being more strict adherers to them, do hate and despise the southern ones, which are those chiefly of *Spain* and *Portugal*, who are not only more remiss in all these respects, but go even so far as to make outward profession of popery in those countries, for the sake of enriching themselves; and scruple not to go to mass, to confession, to worship the host, cross, relicks, &c.; or even to take priestly orders among them, and enter themselves into their convents, as we shall have further occasion to hint in the sequel.

(B) To give at once a satisfactory proof of this, we shall subjoin some instances of it by way of specimen to the rest. First, most of their eminent men, either for sanctity or learning, have not only been very conversant in miracles, but their very conception and birth have been accompanied or preceded by some signal prodigy; whilst their lives, and even deaths, have been signalized with a much greater number and variety of them.

We begin with the famed *Simeon Jochabdes*, the pretended author of the book of *Zohar*, said to have lived a little before the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and the first who ventured to write down the sublime mysteries of the *Cabbala*, which had, till then, been only conveyed by the angels unto the patriarchs, till *Moses*; and by him revealed to the seventy elders, from whom it passed from mouth to mouth unto his days, when he undertook, for the first time, to commit them to writing in the book above-named, as we have had occasion already to mention in a former part (†).

They tell us, among other things, that he and his son did, in some miraculous manner, escape the cruelty of the emperor *Titus*, who had condemned them to die, and went and hid themselves in a cavern, where they found leisure to write the book above-mentioned, not without the assistance of the prophet *Elijah*, who was sent to him, from time to time, by God, to explain to him such mysteries of that divine science as were above his reach. The book thus miraculously compiled, *Simeon*

(†) See *Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 596, note (B).



a chronologists, not only in the imperfect calculations of time, in which they vastly differ from us and other nations, as the reader may see by the short account which we shall give in the margin

came forth to communicate the contents of it to such disciples of his as were fit to receive those sublime mysteries; and whilst he was uttering them, such a resplendent light filled the whole house, that they were not able so much as to cast their eyes on him; and at the same time a fire surrounded the place, which kept all other persons from coming in. At length the double miracle ceased; by which they perceived, that the light of *Israel* was gone out; upon which, one disciple kissed his hand, another his feet, and vast numbers came to attend and honour his funeral.

Whilst they were carrying him to his grave, a voice was heard in the sky, crying out, Come to *Simion's* nuptials; he will enter in peace and repose in the bridal chamber. A bright flame likewise surrounded the bier, as if to set it on fire; and, on his being let down into the grave, another voice was heard, saying, This is he who hath caused the earth to quake, and the kingdoms to tremble. These are some of the wonders, they tell you, of the author of *Zohar*, whom they look upon as the chief of all the *Cabalists*; altho' his book doth not appear to have been so much as known among the *Jews* till 1000 years after.

Nor are they less lavish of their prodigies, even to some of the ancient doctors, whom the nation ought rather not only to have been ashamed of, but to have even execrated, for their impostures, and for the dreadful calamities which those brought upon them.

Of this number was their famed *Akiba*, who set up for the forerunner of the false Messiah *Cosiba*, who appeared under *Adrian*, and took upon him the name of *Bar Chochab*, *The son of a star*; and of whom we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the sequel. *Akiba*, according to them, was descended from *Sifera*, general of *J. bin*, king of *Tyre*, by a *Jewish* mother (1), who had kept the flocks of a rich inhabitant of *Jerusalem* forty years, when his daughter became enamoured of him; and, being ashamed to marry an obscure shepherd, advised him to go and spend twelve years in study at some academy, which our author does not name; and, upon his promise of doing so, was privately married to him (2). He went accordingly; and, at the end of twelve years, brought home twelve thousand disciples; at sight of whom, she bad him go again another twelve years; at the end of which he came home to her with twenty-four thousand. She met him in tears, and, with her cloaths rent, told him, that her father had disinherited her on his account. However, the old man had no sooner set his eyes on him, but he altered his mind, fell on his knees before his son-in-law, and bestowed a handsome fortune on him. What they add, concerning the death of his pretended twenty-four thousand disciples, who died every one between the feasts of *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, for some misbehaviour to each other, and their being all buried in a valley near *Tiberias* along with their master and his first wife, is no less extraordinary.

As to his learning and writings, they tell us wonders of them (3): they assert that he could account for the least title in the sacred books. They even add, that God had revealed things to him, which he had concealed from *Moses*; and that the *Mishna* and *Talmud* have collected one thousand of his sentences, which are esteemed so many judicious and infallible decisions: moreover, that a large volume would hardly contain all the memorable things which he wrote and did (4). They also affirm, that he was permitted to enter into paradise, as well as the famed *Rabbi Achai*, to whom he was to give his sister in marriage. These are some of the wonders which they tell us of the celebrated *Akiba*, who was nevertheless the pretended forerunner and strenuous fautor of that false

Messiah, whose imposture brought as great a destruction on the *Jewish* nation under *Adrian*, as their former had been under *Vitus*. This we shall see in the sequel, where we shall take notice of the sad catastrophe of both by order of that emperor.

In like manner they extol several of his disciples, particularly those who follow *Rabbi Judah*, the son of *Elai*, not only for having been the prince of orators, but much more so for not having committed one single sin during his whole life. He became the chief of an academy, and his comment on *Leviticus*, is stiled, by way of excellence, *The Book*. He fasted most of the year, lived upon herbs and roots; and was ranked among their greatest saints after his death; insomuch that his tomb, which they placed on a hill covered with olive-trees, near the little town of *Zaitun* in *Galilee*, was visited and revered by all the *Jewish* devotees.

*R. Chanina*, the son of *Chachinai*, another of *Akiba's* disciples in the same reign, and one of the five judges of the *Jewish* tribunal at *Japhneh*, is reported to have married when young, but to have left his wife and home to study the law; to which he applied himself with such assiduity, that, upon his return, he neither knew his wife, house, nor family. Another, named *Elcazer Gbisma*, became so profound an arithmetician, that he could calculate the drops of water that were in the sea (5). We omit several others of less note to come at the most celebrated of them, called, by way of excellence, *Mehir*, or *enlightener*, and was stiled, *The light of the learned*, as his master *Akiba*, was *The light of the world*; which title descended likewise on his disciple *Judah Hakkodish*, or the saint of whom we shall have further occasion to speak. *Mehir* married a wife who became more learned than he, and whose decisions bear a much greater authority; insomuch that she is reckoned in the rank of the *Tanaites*, one of the highest classes of their doctors. She has left 300 traditions, which she had learned from 30, or, according to others, 300 masters. She one day, among the rest, took upon her to correct one of her husband's interpretations, in such a manner as displayed, if not a greater judgment, at least a higher degree of charity; for some loose fellows having by their noise interrupted him in his study, *Mehir* immediately pronounced a curse against them out of the civth psalm, *Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth*, &c. verse ult.; upon which she checked him with some emotion, telling him, that the curse of the Psalmist was levelled against the sins, and not against the sinners; for that if the former were rooted out of the world, there would be none of the latter left in it (6). It is pity his resentment caused her end to prove dishonourable and tragical to her. For we are told, that she suffered herself to be so far deluded by one of her husband's disciples, who acted in concert with him, as to appoint a private meeting with him, in which being caught, and unable to outlive her disgrace, she went and hanged herself; soon after which *Mehir* married another, which he took care should not eclipse his fame as this had done.

All these, as was lately observed, were the disciples of *Akiba* above-mentioned; and this sketch of the surprising things which the *Jewish Rabbies* have wrote of them, will suffice to give our readers an idea of their swollen stile and fondness for the fabulous sublime. We shall only add, what they say farther of the famed university of *Leher*, or *Bithur*, in which their master and his false Messiah had refuted themselves against the army of the emperor *Adrian*; and which had 400 schools or colleges, each college 400 professors, and each professor 400 disciples; all which formed such a potent army, that the defence they made against the *Romans* made not only

(1) *Gantz Tzemach David*, p. 99.

(2) *Ex Ketuboth*, fol. 62. ap. *Fogenseil* in סוטה p. 312.

(3) *Idem Ibid.*

(4) *Zacbut* in *Juchasin*, p. 62.

(5) *Bartoloc Bibl. Rabin tom iii. p. 271.*

*Wolf. J. b. ecc. & alib. pass.*

(6) *Gantz Tzemach*, *Wagens*, up. sup. 300. b. See also *Wolf. Bibl. Rab.*

*sub voc.*



margin (C); but that they are the most negligent in that important point, leaping over whole a scores of years, if not sometimes more than a whole century, to make their fabulous conceits coincide, of which we may have occasion to give some pregnant instances in the sequel; it will be no wonder that we decline a task, which would make us continually liable to stop, either to confute some of their absurd fables, or rectify their wretched anachronisms.

For, with respect to this task, they appear wholly careless and unconcerned about it; and, as long as they know that their people never read any of our books, and wholly rely upon their own, they are in no pain about any objection we raise against them, or any error or falsehood we prove against them.

Eastern Jews,  
still more un-  
known to us.

WITH relation to the history of the eastern *Jews* we are still more in the dark. The *Jews* themselves being ignorant of what hath happened to their brethren in those remote countries; b and having received but a very imperfect intelligence from thence, either from books written there, or from any epistolary intercourse. Their chronologers have indeed taken the pains to transmit the names of those doctors who have presided at their most celebrated schools, both in the east and in the west; but they speak rarely of those whom they style the chiefs or princes of the captivity, in the former. We find at most but three of them mentioned from *Huna*, who was the first of them (D), to the time of the finishing of the *Talmud*, that is, during the

*Judea*, but the whole earth to quake; there being none of them but was stout enough to pluck up a cedar by the root upon a full gallop.

(C) We need not here repeat what we have observed in our ancient history of the imperfect calculations of the ancient *Jews* (7), before the *Babylonish* captivity. And though it was in some measure rectified, as we have elsewhere shewn under the *Maccabite* princes (8), yet was this amendment far enough from being so exact as those of other nations. Besides, their writers made no scruple to compute their years from different æras, such as from the flood, from *Abraham's* or *Jacob's* descent into *Egypt*, others from the exod, from their being formed into a monarchy, from the first or second destruction of the temple under *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Titus*, &c. And it doth not appear, that they began to reckon from the creation till after their *Gemarra* was finished, at which time they fixed that for their common æra.

But in this, we must observe, that the *Jews* since fix the birth of Christ in the year of the world 3760, contrary to our chronology, which fixes it at the end of the 4th millenary, so that they come short by 240 years from ours; for add that number to 3760, and that makes up the whole 4000 years. But, besides this, they have another, which they call the lesser reckoning, in which they throw off all the millenaries, and reckon only the years that have elapsed since the last; which being added to the 240 years above-mentioned, brings it exactly to the christian æra. Thus when we read of any of their famed *Rabbies* who flourished, or of any persecution or other considerable event that happened to them in the year 460, according to this lesser calculation, the above-mentioned addition of 240 to that number will bring it to the 700 of Jesus Christ, and so of the rest. Our readers will not be displeased to have a farther and fuller idea given them of this new way of the *Jewish* computation which is taken from the year of our Christian æra 1674, which was with them, according to their short

reckoning, the year 4777, or 435th year, their chronology ran thus (9):

|                                 | From the |
|---------------------------------|----------|
| Creation                        | 5435     |
| Flood                           | 3779     |
| Confusion of tongues            | 3439     |
| Birth of <i>Abraham</i>         | 3487     |
| —of <i>Isaac</i>                | 3387     |
| —of <i>Jacob</i>                | 3327     |
| Descent into <i>Egypt</i>       | 3197     |
| Birth of <i>Moses</i>           | 3067     |
| Exod, and the giving of the law | 2987     |

|                                                                     | From the |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Entrance into <i>Canaan</i>                                         | 2347     |
| Anointing of <i>David</i> king                                      | 2547     |
| Building of the temple                                              | 2507     |
| Captivity of the ten tribes                                         | 2231     |
| Destruction of the first temple                                     | 2097     |
| Beginning of the <i>Mede</i> and <i>Persian</i> monarchy            | 2046     |
| Building of the second temple                                       | 2027     |
| Beginning of the <i>Greek</i> monarchy                              | 1932     |
| Cessation of prophecy                                               | 1982     |
| Beginning of the <i>Asmonean</i> kingdom                            | 1772     |
| Beginning of the Christian æra                                      | 1674     |
| Ruin of the second temple                                           | 1607     |
| Compiling of the <i>Mishna</i>                                      | 1534     |
| Reign of <i>Constantine the Great</i>                               | 1401     |
| Origin of the <i>Manean</i> sect                                    | 1382     |
| Completing of the <i>Talmud</i> or <i>Gemarra</i> of <i>Babylon</i> | 1196     |
| <i>Ditto</i> of <i>Jerusalem</i>                                    | 1167     |
| Birth of <i>Mohammed</i>                                            | 1184     |
| Beginning of the <i>Ishmaelitish</i> , or <i>Mohammedan</i> faith   | 1080     |
| <i>Maimon's</i> writing his <i>Haicad</i>                           | 500      |
| <i>Jews</i> banished out of <i>France</i>                           | 279      |
| —out of <i>Spain</i>                                                | 183      |
| — <i>Portugal</i>                                                   | 175      |

(D) This chief did not flourish till about the end of the second century of the Christian æra, and was contemporary, according to the *Jewish* chronologers, [except *D. Gantz*, who makes him near a century more recent] with the famed *Judah Hakkodish*, or the saint of whom we shall speak in the sequel; and was chosen chief of the oriental *Jews* about an. Ch. 220, or 222. Before him we meet with no mention of any; and we may affirm, that in the west that dignity did not begin till after the destruction of *Jerusalem*; for till then, those that dwelt in the east sent their gifts to *Jerusalem*, or if they were of the schismatic leaven, to mount *Garizim*; and the chiefs of both being under the *Roman* power, their authority was inconsiderable.

Some critics (10) indeed pretend, that, soon after the destruction of the metropolis, the *Jewish* nation divided itself into three bodies, each of which chose a chief over them. Those which remained in *Judea* continued under the chief of the *Sanhedrin*; those that refuged themselves in *Egypt* set up a patriarch over them, who is mentioned by *Adrian*: and those of *Babylon* appointed another, whom they stiled the chief of the captivity; tho' it is still pretended, that that of *Judea* had some kind of jurisdiction over the whole nation; which was the opinion of *Origen* and *St. Jerom*; and is farther confirmed by the emperor *Adrian's* mentioning but one patriarch

(7) See vol. i. p. 604. sub note (Q) p. 609 & seq. p. 612, and notes, p. 733, & seq. vol. iv. p. 3, & seq. p. 71 (K) & alib. pass. (9) See *Basnage hist. des Juifs*, lib. vi. c. 29. *Gothofred. cod. Theod.* tom. viii. c. 21. Vide *Basnage*, ubi sup. lib. iii. c. 4.

(8) See *Anc Hist.* (10) Vide



2 the space of three whole centuries; which is a plain proof that they knew little of them, or, at least, that those so much boasted dignities were inconsiderable there, and had little or nothing in them that could raise the honour or credit of the *Jewish* nation; as the learned Mr. *Basnage*, whom we have chosen to follow in the most material transactions of this history (E), hath

*Chiefs or  
princes of the  
captivity.*

over the whole *Jewish* nation; and whose authority extended over *Egypt*, as well as over the east. The former of these is indeed more than probable; since *Egypt* being subject to the *Romans* as well as *Judea*, the patriarch of the last, or of *Tiberias*, being the only one acknowledged in the *Roman* empire, the other seems of course to have been subject unto him. But as to that of *Babylon*, who was independent of the *Romans*, it is more likely that the *Jews* chose him there to exempt themselves from the homage and tribute which those of *Judea* exacted from them. It were presumptuous to affirm any thing positively in so dark and disputed a matter; and we shall trouble our readers no farther with it.

(E) We do here readily acknowledge, that we have, for the most part, chosen to follow that excellent author in the sequel of this chapter, not only as his history of the *Jews* from their dispersion is the most elaborate and diffused, but as it hath hitherto been esteemed by the learned the most exact and accurate; and hath stood the test of so many editions in other countries, as well as in *Holland*; insomuch that the editor of that of *Paris*, the famed *Dupin*, who published it without the author's name, hath not been able to accuse him of any one material error or omission; though he hath made no scruple to curtail and castrate it of a great number of facts and remarks which he thought would displease those of his own church.

We have had two editions of it in *English*; the first by Mr. *Tho. Taylor*, A. M. ann. 1708, which the author himself owns to be faithful and exact; and the other, which is rather an abridgment of it, by *J. Cruth*, M. D. F. R. S. in two vols. 8vo. and printed in the same year—But we have chosen to follow the last *French* edition, which Mr. *Basnage* hath not only much enlarged, but hath cleared it from all the little cavils raised against it on the other side of the water; for on this side his work hath met with all the kind reception which it so justly deserves.

In his preface to this new edition, that learned author hath not only acknowledged and corrected every fault, supplied every omission, which hath been objected to his first, and exposed the unfair practice by which his pirated and mangled history was ushered into the world by Mr. *Dupin*, and his learned licenser *Arnoudin*, but hath been at the pains to confute a great number of objections raised against him, with more prejudice and partiality than reason or candor, from those of the *Roman* church; among which we may reckon those of the learned father *Hurdouin*, written chiefly in vindication of his own chimerical systems, which yet his whole society were so much ashamed of, as to oblige him to recant it, notwithstanding the great honour and commendation which they foresaw such a public act must reflect on the *Jewish* history and its author, a person, in all other respects, the least in favour with the jesuitical society.

Some other libels, as we may justly stile them, came out against his learned work from the same *Romish* quarter; one in particular written by Mr. *Simon*, though published by his kinsman *Barat*, ann. 1714; to say nothing of some others from the monkish tribe, not worth mentioning here; all which the author hath likewise condescended to give a full and satisfactory answer, either in the said preface, p. 10, & seq. or in the body of the book; on which, for that reason, we shall not dwell longer.

But there is still an extraordinary one which we cannot, in justice to the author and ourselves, omit taking notice of, as it came out from a very opposite quarter; and, by its menacing stile and aspect joined to a more than common display of learning, seemed to threaten no less than

the utter explosion of that great and learned work, and the ruin of its author's character. This singular piece was published under the pompous title of *Entretiens sur divers sujets d'Histoire, de Religion, Lit.ature, & de Critique*; but the writer, who was likewise a minister of the *French* reformed church, and had been library-keeper to one of the late kings of *Prussia*, prudently conceals his name, as well he might; and, to give his censures the greater sanction, puts them into the mouth of a pretended *Jew*, but half converted to Christianity, by way of dialogue; in which himself bears no other part than that of commending, applauding, and sometimes backing, his objections with some specious proof, but more frequently by prefacing them with expressions the most derogatory, and reflecting on his antagonist, or with some fulsome encomium on his pretended *Jew*. The two first dialogues being merely introductory to his design, and to apprise the reader, how this *Aboab* (that is the *Jew's* name) came by his stock of polite literature, we shall say no more of it, but proceed to the third, where the threatened censure on the *Jewish* history begins at p. 126, and ends at p. 244. *Aboab* comes punctually at the hour, is so eager to vent his spleen against his adversary, that he breaks out with this exclamation, *Di magni horribilem & sacrum libellum!* and then opens his first heavy charge against our historian, which is, that he hath falsely accused the *Jews* of preferring their *Talmud* to the *Sacred Scripture*, by their comparing the latter to water, and the former to wine.

We have formerly observed †, that the talmudists compared the *Written Law* to water, the *Mishna* to wine, and the *Gemarra* to *hippocras*, or a rich compound wine. the fact is so undoubted, that no *Jew*, before his pretended *Aboab*, ever denied or pretended to disprove it; and he is the first, if not the only one, who hath attempted to expound that proverbial saying in a quite opposite sense. The method he takes to do it is no less new and singular; water, says he, being the most useful and necessary liquor, especially to the *Jews*, on account of their frequent washings and legal purifications, it plainly follows, that the comparing the written law to it must imply their giving the preference to it on this very account.

A man indeed must have the stupidity as well as impudence of the worst of *Jews*, to father such an unheard of exposition on a talmudist, so contrary to their avowed sense of it, and to the manifest import of the gradation from water to wine, and from common wine to the most excellent and cordial of that kind. Mr. *La Croze* therefore rightly judged, that such an unfair and unjust censure would better sit the mouth of a *Jew in nubibus*, than the pen of a protestant: though, in order to qualify him for that part, and to give some colour of reason to his censure, he hath been forced to supply him with some quotations out of the *Greek* poets, and other parts of literature; for which the talmudists always expressed a more than ordinary contempt. But there was still, it seems, a farther occasion for furnishing his *Aboab* with all this pompous shew of literature, as the bulk of his censures were to be merely critical, and of the lowest of that kind, and every *Hebrew*, *Greek*, or *Latin* word, mis-accented or spelt, and other as palpable as unavoidable errors of the press, were to be brought in as so many undeniable proofs of the *Jewish* historian's ignorance of the learned languages; though had he but revised his own short dialogue with half that critical accuracy, he must have observed a much greater number of such inaccuracies, if not much more palpable blunders, than he hath been able to spy out in that voluminous work. But for such a severe and exaggerated examen of those errata, his censures

(†) *Annot. bib. vol. iii. p. 5. note B.*



Royal lineage  
not confined to  
them.

hath fully proved in his. And yet some of the *Jews* pretend that these chiefs were superior in dignity and authority to the patriarch of *Judea*; because all that were left of the race of *David* are affirmed to have left that province, and to have retired into that of *Babylon*, where they conclude the sceptre, mentioned by *Jacob*, is only to be found (F); so that these princes of the captivity are, according to the *Jewish* tradition, affirmed to have been set up in lieu of the royal dignity; and that they have the same right with the ancient *Jewish* monarchs, over the whole nation wheresoever dispersed; and whether they pleased to assume or disclaim it (G). But here they grossly contradict themselves, merely to raise the authority of these *Babylonish* chiefs, who afterwards flourished a considerable time, and in great splendor there, above that of the patriarchs, who were more obscure, and of shorter duration, most probably to keep up the notion of the regal power being still extant in the former; and to evade the objection which the Christians raise against them, of its having been long since extinct; for their very genealogies plainly shew, that the elder *Hillel*, the chief of them, was of the tribe of *Judah*, and of the seed of *David*, being descended, according to them, from *Shephathiah*, the son of *Abitail*, the son of *David* (H). The western *Jews* pretend, moreover, that some of the most considerable families of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* went and settled in *Sephard*, or *Spain*; and that it is among them that the royal line is best preserved; on which account they have looked upon the rest of their nation with a singular contempt, and arrogate to themselves a superiority over them: though we should think, that if any could justly claim such a merit over the rest, it should be those who, instead of abandoning their native country to go and seek their fortune either in *Spain* or *Babylon*, preferred the living in it among the dreadful dilapidations of their metropolis, and other cities, and with a view of calling the dispersed thither again, and raising it as much as was in their power out of its ruins. We shall leave it to the *Jews* to dispute these points among themselves; and only add, that all this artifice of theirs will by no means prove what they design by it, viz. the existence of the sceptre or royal dignity, since those *Babylonish* chiefs were then subjects to the kings of *Persia*, and so could have no pretence to either. We shall find a more proper place to speak of their pretended grandeur, pompous installation, and other particulars, related of them by the *Jewish* writers; and thus much shall suffice to have premised concerning their swollen and fabulous stile; their fondness for sublime fictions and miracles, in order to keep up the people's desponding expectation of a *Messiah*, as well as to raise an implicit faith and sovereign regard for those doctors and their writings. By all which our readers will easily see, what dependance can be had upon historians and masters, whose main authority is founded on heaps of the most absurd miracles, as are only fit for a *Jewish* creed. We shall therefore resume the thread of their history, and proceed to give an account of the most material events that have happened to that nation since the destruction of their metropolis.

against it would have appeared as impertinent and contemptible for their number as they are in their nature. And such we dare affirm every candid reader will believe, and all that will be at the pains to read will find them, at the first sight; though much more, if they will be at the trouble of perusing the full and satisfactory answers, which the learned author hath condescended to give to each of them, in his preface to that new edition of his work; for which reason, we shall dwell no longer upon that idle heap of impertinent censures, being no farther concerned with it than to justify what we had asserted in our antient history, which was the very first point which that pretended *Jew* undertook to confute. The reader will easily guess at the rest of his performance by this his *first coup d'essai*, and excuse us from following its author farther in it, especially, as nothing material hath come out from that or any other quarter against the work above-mentioned since its author's full reply; but, on the contrary, a general approbation of the one, and encomium on the other.

(F) These accordingly quote a concession of *Judah Hakkodesh*, who is reported to have owned, that if *Huna* above-mentioned had come into *Judea*, he would have been obliged to have acknowledged him his superior, that *Babylonish* chief being of the seed of *David* by king *Jehoiakim*, whereas he (*Judah*) was of the tribe of *Benjamin*, and only of the royal race by the females. But this passage, so derogatory to the *Jews* of *Palestine*, seems rather to have been inserted in the *Jerusalem* talmud long after the extinction of those patriarchs, and when the *Babylonish* chiefs had got all the authority in their

own hands. Neither is it credible, that *Judah Hakkodesh*, who was dead before *Huna* had been chosen to his dignity, or at least before he came to take possession of it in *Judea*, could make him such a compliment before his election, especially as his progenitors were equally of the tribe of *Judah*, and of the *Davidic* race, as we shall shew from the very genealogies of the *Jews*.

However that be, those chiefs have always distinguished themselves by the title of *Rabona*; whereas they give the *Jewish* pontiffs only that of *Rabbies*. They likewise assume the title of *Nassi*, or prince; on pretence that it is only with them that the royal race of *David* subsists in its full vigour; though that title is often taken in a much lower sense by some of the western *Jews*, especially in *Germany*, *Poland*, and *Italy*; where they give it those who have only the superintendency over about 20 synagogues.

(G) So says the book intituled *Jad Khazabha* (11), *Capita sive principes captivorum qui sunt Babylone vice reges sunt constituti, licetque ipsis imperare in omni loco, sive placeat illis sive non placeat.*

(H) We may further add, that this pretended retreat of the royal race into *Babylon*, is not only without foundation, but it appears, on the contrary, that they subsisted still in *Judea* in the time of *Adrian*, particularly in several of the relations of *Jesus Christ*, who never, that we can find, left their antient dwelling to go into *Babylon*; so that it is a mere *Jewish* fiction, that they were all to be found in the latter, and none in the former.

(11) *Tracl. de Regib. cap. iv. de Aixmalatarcha.*



- a WE need not repeat here what we observed near the close of their history, of the desolate condition to which both city and kingdom were reduced; or of the dreadful slavery to which the greatest part of the surviving *Jews* were condemned by the conqueror (I). Those that survived this sad catastrophe, and escaped the fury of the *Romans*, retired, some into *Gallilee*, and a much greater number into *Egypt* and *Cyrene*, where we shall find them again raising new rebellions, committing horrid massacres, and bringing again the victorious *Romans* against them. A learned countryman of our own<sup>c</sup>, however, hath imagined, that the *Jewish Sanhedrin* was not immediately destroyed, but only removed to *Jamnia*, and thence to *Tiberias*, where it subsisted till the death of *Judas* the saint; and that there were likewise academies set up in other cities, whilst the nation was still governed by a patriarch. But all this is said on the bare authority of their tradition, which is little to be depended upon where the *Jewish* honour is concerned, and is eminently false in this (K); for it doth not appear that that supreme court had the least shadow of power or authority left it by the *Romans*; but, on the contrary, that the whole nation was oppressed all manner of ways, on account of their frequent and bloody revolts; insomuch that they were not even permitted any exercise of their religion, unless they paid the annual didrachma to the emperor's treasury (L), over and above the other heavy taxes formerly laid on them; and we find that *Titus*, who appropriated that tax to his own use, as well as his successor *Domitian*, made them pay it with the utmost severity; insomuch that they stripped men of all ages and conditions, to discover whether they were circumcised, in order to extort that tax from them<sup>d</sup>. And is it credible, that a people, become so odious and oppressed, would be allowed to keep up such a supreme court, and endowed with such an extensive authority; or that, if *Titus* had made any such concession, *Josephus* would not have taken notice of it, both for the honour of that emperor, and the credit of his own nation? And as to *Domitian*, he is known to have hated the *Jews* too much to have suffered them to enjoy any such signal privilege, and was rather a persecutor, than a friend or benefactor to them: it must therefore be under his successor *Nerva*, who proved a much more favourable prince to them (M), that we must seek for the first appearance and institution

<sup>c</sup> LIGHTFOOT, op. posthum. p. 70,<sup>d</sup> SUTTON, lib. vii. XIPHIL. in Vespas.

(I) Were we to credit the exaggerated calculation which some Christian authors have made of the number of inhabitants in *Judea* (12), amounting, according to them, to 66,240,000, one would hardly suppose it to have been so far depopulated by the loss of 13 or 14 hundred thousand, which *Josephus* reckoned to have perished in this war; but that there would be still a sufficient number to have kept it from such an utter desolation as the *Jewish* historian represents it. But if the former is visibly wrong and exaggerated, the latter seems no less so on the other side; since we find in *Judea*, about sixty years after the destruction of the temple, a sufficient number of them to put a numerous army on foot, to fortify fifty castles, and to make a stout defence against the emperor *Adrian*, besides the city of *Bitber*, which held out a long and stout siege against him. All which shews plainly, that either there were a greater number left in the country than his account would intimate, or, at least, that they were not so far dispersed, much less destroyed or enslaved, but that they could quickly rally again, and resettle themselves in it.

(K) This tradition, founded on some predictions of the *Cabala*, says, that this translation was performed about forty years before the destruction of *Jerusalem*; whereas it is plain that Christ, St. *Stephen*, and St. *Paul*, appeared before, and were condemned by, that court sitting then in the metropolis; and *Josephus* informs us that it subsisted there still in the time of the *Jewish* war. Neither doth it appear from his whole history to have been removed to any other place. Those that say, that *Titus* granted that favour to the *Jews* at the request of *Jochanan*, the then patriarch of it, not only contradict those which pretend it was removed forty years before, but even *Josephus*, who would not have omitted so singular an instance of that emperor's condescension to that pontif, who, if any such there was, must have been

dead before the siege of that place. Lastly, it contradicts the common notion both of the *Jews* and Christians, who affirm, that that supreme court had no power to sit in any other place but in *Jerusalem*, as we have had occasion to shew in our antient history (\*); and our Saviour seems to hint as much when he said (*Luke* xiii. 33.) that it could not be that a prophet should perish, or be condemned to death, out of *Jerusalem*; since the sanhedrin alone had the power of passing that sentence on him.

(L) This was a yearly tax, which each *Jew* was formerly obliged to pay to the temple, and amounted to about 1s. 3d. of our money; but which *Titus*, after the taking of *Jerusalem*, ordered to be paid to *Jupiter Capitolinus* (13); and was so much the heavier and disgraceful, because it obliged them to buy their liberty of religion with that very money which they used to contribute for the preservation of it, and the service of the temple.

(M) This emperor made three ordinances in favour of the *Jews*, viz 1st, That all those, that had been accused of impiety on account of their religion, should be released; and those that had been banished on that account, should be recalled; which shews that if *Domitian* had had any such favourable design towards them, as some attribute to him, he had been assassinated before he could accomplish it. 2dly, He forbade the molesting of the *Jews* on account of their religion; and 3dly, He ordered them to be discharged from the grievous taxes which had been imposed on them on that account in his predecessor's reign; all which seems farther proved by a medal of that prince with this legend,

*Calumnia fisci Judaici sublata.*

From this some have imagined, that the impost of the didrachma, mentioned under the last note, was also taken off; but *Origen* doth so positively assure us, that it was

(12) Vid. int. al. *Villalpand. de vision. Ezech. explan. tom. ii. p. 3. disput. xv. disput. iii. cap. 52, & alib.*  
 (\*) See *Ancient Hist. vol. i. p. 525. (H).*

(13) *Xiphilin, in Vespas. 217.*



institution of these *Jewish* patriarchs, rather than in the two preceding reigns, during which a they had met with nothing but cruelty and oppression; and therefore cannot be supposed to have been able, under all those calamities, to have recovered themselves from their total dispersion; and to have been in a condition to obtain this new dignity, much less to have raised it to such a degree of authority.

*The rise of the patriarchs of Judea.*

THESE are generally looked upon, not without good grounds, to have been rather of the *Aaronic* or *Levitical* race, than of the tribe of *Judah*, which, in these parts of *Judea*, was either extinguished, or, at least, so far depressed, that they were not only in no condition of resuming their former power, but the very least attempt to do it would have rendered them obnoxious to the resentment of the jealous *Romans*; but that the priests and *Levites* should be suffered to assume the power of teaching the people, and to that end to set up schools, b to appoint masters over them, and at length to instal one at the head of the rest, with the title of *Rosh Abbot*, or head of the fathers, to which the *Greek* one of *Patriarch* answers, and came to be most in vogue, is the more probable, because neither their tribe, which had nothing to do with the regal dignity, nor their office, which was then confined to matters of religion, could give any umbrage to the *Roman* power, especially as their authority over their flocks did chiefly owe its gradual growth to their great reputation for learning and piety, and consisted chiefly in deciding of cases of conscience, and other controversies about their religion, and establishing the wisest and most effectual rules for the re-establishment and durable settlement of it. And

*Academies set up at Tiberias, Lydda, &c.*

as the towns of *Tiberias*, *Japhne*, or *Jamnia*, and *Lydda*, appeared to them the most commodious c to set up the first academies in, not, in all probability, without the government's permission, this might give occasion to the *Jews* to affirm afterwards, that the *Sanhedrin* had been removed to those cities. These *Patriarchs* having likewise gained some great reputation for their extraordinary learning, zeal, and piety, might, in time, not only bring a great concourse of other *Jews* from other parts, as from *Egypt*, and other western provinces of their dispersion, but likewise prove the means of their patriarchal authority being acknowledged there. From them they ventured, in time, to levy a kind of tribute, in order to defray the charges of their dignity, and of the officers under them, whose business it was to carry their orders and

*Their gradual rise and power.*

decisions through the other provinces of their dispersion, and to see them punctually executed by all; that some shadow of union, at least, might be kept up among the western *Jews*. d

*Fabulous list of patriarchs mentioned by the Jews.*

They likewise nominated the doctors who were to preside over their schools and academies; and these were, in process of time, stiled chiefs and princes, in order to raise the credit of that dignity, or to imply the great regard which their disciples were to pay to them. These chiefs became, at length, rivals of the patriarchs; and some of them possessed both dignities at once: which caused not only great confusion amongst them, but oftentimes very violent and bloody contests. However, as the *Jewish* rabbies have trumped up a much older æra for this patriarchal dignity, and have given us a succession of them down to the fifth century, in which it was abolished, it will not be amiss to give our readers the substance of what they wrote of it in the margin (N); and, at the same time, to shew them the absurdity and falshood

still paid in his time, that it is likely this ordinance freed the *Jewish* nation only from the disgrace or calumny of those heavy fines which had been imposed upon them on account of their religion, or, as *Domitian* stiled it, impiety.

(N) According to them, the first patriarch was *Hillel*, sur-named the *Babylonian*, because he was sent for from thence to *Jerusalem*, about 100 years before the ruin of their capital, or thirty years before the birth of Christ, to decide a dispute about the keeping of *Easter*, which on that year fell out on the Sabbath-day; and it was on account of his wise decision, that he was raised to that dignity, which continued in his family till the said 5th century. He was likewise looked upon as a second *Moses*, because he lived like him 40 years in obscurity, 40 more in great reputation for learning and sanctity, and 40 more in possession of his patriarchal dignity. They make him little inferior to that law-giver in other of his excellencies, as well as in the great authority he gained over the whole *Jewish* nation. The wonder will be how *Herod the Great*, who was so jealous of his own power, could suffer a stranger to be raised to such a height of it, barely for having decided a dispute which

must, in all likelihood, have been adjudged by others long before that time.

However *Hillel* was succeeded by his son *Simeon*, whom many Christians pretend to have been the venerable old person of that name, who received the divine infant in his arms (14). The *Jews* give him but a very obscure patriarchate; though the authors above quoted make him moreover chief of the *sanhedrin*; and *Epiphanius* says, that the priestly tribe hated him so much for giving so ample a testimony to the divine child, that they denied him common burial. But it is hardly credible, that St. *Luke* should have so carelessly passed over his twofold dignity, if he had been really possessed of them, and have given him no higher title than that of a just and devout man.

He was succeeded by *Jochanan*, not in right of descent, but of his extraordinary merit, which the Rabbies, according to custom, have raised to so surprising a height, that, according to them, if the whole heavens were paper, all the trees in the world pens, and all the men writers, they would not suffice to pen down all his lessons. He enjoyed his dignity but two years, according to some, or five according to others; and was the person, who,

(14) *Luke* ii. 25, & seq. Vid. int. al. *Baron* sub an. 1° N. 40, p. 58. *Allat. de Simon.* p. 2, & seq. & *Calmet* sub voc.



a falshood of that pretended succession to this imaginary dignity. By all which they will plainly see, that it did not begin to appear in *Judea* till about the time of the emperor *Nerva*, lately

observing the gates of the temple to open of their own accord, cried out, *O temple, temple! why art thou thus moved? We know that thou art to be destroyed, seeing Zechariah hath foretold it, saying, Open thy gates, O Lebanon, and let the flames consume thy cedars.* Upon this, he is further reported to have complimented *Vespasian*, or rather, as some have corrected the story, *Titus*, with the title of king, assuring him, that it was a royal person who was to destroy that edifice: on which account they pretend that general gave him leave to remove the sanhedrin to *Japhne*, as was lately hinted.

The *Jewish* writers add, that he likewise erected an academy there, which subsisted till the death of *Akiba*; and was likewise the seat of the patriarch; and consisted of 300 schools or classes of scholars. Another he erected at *Lydda*, not far from *Japhne*, and where the Christians have buried their famed *St. George*. He lived 120 years; and being asked, what he had done to prolong his life? he gave this wise answer; I never made water nearer a house of prayer than four cubits: I never disguised my name: I have taken care to celebrate all festivals: and my mother hath even sold my head ornaments to buy wine enough to make me merry on such days; and left me at her death 300 hogsheads of it, to sanctify the *Sabbath*. The doctors that flourished in his time were no less considerable, both for their number and character, particularly the famed *Rabbi Chanina*, of whom the *Bath Col* (†) was heard to say, that *the world was preserved for the sake of him*; and *R. Nicodemus*, whom they pretend to have stopped the course of the sun, like another *Jeshua*.

He was succeeded by *Gamaliel*, a man, according to them, of unsufferable pride; and yet of so universal authority over all the *Jews*, not only in the west, but over the whole world, that the very monarchs suffered his laws to be obeyed in their dominions, not one of them offering to obstruct the execution of them (15). In his days flourished *Samuel the Less*, who composed a prayer full of the bitterest curses against heretics, by which they mean the Christians, and which are still in use to this day. *Gamaliel* was no less an enemy to them; and yet both have been challenged, the former as the celebrated master of our great apostle, the other as his disciple in his unconverted state; for take the *D mem* from *לנידע*, and there remains *לנידע*, *Saul*; and the word *Kalon*, or lesser, in the *Hebrew*, signifies *paulus*, or little, in the *Latin*; and as for the *D mem*, it being the first letter of the word *Min*, a heretic, it was thus taken from the name of *Samuel*, to shew that *Saul* did turn Christian (16). The apocryphal author of the recognitions pretends, that the *Gamaliel* mentioned in the *Acts* was actually a Christian, but secretly, and suffered to remain among the *Jews* by the consent and advice of the church (17). *Baronius* hath not only followed that fabulous author, but pretends that *Gamaliel* was buried afterwards in the same tomb with the proto-martyr *Stephen*, both whose relicks were pregnant with miracles. It is surprising, if *Gamaliel* was originally a patriarch, and prince of the sanhedrin, *St. Luke* should give him no better title than that of a pharisee, and doctor of the law, and in great repute among the people; and that, instead of presiding in the council, he should only represent him as a member of it, and giving his opinion among the rest of his brethren (18). There is moreover a manifest anachronism in making him succeed *Jochanan*, who outlived the ruin of the temple. He could not therefore be the person mentioned in the *Acts*.

*Simon II.* his son and successor, was the first martyr who died during the siege of *Jerusalem*. The people so

regretted his death, that an order was given, instead of ten bumpers of wine, which were usually drank at the funeral of a saint, to drink thirteen at his, on account of his martyrdom. These bumpers were in time multiplied, they tell us, to such a shameful height, that the sanhedrin was forced to make some new regulations to prevent that abuse.

These are the patriarchs, which the Rabbies tell us preceded the destruction of the temple; and we need no farther confutation of this pretended dignity, than the silence of the sacred historians, who not only make not the least mention of it; but assure us all along, that they were the high priests who presided in the sanhedrin; and before whom all cases, relating to the *Jewish* religion, were brought and decided. It was the high priest who examined and condemned our Saviour; that condemned *St. Stephen*; that forbade the apostles to preach in *Christ's* name; and who sat as judge on the great apostle at the head of that supreme court. The same may be urged from *Josephus*, who must needs have known and mentioned this pretended dignity, if any such there had been; and yet is so far from taking the least notice of it, that, like the evangelists, he places the pontiffs alone at the head of all the *Jewish* affairs; and names the high-priest *Ananus*, as having the care and direction of the war against the *Romans*; which is an evident proof that there were then no such patriarchs in being †.

To all this let us add, that, if there had been any such remarkable succession, the talmudists would have preserved it to future ages; whereas neither they, nor any of the antient authors of the *Jewish* church, make any mention of it; but only some of their doctors, who have written a considerable time after them; and of whom we have had occasion to speak in a former part as of writers to whom little credit can be given in points of this nature; especially as there are such unsurmountable contradictions between them, as no authors, either *Jewish* or Christian, have, with all their pains, been hitherto able to reconcile (19).

Their succession, according to the generality of those rabbies, stands as follows;

- 1 *Hillel*, the *Babylonian*.
- 2 *Simeon*, the son of *Hillel*.
- 3 *Gamaliel*, the son of *Simeon*.
- 4 *Simeon II.* the son of *Gamaliel*.
- 5 *Gamaliel II.* the son of *Simeon II.*
- 6 *Simeon III.* the son of *Gamaliel II.*
- 7 *Judah*, the son of *Simeon III.*
- 8 *Gamaliel III.* the son of *Judah*.
- 9 *Judah II.* the son of *Gamaliel III.*
- 10 *Hillel II.* the son of *Judah II.*
- 11 *Judah III.* the son of *Hillel II.*
- 12 *Hillel III.* the son of *Judah III.*
- 13 *Gamaliel IV.* the son of *Hillel III.*

According to *Gantz Tzemach David*, who hath reduced them to ten, they are:

- 1 *Hillel*, the *Babylonian*.
- 2 *Rabban Simeon*, the son of *Hillel*.
- 3 *Rabb. Gamaliel Ribona*.
- 4 *R. Simeon*, the son of *Gamaliel*.
- 5 *Rabban Gamaliel*. his son.
- 6 *R. Jehudah*, the prince.
- 7 *Hillel* the prince, his son.
- 8 *Rabban Gamaliel the Old*.
- 9 *Simeon III.*
- 10 *R. Judah, Nassi* or prince.

(†) *De hac, vid. Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 229 (E).* (15) *Vid. Gantz Tzemach David.* (16) *Alting. in Scilo, lib. vi. c. 28. Vid. Basnag. hist. des Juifs, lib. iii. c. 1. §. 13. & seqq.* (17) *Recog. Clement. l. i. c. 65.*  
 (18) *See Acts v. 34, & seqq.* (†) *Ant. lib. xx. c. 8, bell. Judaic. in fin. lib. iii. & alib.* (19) *De his vid. Worsl. Observ. p. 214. Bartoloc. & Wolf. Bibliot. Rabb. Othon. Hist. Deßer. Mishnia. Basnag. ub. sup. l. iii. c. 1. §. ib. & seq. Calmet. sub. voc. patriarch, &c.*

mentioned;



mentioned; nor to be raised to that degree of authority which the *Jews* give it, till that of his a  
 successor *Trajan*, or, perhaps more properly, till the reign of *Adrian*.

*Its most likely  
 beginning.*

ALLOWING, therefore, the list and succession given in the last note to be right in the main, though false with respect to the great power and dignity attributed to five or six of them, *Gamaliel* will be probably the first who took the title of *Rosh Abboth*, or *Patriarch*, in *Nerva's* time, and began to get some credit over the western *Jews*; but if we are to date that dignity from the first cotemporary author who makes mention of it, we shall be forced to bring it down to the reign of *Adrian*, who is the first that takes notice of it (O), and then *Simon III.* will be the first who enjoyed it in that high degree; for he flourished in that emperor's time, and was lineally descended from *Hillel*, in whose line it continued till its abolition, A. C. 429, as we shall see in the sequel.

Our design, however, is not to go through an historical account of those pontifs, especially as we find it fraught, by the *Jewish* writers, with the most absurd and fabulous legends, and miraculous exploits. What we have already given by way of specimen, of some of the former, will easily incline our readers to excuse us from doing the like by the latter; and to think it sufficient, that we take notice of their most material transactions in every age they have flourished, and stripped of all the rabbinic fables, and of every thing that is dubious, controverted, or impertinent.

*Residence at  
 Tiberias.*

*An academy  
 founded there.*

HAVING thus far settled the most probable æra of their rise, our next business will be to fix the place of their residence; which, though some have supposed it to have been *Lydda*, or *Jamnia*, yet is, by the far greater number, allowed to have been the famed city of *Tiberias*, c  
 situate on the lake of its name; and so called by *Herod*, who built it, in honour of *Tiberius* †, and which became afterwards the capital of *Galilee*, and the residence of *Agrippa*, on whom *Claudius* the emperor bestowed it, and from whom it was also called *Claudia Tiberias*. This city, famed for its advantageous situation, as well as for its medicinal waters, was chosen, as less liable to give umbrage to the jealous *Romans*, to be not only the patriarchal seat, but likewise that of the *Jewish* learning, a new academy being soon after founded in it, which became famous for its learned men; particularly the compilers of the *Mishnah*; of which more in its proper place (P).

*The patri-  
 archal autho-  
 rity.*

*Their apostles  
 or officers.*

THE authority of these *Patriarchs* hath been much exaggerated by the *Jews*, in order to repel a powerful argument urged by the Christians of those early ages, that the scepter, or d  
 regal authority, mentioned by *Jacob* <sup>a</sup>, was departed from them. But whatever they may write of it, it was rather a shadow of power, than a real one; and the *Romans* were too jealous of it to let them enjoy it in any higher degree. It was mostly confined to religious and controverted matters. They had officers of several ranks under them, whose business it was to carry their decisions, and to regulate other matters under their cognizance, in all places where their authority reached: and these were stiled *Apostoli*, *Legati*, and the like. They likewise levied the tribute that was paid to the *Patriarch* (Q), and, at their return, gave him an account of the state of the *Jews* under his dependance; and were also used as counsellors by him; on

† De his vid. vol. i. p. 557. sub. note (P). Vid. & Jos. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8.  
<sup>a</sup> Gen. xlix. 10. See also Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 452, & (G).

(O) We are told, that that emperor was informed in *Egypt*, that a certain patriarch, who came thither sometimes, was much importuned by some to worship *Serapis*, and by others *Jesus Christ* (20): from which one may conclude that he was neither Heathen nor Christian, but a *Jew*, who refused to worship their God. We took notice, that all things considered, that dignity could but begin to spring up; it could make but a slow progress under *Trajan*, who used the *Jews* with great severity; but in *Adrian's* time was got up to such a height, as to make frequent progress even as far as into *Egypt*; no æra therefore can be more proper to fix the rise and progress of that dignity than this, in which we find the first mention, as well as the first signal exercise, of it.

(P) *Buxtorf* adds (21), that it did still subsist in *Jerom's* time; and that it was at this academy that the *Mazorites*, so famed in the *Jewish* history, made the noblest appearance; and where they are supposed to have invented the vowel, and other grammatical, &c. points, of which we have spoken in a former part \*.

(Q) What this tribute was which he exacted from the *Jewish* nation, whether the didrachma paid formerly to the temple, and since to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, but

released by *Nerva* either in part or wholly, or some other imposed by him, is hard to guess. But it is undeniable, from the origin of that tribute to maintain a new dignity and union among the dispersed, from the writings of the rabbies, as well as from some of the imperial laws, that such a tribute was universally paid to the patriarch of the west, and was conveyed to *Tiberias* from all the countries of the dispersion, and not to the chief of the captivity at *Babylon*, as *Bartolucci* hath affirmed. All the synagogues of the west were bound to pay it; and that which was levied in *Egypt*, where the *Jews* were richer than in most other places, amounted to a very great sum; and it was perhaps on that account, in part, that he went thither in person. *Epiphanius* tells us, that it was paid in all the provinces of *Sicily*; and the imperial laws mention its being paid in all the parts of the *Roman* empire where any *Jews* were settled. And we are further told, that it was exacted with such severity, that the people were at length forced to complain of the avarice of those pontifs, in order to obtain relief; till at length we find it quite abolished by *Julian* the apostate, an. 363, if the letter quoted to prove it be really his (22).

(20) Vid. Flav. Vopisc. p. 245.  
 (22) Jul. epist. 201<sup>va</sup> Iudæarum, p. 223.

(21) In *Tiberiad*.

(\*) See Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 124, 725.

which



a which account they held a rank superior to the rest. The chiefs of the synagogues, schools, and academies, were likewise nominated by, and obliged to receive their directions from him; and the imperial laws gave him the title of *Illustris*, or *Clarissimus*; and some of them forbade the Christians to molest or use them disrespectfully, though we find nothing in any of them that shews that they had the power of life and death. Titles.

THEY could inflict severe censures, penances, and even excommunication, as well as some corporal punishments; but in this last they are charged to have abused the indulgence which the laws had given them; and to have suffered, if not ordered, delinquents, especially those that were found inclined to, or had embraced, Christianity, to be whipped to death. As their dignity was hereditary, and exceeding profitable on many accounts (R), it came at last to be so abused, that the emperor *Theodosius* the younger was obliged to issue out an edict to suppress the exorbitant power they had assumed, and to reduce it to its proper limits. It was customary for them to enrich themselves, not only by the exactions lately mentioned, but by selling of places under them, such as chiefs of the academy, of the schools, of the synagogues, &c. and, by-and-by, deposing them, and putting others in their place<sup>b</sup>, the licensing of new synagogues, setting up tribunals, and trying of causes between *Jews* and Christians, were some of the abuses suppressed by that edict. Abuse of their power.

THUS much for the origin of the patriarchate in the west, and of its institution in this first century of the church. The *Jews*, to raise the character of their nation, make this and the next century pregnant of learned men, to whom they attribute a great number of celebrated books, which, upon strict enquiry, are much more recent, since they mention facts and writers which are posterior to them by some centuries. We shall therefore waive the far greater part of them, as not worthy farther mention, and throw the others into the margin (S). Great men of this century.

THE next century produced several remarkable events; the most considerable of which were, 1. The rebellion they raised under the emperor *Trajan*. 2. The horrid slaughter they committed in *Cyrene*, a city of *Lybia*, and in the isle of *Cyprus*, and other places. 3. The appearance and punishment of the false messiah *Barchocheba*; the taking of the city of *Bitber* by the *Romans*; and the dreadful condition the *Jews* were reduced to after it. 4. The rebuilding of *Jerusalem* by *Adrian*. And, 5. The writing of *Mishnah*, by *Judah Hakkadosh*, or the faint. The chief events of the 2d century.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. PALLAD. in vit. Chrysostom.

(R) Some pretend, that it was not so far hereditary, but that the owner might alienate it, and instance in the famed *R. Judah Hakkodesh*, who preferred *Chanina* to his own son. But that is falsely urged, since he left the patriarchate to his son *Gumaliel*, and also made *Chanina* chief of the academy. And *Epiphanius* assures us, that it was so far hereditary, that *Hillel* having left only a son behind him, he succeeded him, though a child; and this he had from *R. Joseph*, who was left tutor to the boy, and could not but be well informed of the customs of his own nation.

(S) We have already mentioned the famed *R. Jochabides*, author of the book of *Zohar*. The next was *Elisba Hagaili*, or the *Galilean*, who wrote a very mystical treatise of the thirty-two properties of the law, answerable to the thirty-two roads to wisdom (23). One *R. Eleazar* wrote another of the measures of the temple (24), and is pretended to have lived whilst it stood; and to have taken them from it, as most of the rabbies since did theirs from him (25). The next worth speaking of was the poet *Ezechiel*, who wrote a poem on the exod, or the deliverance from the *Egyptian* bondage, probably to comfort his nation under their present calamities. He is supposed to have lived between the times of *Josephus*, who makes no mention of him, and of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, who hath quoted him; so that he must have flourished about the end of the first, or the beginning of the second, century (26).

The last we shall mention is the testament of the twelve patriarchs, whose author has concealed his religion; but speaks so frequently like a *Jew*, that the learned *Dr. Grabe* (27) who first published it in *Greek*

(for till then it was only known by that poor *Latin* version which *Dr. Greathead*, bishop of *Lincoln*, who had procured a *Greek* copy in the 13th century, caused to be made of it by one *Nicholas* a *Grecian*, and by some few other scattered fragments) believed it to have been wrote originally in *Hebrew* by some doctor of that nation, whom he supposes to have lived some time before our Saviour, seeing he follows the common notion of the *Jews* in expecting a temporal and conquering Messiah. The bishop above-named seems also to have been of the same mind, seeing he so bitterly complains of the jealousy of the *Jews*, who had kept that work so long concealed from the Christians, lest they should urge the prophecies that are in it, concerning the Messiah, against them.

These prophecies are indeed very many and pregnant against them, was the book itself of any authority: but it seems rather to have been wrote by some half-converted *Jew*, who puts into the mouths of the patriarchs sundry prophecies concerning Christ, but still retains a great number of *Jewish* prejudices, particularly that of his being a temporal, instead of a spiritual, Redeemer; and so is not fit to be quoted either against *Jew* or Christian. We shall refer our readers to the authors quoted in the margin for the further character of the book (28), and its pretended version into *Greek* by *St. Chrysostom*. And all that we shall add to it is, that it must have been very ancient, since *Origen* quotes it; and could not be wrote before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, because it makes particular mention of it, and of the writings of the evangelists. And thus much shall suffice for the writers of this century.

(23) *Bartoloc. & Welf. Bibliot. Rabbin.*

(24) *Middoth. in Taanith, fol. 7. Wagenfeil, p. 311.*

(25) *Bartol. ub. sup.*

(26) *Le Moyne var. sacr. tom. ii. p. 356. Basnag. ub. sub. lib. vii. cap. 11. § ib.*

(27) *Specil. patr. tom. i. § 1.*

(28) *Grabe ibid. Fabric. Apocr. vet. Test. Nourry. appar. ad Bibl. Basnag. ub. sup. Calmet. sub voc. Testament. Prideaux Connec. &c.*



Rebellion un-  
der Trajan,  
the year of  
Christ 115.

Wars with the  
Romans; de-  
populate  
Lybia.

Massacre of  
the Cypriots.

The false mes-  
siah Barcho-  
chab.

His origin.

1. THEIR rebellion under so powerful a prince as *Trajan*, can only be ascribed to their impa-  
tience under a foreign yoke, aggravated by the misery and hardships they endured under it,  
which made their resentment break out with such fury, notwithstanding the low state they were  
reduced to, as cannot be read without horror. It began at *Cyrene*, where the *Jews* had been  
settled for some centuries, and were become powerful; and had now gained some considerable  
advantages over the *Cyrenians* and *Egyptians*. These fled immediately to *Alexandria*, and  
filled that city with such alarms, that they massacred all the *Jews* they found in it. Those of  
*Cyrene*, provoked at such a dreadful reprisal, which yet they had brought upon themselves,  
chose one *Andria*, whom *Eusebius* stiles king *Lacuas*, for their head<sup>c</sup>; under whom they pre-  
sently destroyed two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, wasted the whole country of  
*Lybia*, and fought many desperate battles against *Martius Turbo*, whom *Trajan* had sent with  
a powerful army against them; insomuch that *Adrian* was forced afterwards to send a fresh  
colony to re-people that wasted country<sup>d</sup> (T).

IN the next year those of *Mesopotamia* appeared in arms, and in such a manner as made the  
whole country tremble, which obliged the emperor to send the famed *Lucius Quietus*, the  
greatest general in the whole empire, who slew such vast numbers of them as quelled them for  
the present; but, for fear they should rise up again after he was gone, *Trajan* appointed him  
governor of *Palestine*, and ordered him to stay there to keep them in awe<sup>e</sup>.

THIS did not hinder those that were settled in *Cyprus*, an island formerly described †, from  
making a much more dreadful insurrection, in which their own authors make no scruple to  
increase the number of the massacred, instead of lessening it; though others, both Pagans and  
Christians<sup>f</sup>, make it to have amounted to two hundred and forty thousand inhabitants (U).

HOWEVER, this obliged *Trajan* to send his head general *Adrian* against them, who, with  
some difficulty, subdued them; after which an edict was published, expressly forbidding the  
*Jews* to set foot in that island, under the severest penalties. Which edict was so severely kept,  
as we observed in the last note, that it was a very long while before we meet with any settled  
there.

3<sup>r</sup> THE next insurrection was raised under their false messiah *Caziba*, or, as he stiled himself,  
*Barchocheba*; who, taking the advantage of the heart-burnings which then reigned among the  
*Jews*, on account of *Adrian's* having sent a colony to rebuild *Jerusalem*, which he designed to  
adorn after the *Roman* style, and to call by his name *Ælia* (to which the *Jewish* writers add  
another, and much greater cause of discontent; viz. his having forbid the *Jews* to circumcise  
their children), set himself up as head of their nation, and proclaimed himself their long  
expected Messiah (W). He was one of those banditti that infested *Judea*, and committed all  
kinds of violence against the *Romans*, and was become so powerful by this time, that he was  
chosen king of the *Jews*, or, according to their own writers, succeeded his father and grand-  
father

<sup>c</sup> Eccl. Hist. l. iv. c. 2. <sup>d</sup> GANTZ TZEMACH DAVID, p. 104. SOLOMON. filius virgæ tribus Jud. p. 64.  
<sup>e</sup> EUSEB. in Chronic. Jud. Hist. l. 4. c. 2, & seq. XIPHIL. ex Dion. lib. lxxviii. OROSIUS, & alib. † See  
Ant. Hist. vol. iii. p. 172, & seq. <sup>f</sup> DIO, EUSEB. ub. sup.

(T) *Eusebius*, in the last quoted place, mentions this  
rebellion at the beginning of *Trajan's* reign, but in his  
Chronicle one year sooner: but the former, being the  
more exact, ought to be preferred. The *Jews* pretend,  
that this rebellion was caused by some of their refugees  
from *Jerusalem* to *Alexandria*, who had built a temple  
there, and wanted to domineer over the rest. Upon  
which, such a fierce contest arose, that the weakest side  
was forced to call *Trajan* to their assistance, who killed  
about 500,000 of them. But what they say of the  
building of a temple there, is a mere fable; there being  
no other built in *Egypt* but that of *Onias*, of which we  
have spoken in our Antient History †. Some of the  
talmudists absurdly place this massacre under *Adrian*;  
and add, that he destroyed more *Jews* by half at this  
time in *Egypt*, than ever came out of it under *Moses*;  
which, according to the calculation we have formerly  
made of these (\*), must have amounted to several mil-  
lions; but this is a *Jewish* exaggeration not worth con-  
futing.

(U) They tell us, that the report they heard of other  
insurrections in different parts of the empire, encour-  
aged those of *Gophri*, so they call that island (29), to  
fall upon the *Cypriots* with such fury, that they did not

leave one of them alive. Some authors have imagined,  
that *Egypt*, and not *Cyprus*, was the scene of this horrid mas-  
sacre, by supposing an error in the *Hebrew*. כְּנִיפָרִי in-  
stead of כְּנִיפָרִי occasioned by the likeness of the כ and  
ך, the כ and ד. But without giving way to such im-  
probable conjectures, we have proofs enough, in the Acts  
of the apostles, of the *Jews* being very powerful and rich  
in that island, which was the native place of St. *Bar-  
nabas*; which is also confirmed by Heathen as well as  
Christian writers; particularly *Dio*, who tells us, that  
having appointed one *Artemion* their general, they slew  
240,000 inhabitants: on which account they were forbid  
ever to come into that island; and that they even killed  
all those who were driven thither by bad weather. *Euse-  
bius* (30) is no less particular about it, and only con-  
fines the massacre to the capital of that island; though  
'tis hard to guess how *Salamis* should have been able  
to contain such a number of people (31); and it is  
more likely to have extended to all the *Cypriots* in gen-  
eral (32).

(W) We avoid, for brevity's sake, mentioning sever-  
al other impostors that had appeared before him; some  
under the title of Messiah, others only as his forerunners.  
*Gamaliel* mentions two who had come to an untimely

(†) See Ant. Hist. vol. iv. p. 79, & not. (T). (\*) Ibid. vol. i. part ii. p. 506, sub not. (P), & seqq & alib.  
et ibid. p. 546 (M). (29) Gantz, ub. sup. p. 102. Zaccbut. in Tachasm. &c. (30) Chron. & Hist. lib. iv.  
(31) De hac vide Ant. Hist. vol. iii. p. 176, et seq. (32) See Bajnag. kisp. des Juifs. l. vii. c. 11. § 24.



- a father in that dignity (X), and was by them acknowledged their Messiah. However, to facilitate the success of this bold enterprise, he changed his name into that of *Barchochab*, or *Barchocheba*; alluding to the star foretold by *Balaam*<sup>e</sup>. 2. He pretended to be a star sent from heaven, to restore his nation to its antient liberty and glory (Y). And, 3. Chose for his precursor the famed *Akiba*, of whom we have spoke at the beginning of this chapter†; who, being then in high repute among the *Jews*, as chief of their *Sanhedrim*, declared him to be the star that was to arise out of *Jacob*. The persecution which they had suffered under *Adrian* had so far paved the way for these two impostors, that they quickly raised an army, out of their own nation, of 200,000 men, of prodigious strength and courage, and made *Bither* the place of their retreat, and the capital of this new kingdom (Z). *Makes Bither his residence.*
- b HERE *Barchochab* was anointed king, and caused some money to be coined with his name, by which he proclaimed himself the Messiah and prince of the *Jewish* nation; but deferred declaring war against the *Romans*, till *Adrian* had quitted *Egypt*; so that it did not break out till the 17th year of that emperor's reign, as a late author hath plainly shewn<sup>b</sup>. *Adrian* seems at first to have neglected this new revolt; and as the *Jews* had been so effectually humbled by his predecessor, he could hardly imagine they could be so soon in a condition to make head against him, but when he found what shoals of banditti, and other straggling *Jews*, flocked to *Barchochab*, he thought fit to send *Tinnius Rufus*, with a strong reinforcement, against them; though they did not prove sufficient to prevent the impostor's gaining great advantages over him, and massacring all the converted *Jews*, as well as *Romans* and Christians, that came in his way. *Bither besieged and taken.*
- c At length *Julius Severus*, who was then in *England*, and was one of the greatest generals of his age, was sent against them; who, not thinking it safe to engage so vast and powerful an army, contented himself with defeating them by parties, by which means he did at length so inclose them as to cut off all supply of provisions, and went and laid siege to *Bither*. The besieged made a stout defence, and *Tripbon*, a famed rabbi, was put to death for having proposed to surrender the place; but was at length forced to it by the death of *Barchochab*, who had been killed in it; after which followed a most dreadful slaughter of the *Jews*, inso- *Its dreadful fate.* much that their writers affirm, that a far greater number of them perished than at first came out of *Egypt*; and the scholars, who had defended it so gallantly, though with no other weapons than their writing pencils, were flung by thousands into the flames, with their books tied about them (A). As for *Akiba*, after a very severe imprisonment, he was condemned to a cruel death; and with him, the *Jews* tell us, died the glory of the *Jewish* law (B).

## THE

<sup>e</sup> Numb. xxiv. 17.

(†) P. 485, sub. not.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. BASNAG. ubi sup. & auct. ab eo citat.

end a little before his time (33). *Origen* ranks *Simon Magus* and *Dositheus* among that number. They were both *Samaritans*; and the latter is said to have been master to the former. It doth not indeed appear from *St. Luke* that *Simon* took on him the direct character of the Messiah, but only of a man endowed with some supernatural power from God (34). However, these and several others we pass by, were signal impostors, of which these two centuries were very pregnant; most of whom, being disciples of *Judah the Gaulonite*, spoken of in a former part (†), did still inspire the *Jews* with hopes that the deliverer would soon appear, and so stirred them up to fresh rebellions.

(X) These pretend, that *Coziba* I. and grandfather to this we are upon, was raised by the *Jews* to that title fifty-two years after the ruin of the temple, and died at *Bither*, a city near *Jerusalem*, and the then capital of his kingdom. He was succeeded by his son *Rob* or *Row*; and afterwards by his son *Romulus*, surnamed *Coziba*, who, according to them, was afterwards put to death by his own men, because he was wanting in one main characteristic of the Messiah; viz. the discerning a guilty person by the smell (35). These make the reigns of the three *Coziba*'s to have lasted twenty-one years, or even beyond; whereas the antient chronicle makes no mention of the two former, and allows but two years and a half's reign to the latter; which is, in all probability, the most to be depended upon (36).

(Y) For proof of which, he was wont to vomit fire and smoke out of his mouth when he spoke, to amuse the populace.

(Z) We have already spoken of this city, and its numerous academy. *St. Jerom* calls it *Bethoron*; and both he and *Eusebius* place it in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*. However there were two towns of that name; viz. this about twelve miles, and another about fifty-two, from that metropolis (\*).

(A) The *Jews* add, that when the head of the impostor was brought to *Adrian*, he expressed a desire of seeing his body; but that, when they came to take it up, they found a serpent twined about the neck; which so scared them, that the emperor, being told of it, declared, that God alone was able to kill such a man. But that did not hinder his cheat from being found out at last; upon which account they changed his name into that of *Barchochab*, or the son of impostor or lie.

They add, that the massacre was so dreadful and universal, that they found upon one single stone the skulls of above 300 children, which had been dashed against it: the brooks were so swelled with the blood of the slain, that they carried large stones quite into the sea, though at four miles distance from it; and the ground round about was so enriched with the carcases of the slain, that it wanted no manuring for seven years. In memory of this, the *Jews* appointed a kind of mournful hymn to be used on the 18th day of the month *Ab*, answering to our *July* and *August*, in which they stiled *Adrian* a second *Nebuchadnezzar*, and pray to God to remember that tyrant, who destroyed 480 synagogues (37).

(B) He had his flesh torn off with iron combs (38). *Lightfoot* mentions him as the only considerable person that suffered in this massacre (39), though a good num-

(33) *Acts* v. 36, & seq. (34) *Ibid.* viii. 9. (†) *Ant. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 169. (35) *Seder Olam*, c. 31, vid. & *Gemar. tract. sanhedr.* c. 11. *R. Abr. Cabbola. hist. Gantz. ubi sup. ad an.* 388, p. 102. (36) See *Basnage. ubi sup.* l. vii. c. 12. §. 11. (\*) *Euseb. & Jerom. loc. Hebraic.* See also *Ant. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 58. (37) *Vid. Lent. de Judcor. Pseudo-Mess.* p. 17, & seq. *Basnage. ubi sup.* (38) *Mishn. in Sota.* (39) *Chronic. temp.* v. & vi. tom. xi. p. 144.



Number of  
slain, &c.

THE Romans, on the other hand, lost a vast number of their own troops; and, if we may believe their own authors, it was one of the bloodiest wars they ever waged. Five hundred and eighty thousand were killed on the *Jews* side, besides vast multitudes of others which perished by famine, fire, and other calamities<sup>1</sup>; which could not be done without great losses on the enemy's side; the former being ever known to fight most desperately, and selling their lives at a dear rate. Besides, at the taking of the city of *Bithur*, they had still fifty strong castles well garrisoned. However, upon the death of their chiefs, the rest made but faint efforts; and the war came soon to an end.

Jerusalem re-  
built, A. C.  
137.

ADRIAN took the advantage of this peaceful interval for finishing his design of rebuilding *Jerusalem*. We have formerly taken notice of the difference between this new city and the old one, with respect to its cincture<sup>†</sup>, though, in the main, the old foundations were still made use of for it. This design was carried on, not in favour of the *Jews*, who might rather have been induced to new revolts, had they been allowed to settle in it. It was designed, on the contrary, to mortify and humble them, by rearing so many heathenish structures, as should make them abhor coming into it (C); besides a severe edict of that prince, which expressly forbid them all farther access to it. And the more effectually to clear it of its *Jewish* inhabitants, he caused a prodigious number of them to be sold at two different fairs (D), at the common price of horses; and ordered the remainder to be transported into *Egypt*. After this the state of the *Jews* became one of the most melancholy that can be imagined; and being thus doubly excluded the entrance into the holy city, they were forced to content themselves with beholding it, though with floods of tears, from some of the neighbouring hills; neither could they obtain this liberty from the *Roman* soldiers, but by dint of money. The *Mount of Olives*, in particular, was often seen covered with men and women, with their clothes rent, bewailing the ruin of that once famed metropolis.

The Jews for-  
bid to come to  
it.

Fair numbers  
of them sold.

A hard tax  
laid on them.

SOME other imposts we find laid on them for the liberty of their religion; particularly for that of reading the sacred books, circumcising their children, &c. Concerning which, authors, both *Jews* and Christians, vary; but which are not worth dwelling longer upon. As for the *Jews* of the east, they seem to have fared much better; for, though *Trajan* had carried on a war against them as far as *Mesopotamia*, yet *Adrian*, upon his coming to the empire, having consented that the *Euphrates* should be the boundary of the *Roman* empire on that side; those beyond the river had no other share in the war we have been speaking of, except that many of them came over to assist their brethren, and served only to increase the number of the slain and conquered on this side (E).

THE

<sup>1</sup> DIO in *Adrian*, p. 263. HEDRON, *Chr* p. 168.

† See *Ant. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 41.

ber of others, no less celebrated, were likewise put to cruel deaths; particularly *Judah* the son of *Bava*, who, notwithstanding the emperor's orders against filling up the vacant places of the sanhedrin, did appoint five doctors into that body, and, among them, the famed *R. Mier*; who, tho' all the rest deserted the place, yet stood firm till he had received some hundreds of wounds in his body (40).

(C) Accordingly we find, that he ordered the ancient monuments to be demolished, and a theatre and other public buildings to be built of the materials. Some of the stately stones of the temple were likewise put to the same profane use; and, in their room, statues of the heathen gods and goddesses were set up in that holy place, and in several others which were become venerable to the Christians. But the greatest indignity to the *Jews* was his ordering a hog to be carved, and set up over the gate that led to *Bethlehem*; not so much in token of their slavery to the *Romans*, as an ancient father imagined (41), as because that creature was forbid by the *Mosaic* law, and abhorred by all the *Jews*.

(D) One of these fairs was annually kept on the plain of *Mamre*, sacred for having been the place where *Abraham* had often pitched his tent, and where he received the three heavenly guests (42). It was called the fair of *Therebinthus*, from the famous oak which grew there, and which the vulgate translates by that name, though the *Hebrew* word *Elah* rather signifies an oak, elm, or large tree. However that be, *St. Jerom* tells us, that it was standing in his time, and much resorted to and re-

verenced by Christians and *Jews*; and *Hegeffippus* tells us, that it had stood ever since the creation, and been famed for being a place of great resort by merchants of all the neighbouring nations. This oak, or *Terebinth*, *Josephus* and *Eusebius* place about six miles from *Hebron* (43). *St. Jerom* only two miles from it; and *Sozomen* about fifteen stades (44). *St. Jerom* adds, that this fair was still kept in his time, but that the *Jews* were ashamed to come to it, on account of so great a number of their nation having been exposed to sale at it (45). Those that could not be sold here were sent to *Gaza*, where was another celebrated fair; and the rest were sold into *Egypt*, where they soon grew numerous.

In memory of this signal overthrow of the *Jews*, the emperor ordered a medal to be struck, with the figure of a woman holding two naked boys, and sacrificing upon an altar, with this legend;

*Adventus Aug. Judææ*; or,

The arrival of the emperor in *Judea*.

There is likewise another of the same emperor, on which *Judea* is represented like a woman kneeling, and holding a hand up to him, with three children, one of them naked, and all in a suppliant posture; and representing thereby the subjection and misery of the *Jewish* nation (46).

(E) This last supposition is founded on what *Dio* insinuates, that the *Jews* did every-where rise up against the *Romans*, and that the world was in an universal uproar. From which, we may conclude, that many of those on the other side of the *Euphrates* came over, either

(40) *De his vid. Mish. ub. sup. Gamar. tract. senbedr. Bartoloc. tom. ii. Wegens. in Sota. Basnag. & al.*  
(41) *Hieronim. Chronol. in an. 137.* (42) *Vid. Genesis xviii. 1, & seq.* (43) *Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 7. Euf.*  
*loc. Hebr.* (44) *Histor. l. ii. c. 4.* (45) *In Scythia. p. 396* (46) *De his vid. Tripan. com. hist. Adrian.*  
*Frenher. de numismat. censu. Basnag. ub. sup. c. 12. §. 34.*



- <sup>a</sup> THE last remarkable thing in this century is, the compiling of the *Mishnah* by *Judah Hak-kadosh*. He was the son of *Simeon*, surnamed *the Just*, and the third *Patriarch* of the *Jews*. He succeeded him in that dignity, and was born in the city of *Tzipori*, or *Sephoris* (F), and flourished during the reigns of three emperors, who were great enemies to the Christians, but very favourable to the *Jews*; viz. *Antoninus Pius*, *M. Aurelius*, and *Commodus*; the first of whom came to the crown *A. C.* 138; and the latter died *An.* 194. So that he quietly enjoyed his patriarchate 45 years<sup>k</sup>. He became very considerable on account of his sanctity, and much more for his great learning, and presided over the great academy of *Tiberias*, lately mentioned, with an uncontrouled authority. During which time he had had frequent occasion to decide controversies of the highest nature, and gained a very great reputation by it. But he was esteemed above all for his celebrated book called the *Mishnah*, or repetition of the law, and stiled by the *Greeks* *Deuteronomy*, or second law; a short account of which the reader may see in the margin (G). This work was so much the more necessary at that time, because the nation, having been forced to undergo such frequent dispersions and vicissitudes, had, in a great measure, and would have still more, forgot the oral traditions about the rites, laws, and customs, of the ancient *Jews*, which were become very numerous by this time, unless they were committed to writing, and digested into one body or system. And this he did with such success, that all the *Jewish* academies have since followed him without any deviation. The time of his writing this book is variously conjectured. The most probable opinion is, that he finished it about the year of *Christ* 180, or about the 44th year of his life, when he was in the flower of his age; and had, by long experience, been enabled himself to decide the most arduous questions of the law.

*An account of that work;*

*when wrote.*

<sup>k</sup> Vid. GANTZ, & al. sup. citat.

to help their brethren on this side, or in hopes of plunder, and hatred to the tyrannous *Romans*. And indeed, considering how wasted *Palestine* had been in *Trajan's* reign, it is scarce credible they could be so numerous and powerful in that of *Adrian*, under whom the number of those that were destroyed amounted to above six hundred thousand, unless we suppose, that a great part of them were come from the east to them.

(F) A city situate on one of the mountains of *Galilee*. Its name, which signifies a little bird, implies its being but a little place; yet the *Jewish* rabbies cry it up as such a considerable one, that it had 180,000 confecturers. They pretend, that he was born on the day on which *Akiba* died, to fulfil *Solomon's* prophecy, that one sun sets and another rises (47). We lately took notice of the former being put to death at the taking of *Bithur*; so that, according to them, the latter must have been born *A. C.* 135. We omit a great deal of miraculous stuff which they tell of his birth and life, for which he obtained the title of *Hakkadosh*, or *the Saint*, or even of *the Saint of Saints*. Neither do we think worth mentioning some absurd anachronisms relating to him, particularly the prolonging his life down to the reign of *Dio-clesian*, and mentioning a number of learned men as his cotemporaries, who did not flourish till a long time after. These are usual things among those writers; and we have given already some instances of them at the beginning of this chapter, to serve as a specimen to the rest (48).

(G) We shall need say the less of this famed treatise, because it has been since translated into *Latin* by *Surenhusius*, with the notes of the learned *Maimon*, *Barthenera*, and *Guisius*, in six vols. fol. an. 1702. It is divided into six parts; the first is intituled, סדר זרעים, *Seder Zera-bim*, ordo seminum, and treats about seeds in the field, of trees, fruits, plants, &c. The second, סדר מועדים, *Seder Mobadim*, ordo festorum, and treats of the right observance of the *Jewish* feasts. The third, סדר נשים, *Seder Nesbim*, ordo mulierum, treats of women, and all matrimonial causes. The fourth, סדר נזיקים, *Seder Nizikim*, ordo damnorum, treats of losses, damages, trade, &c. the law-suits arising from them, and the manner of proceeding in them. The fifth, סדר קדשים, *Seder Kedoshim*, ordo sanctorum, treats of sacrifices, oblations,

and all other holy or sacrificed things. The sixth, סדר טהרות, ordo purificationum, treats of all kinds of expiations, and all things relating to purification. The author hath likewise added to the fourth part, or ordo damnorum, a chapter intituled, עבודת זרה, *Abodah Zarah*, or cultus extraneus; such they call idolatry, and the penalties annexed to it. Each of these books contained several tracts amounting in the whole to sixty-three.

This code or body of oral traditions is founded upon a fivefold authority; viz. 1st, Upon the writings of *Moses*, whose expositions are contained in the pentateuch, and are either decisive of themselves, or by consequences fairly drawn from them. 2d, Upon the ordinances of that lawgiver delivered to him on the mount, or as they are commonly stiled the oral law, spoken of in a former part (†); and which are looked upon to be of the same authority with the written; tho', as was there observed, no good proof can be given of any such oral law having been given to that lawgiver. 3d, Upon the different decisions of the ancient doctors, concerning which a man is at liberty to take which side he pleases, whether, for instance, those of *Hillel* or *Shammai*. 4th, On the maxims and sayings of the prophets and wise men, which are on that account stiled the hedges or fences of the law; but from which the rabbies do often swerve, though in the main they hold them in great esteem. 5th, On the ancient rites and customs, which have since gained the sanction of a law, and are made by it equally obligatory. This is the sum of that so much boasted treatise, which is therefore stiled a body of civil and ecclesiastical rights of the *Jews*, and as a collection of their oral laws, rules, &c. However it is likely this book was not published, or, at least, received immediately, since we find mention in *Hege-sippus* of such oral traditions being still appealed to and canvassed towards the latter end of this second century. Those who want a fuller account of it may consult the *Latin* version above-mentioned, and the authors quoted in the margin (49). All that we shall say farther about it is, that it must not be confounded with the talmud, which was not compiled till a long time after; and of which we shall speak in its proper place.

(47) *Eccles.* i. 9. vid. Gantz-Tzemach, p. 107. *Hist.* vol. i. p. 596, not. (B).

(48) Page 482, & seq. sub not. (C).

(†) See Ant.

Calmet. sub voc. *Mishna*. Prid. Connect. part i. lib. 5.

(49) Bartoloc. *Bibliot. Rab. tem.* iii. Basnage's *bist. Jud. lib.* iii. c. 3.



Judah's character.

THE great reputation and authority which his learning and works had gained, did, however, even according to the *Jewish* writers, swell him up into such a height of pride, as little answered his title of saint (H). He even indulged it to his dying hour, by the disposal of all the places and titles under him; and among them, that of *Kacham*, or wise man, to one of his sons named *Simeon*; that of chief of the synagogue to *Chanina*; and that of prince, or chief, to his eldest son *Gamaliel* III. (I). He likewise ordered his own funeral to be performed in the most sumptuous manner, and that his body should be carried about through the most considerable cities, and there bewailed after the *Jewish* manner. A great concourse, we are told, accompanied the funeral pomp from all the adjacent parts<sup>1</sup>. What they farther relate of it, the reader may see in the margin (K).

Excessive pride.

Gamaliel succeeds him.

Hillel rectifies the calendar;

and others assist him.

HE was succeeded by his son *Gamaliel*, who is said to have confirmed his father's *Mishnah*, and to have died *an.* 229. His son *Judab* did nothing worth our notice (L), except that he left his dignity to his son the famed *Hillel* II. a person of great merit and learning; who is the first that began, as we hinted at the beginning of this chapter, to compute the years from the creation; but whether he, or, which is more probable, the gemarists, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, did wilfully curtail that æra, in order to make it appear that Christ did not come into the world at the end of the fourth millenary, and at the time expressly signified by the the prophets, we will not determine. Another improvement he was the author of; *viz.* the cycle of nineteen years, to conciliate the course of the sun with that of the moon, by the help of seven intercalations. We have taken notice of some such thing having been done before, under *Simon* the *Maccabee*, above 170 years before our Saviour\*. Some others have since put a helping hand to this emendation, particularly *Rabbi Samuel*, nicknamed *Jarkin*, or lunatic, who was chief of an academy at *Nabardea*, about the year 240, and was esteemed a great astronomer; but as his calculation was found still defective, one of his successors, *viz.* *R. Ada*, greatly improved it, as *Hipparchus* had formerly done that of *Calippus*; upon which all these *Jewish* emendations were founded. However, *Hillel*, as prince of the captivity in the west, introduced it by his authority, and thereby made way for the other two; though it is not improbable that they, as a conquered people, were forced, in this, as in other cases, to submit to the laws of the conquerors, and to adopt the reformation made by *Julius Cæsar*. *Hillel* made, however, some farther ones to the *Techupath Hashana*, or revolution of the year; such as changing the equinoxes and solstices; by bringing them back thirteen days from where he found them; as for instance, the vernal equinox from the 7th of April to the 25th of March<sup>m</sup>.

Hillel's conversion at the point of death.

BUT that which most endeared him to the Christians was his conversion and baptism a little before he died (M), when he sent for the bishop of *Tiberias*, under pretence of consulting him as a physician about his distemper; but in reality to own himself a Christian, and to be baptized by him. The ceremony was accordingly performed, but in the privatest manner; the servants, who were ordered to bring in the water, being ordered to leave the chamber; and the matter was concealed for some time, lest his friends or domestics should do him any prejudice on that account. Though it is surprising so edifying a conversion should be kept so secret, especially as *Constantine the Great* being then upon the throne, the Christians did

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Oth. Hist. doctor. Mishnic. & auct. ab. eo citat. p. 161. SCALIG. Canon Isag. l. iii. p. 279.

\* See vol. iv. p. 72 (K).

<sup>m</sup> Vid.

(H) He was the first that set up his own authority above that of the sanhedrin, and its decisions, which, till then, those chiefs were subject to; insomuch that one of that council, named the son of *Lacbi*, having ventured to dispute it, and to affirm, that a chief ought to be whipt if he transgressed, *Judab* immediately sent officers to apprehend and bring him to a severe punishment, which he found no way to escape but by a speedy flight. How can it therefore be supposed, that a man of such a proud and ungovernable spirit should ever own the authority of the chiefs of *Babylon* to be superior to his, as the *Babylonish* rabbies, mentioned in a former note, pretend that he did?

(I) These were the three chief dignities of the *Jewish* church. The prince, or as we have chose to stile him the patriarch; was the highest. The chief was the next, and presided in his absence in the council; and the *kacham* held the third rank. This last was to be learned above all the rest, because he was the person consulted in all doubtful cases, and sat on the left, as the chief did on the right, of the prince.

(K) They tell us, that, tho' the people flocked to the solemnity far and near, yet the day was so far prolonged, that they had all time enough to get home, and light a candle against the next day, which was the *Sabbath*; and the *Bath Col* was heard to declare them all saved that had assisted at it; one only excepted, who thereupon, falling into despair, put an end to his own life (50).

(L) The *Jewish* writers pretend that he lived to the end of the third century, in order to make him cotemporary with the two famous rabbies *Amaus* and *Azeus*, who flourished, according to them, *A. M.* 4060, or of Christ 300. But this is but one of those anachronisms that run through all their works.

(M) This fact is not owned by any of the *Jewish* writers, who were too jealous of his glory, as well as of that of their nation, to take any notice of it. But we have it upon the authority of *Epiphanius*, who tells us, that, being gone with *Eusebius Vercellensis* to *Scythopolis* to see one *Joseph*, an intimate of the deceased *Hillel*, and guardian to his son, as well as one of his apostles, they had the whole story from his own mouth.

(50) Vid. Gantz, & al. sup. citat. ap. Othm. & Basnag. ub. sup.



a not want for power to have sheltered him from any insult from the *Jews*; though the edict of that prince against such outrages did not perhaps come out till some years after (N); that is, in the patriarchate of *Hillel's* son and successor, on account of whose guardian it seems chiefly to have been made, as we are going to shew.

*HILLEL* left his only son *Judab*, a minor, under the guardianship of *Joseph*, an intimate friend, mentioned in a late note, and one of his apostles. But the *Jews*, upon some jealousy that *Joseph* was such another dissembler as *Hillel*, persecuted him with such bitterness and violence (O), that he was forced to apply to the emperor, by whom he was graciously received; and not only protected from all future insults, but permitted to erect several sumptuous churches for the use of the *Christians*, in places where they were still wanting, by which he grew exceedingly rich, and built some stately houses in *Scythopolis*; and here it was that he gave *Eusebius* and *Epiphanius* the account of *Hillel's* conversion above mentioned. As for *Judab*, his pupil, he succeeded his father in the patriarchal dignity, and enjoyed it still in the year 356; when *Joseph*, who was then in the 70th year of his age, related the transaction to those two bishops. He seems to have out-lived him but a few years, since *Julian*, in a letter to the *Jews*, dated an. 363, mentions another patriarch then in the chair, whom he names *Julius*; which is only that of his son and successor *Hillel III.* gracedified, who governed the *Jewish* church till the year 385.

He was succeeded by his son *Gamaliel*, IVth of that name, and last of the patriarchal race and dignity. St. *Jerom* speaks of him as of a learned man who had had several disputes with *Hesychius*, before A. C. 392; and it was not till an. 415 that we find him stripped of part of his authority by an edict of the emperor *Theodosius*; but whether that pontif had abused the patriarchal power, or by some other way disoblighd him, or whether the male line was extinct, that dignity was quite abolished about 14 years after; i. e. an. 429, after having continued in the same family through thirteen generations; or about the space of 350 years (P). The next dignity that succeeded the patriarchate, was that of the primates, which being inferior in honour and authority, as well as in point of time, will be spoken of in another place. It is time now that we go back to the remaining part of the 2d century, from which this list of the patriarchs and successors of *Judab Hakkadosh* had carried us.

WE observed a little higher from the *Jewish* writers, that they enjoyed great peace and liberty under the reigns of *Adrian's* three successors, *Antoninus Pius*, *M. Aurelius*, and *Commodus*. The former of these they not only make a great friend and patron of their nation, but also one of their religion, and a disciple of *Judab* the saint; though outwardly a heathen, and much addicted to superstition (Q). However, as the edict of *Adrian* against their circumcising their children was still in force against them, they grew now so impatient under it, as to appear in arms, and oblige him thereby to recal it, and restore them to the free use of their religion. *Antoninus* soon suppressed the revolt, but used such moderation towards them, as to grant them the liberty for which they took up arms; which, though it extended to all the *Jews*, did yet exclude the *Samaritans* from it; and, 2dly, forbade the former to make any proselytes to their religion (R).

WE

(N) It is not easy to fix the year in which this conversion happened, seeing the *Jews* pretend that he lived beyond the year 360; by which they confound him with another of the same name, who lived in *Julian* the apostate's time. *Bartolocci* places his death about A. C. 320; but that seems too late by eight or ten years: 1st, Because it gives him too long a reign; and, 2dly, This conversion ought to have preceded *Constantine's* edict above-mentioned, published ann. 315, to suppress the violent outrages to which the proselytes from *Judaism* were exposed from the zealots of their own nation. If *Scaliger* had considered this circumstance, he would not have supposed him to have been reforming the *Jewish* calendar about the year 344, as he hath done (1). Upon the whole then, it is most probable that *Hillel* died about the year 308 or 310.

(O) They had only a bare suspicion of his being a *Christian* in his heart; for he had as yet made no public profession of it; however, that was sufficient to provoke some of them to break abruptly into his house, where they found him reading the gospel. They first snatched the book out of his hands, and fell a beating him most unmercifully; and then dragged him to the synagogue where he was cruelly whipped, and at length threw him headlong into the *Cydrus*, where he was borne

off by the stream, far enough for them to think him drowned. But Providence having preserved his life, he immediately made open profession of *Christianity*, received baptism and with it the several marks of the emperor's favours above-mentioned. And it is supposed that it was on account of the violent excesses which the *Jews* committed on these occasions, that the edict lately mentioned was issued out.

(P) We have seen in the late list of these patriarchs, or, as the *Jews* since called them, *Princes*, that some of their chronologers, particularly D. *Gantz*, shorten the duration of that dignity by three generations and end it at *Judab II.* But it is plain from what we have said above of the *Theodosian* edict, that it reached down to the time there mentioned.

(Q) Among other fabulous legends of this emperor's affection for that *Jewish* chief, they tell us that he had caused a subterranean way to be made between his own palace and his house, by which he used to go and converse with him (2).

(R) Some add a prohibition likewise of making eunuchs. It is not easy to say when this revolt happened; and *Capitolinus*, who hath summed it up, and the defeat of the *Jews*, in five or six lines, hath inclined some to suppose it to have broke out about the beginning of *Anto-*

(1) *Iidem ibid. vide* & *Gemar. tit. sanhedr. c. ii.*

(2) *Iust. Mart. apol. xi.*



Justin's dia-  
logue with  
Tryphon.

The Jews ill  
treated by M.  
Aurelius.

New sects start  
up among the  
Jews.

That of the  
Hellenists.

WE shall pass by two famous disputes which happened under the reign of *Antoninus*; the former between *Jason*, a converted *Jew*, and *Papiscus*, one of the synagogue; in which the former proves Christ to have been the Messiah, and the latter used very bitter imprecations against him. The few fragments we have left of that conference give us no great cause of regretting the loss of the rest. The other was between *Justin Martyr*, and the learned *Tryphon*, at *Ephesus*, whither the latter had been forced to flee, on account of the war which that prince then waged against the *Jews*, and where *Justin* met and had his conference with him, which is supposed upon good grounds to have happened about *A. C.* 155, or after the emperor had restored the liberty of circumcision to the *Jews*. For before that time it is not probable *Tryphon* would so readily have acknowledged his religion from the very beginning of the conference (S).

THE reader may see by what we observed in the last note, that the *Jews* were so far from enjoying any degree of tranquility even under that prince, that they fared still worse under his successor, *M. Aurelius*, who had such an ill opinion of them, that, going through *Judea* into *Egypt*, he cried out, he had found there a people as wicked as the *Sarmatians* and *Marcomans*†. What increased his resentment, was their joining to *Vologeses* king of the *Parthians*, against the *Romans*; and afterwards with *Cassius*, his general, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at the instigation of *Faustina*, *Aurelius's* empress<sup>a</sup>. For though he forgave *Cassius's* friends, as will be seen in the sequel, yet he renewed *Adrian's* severe edicts against the *Jews*, and caused them to be put in execution against them (T).

THE last thing worth taking notice of under this century, is the rise of some new sects among the *Jews*, besides those which we have taken notice of as predominant in our Saviour's time<sup>b</sup>, and mentioned by *Hegesippus* as still rise in his, particularly the *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, *Essenians*, and *Gaulonites*; which last preserved still their seditious spirit against all foreign government. The new ones, according to him, were the *Emerobaptists*, famed chiefly for their often washing in a day; and the *Masbotbeans*, who denied the Divine Providence, and attributed all events to chance (V): and some others, which the reader may see in the last note. But the most considerable of all was that of the *Hellenists*, which began soon after the version of the *Septuagint*, of which an account hath been given in a former part\*, and who had been so long dispersed among the *Greeks*, as to have adopted their language, and forgot the *Hebrew*. We observed there how these rejoiced at the first publication of the sacred books in that language, and from that time made use of no other; and on that account were despised by the rest of

† Pap. stat. Sylvar. l. iii.

<sup>a</sup> VULCATII CASSIUS, p. 40.

<sup>b</sup> Ant. Hist. vol. iv. p. 38, & seq.

\* Ancient Hist. vol. iv. p. 37, & seq.

*Antoninus's* reign (3); others think the *Jews* could hardly be so soon ready for it, considering how dispersed and how low they had been reduced by *Adrian*, and that it must have required some years to put themselves in a proper condition to attack so powerful a prince (4). And so it would indeed, had this been such a regular war as some of those they waged before. But by the short account and the few particulars given us of it, it seems rather to have been a tumultuous insurrection at which the *Jews* were ever quick and ready; and their defeat might be no other than obliging them to lay down their arms, upon promise that they should have the grant they contended for, as they actually had.

(S) The *Jewish* writers mention a learned rabbi, named *Tarphon*, who flourished about this time, and whom *Lightfoot* supposes to be the person (5). If so, he doth not appear to have been a man of extraordinary learning, by his answers to his antagonist. However, we do not pretend to pass a judgment on either, which would be going out of our province. But what is more worth observing to our readers is what that father objects against the *Jews*, viz. that their cities were burnt and laid waste, and their country inhabited by strangers; that they were forbid still to come to *Jerusalem*, and could not with any safety abide in *Judea*. Notwithstanding all which, and the present misery they laboured under, they made no scruple to curse in their synagogues all that believed in *Jesus*, and, by their imprecations to send them to hell as atheists and apostates (6).

(T) This must be only understood of the nearer provinces; for as for those more remote, especially towards the east, the edict was not so severely executed; for there they displayed a more inveterate hatred against the Christians; particularly at *Smyrna*, where they had a great hand in the martyrdom of bishop *Polycarp*, and solicited the heathen judge not to deliver his dead body to the Christians, lest they should worship him; upon which account it was ordered to be burnt to ashes. The learned are divided about the time of this martyrdom; some placing it in *an.* 147, under *Antoninus* (7); and others with more probability, under *Aurelius*, about *an.* 166, on the 22d of *February*, which was an high sabbath with them (8); but it is plain the *Jews* were every-where very inveterate against the Christians; more especially against those who turned from *Judaism* to them; but we have no room to multiply instances of it (9).

(V) So that they seem rather to be the spawn of the Pharisees and Sadducees, though not known to the evangelists by these names. To these *Justin Martyr* adds three others, which he calls the *Genists*, *Merists*, and *Hellenists*. The two former are inconsiderable; the former, according to him, laying a great merit in being descended from *Abraham*, the father of the faithful; and the latter differing from the rest in their canon of scripture, out of which they excluded some of the prophets. The last therefore is the only one worth the reader's notice here.

(3) Baron. & al. sup. citat.

(4) Basnag. lib. viii. c. i. §. v.

(5) Chron. temp. tom. ii. sect. 5.

Vid. & Bartoloc. Bib. Rabb. tom. i. p. 863.

(6) Dialog. p. 234. 257, & seq.

(7) Pearson, vid. &

Dodwel Dissert. ad. Op. posth. Pearson. c. 15.

(8) Norris Dissert. in Epoch. Syro Maced. p. 30.

(9) Vid.

Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. v. c. 16. Nicephor, &c.

their



- a their brethren, who made use of the original (W). This open rupture is variously con-  
vassed by the learned, some of whom pretend, that neither the *Septuagint*, nor any other ver-  
sion, was read in the synagogues<sup>c</sup>; others join the *Hellenists* and *Jews* in one and the same  
synagogue<sup>d</sup>; a third sort extol that, not only above all other versions, but even above the  
original<sup>e</sup>; and as such, justly preserved by the *Hellenists*, for its exactness and perspicuity.  
However that be, it were madness to deny that the *Greek Jews* were not allowed the use of it  
in their synagogues (X), as it was then the tongue most universally understood, and, perhaps,  
the only one which those *Hellenists* knew,
- b But that which caused it to be afterwards so much cried down by the *Jews*, was the use *Septuagint*  
which *Justin*, and other primitive Christians, made of it against them, in which they ran into *why cried*  
the opposite extreme, and condemned it as dangerous and pernicious, and this produced a *down.*  
fourfold effect. 1st, It rendered the *Hellenists*, who stood up for it, odious to the rest, who  
were from that time looked upon as sectaries and schismatics. 2dly, It gave rise to the new *New ones*  
versions of *Aquila*, *Theodotion*, and *Symmachus*, formerly mentioned<sup>f</sup>; a farther account of *made.*  
which may be seen in the margin (Y). 3dly, The *Gemarrists*, not being able to abolish the  
use of the *Greek* version, confined it to the *Pentateuch*; because it had fewer of those prophe-  
cies which were urged by the Christians against them. And, 4thly, It put the *Hellenists* upon  
inventing several miracles to raise the credit of their own (Z), whilst the *Jews*, to render it the  
more odious, trumped up a double fast, kept up in memory of it; of which, however, the  
c *Thalmud* makes no mention. The sect, therefore, as it is called by the latter, took its  
rise soon after the time of *Justin Martyr*, and not before. And thus much for the first and  
second century.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. SALMAS. & auct. ab eo citat.

<sup>e</sup> MORIN Exercit. Bibl. p. 238. Voss. de LXX Interp.

<sup>d</sup> Oros. Obser. in N. Test. p. 238. ap. Basnage, ub. sup.  
<sup>f</sup> See Ancient Hist. vol. iv. p. 38, & seq. & (O).

(W) These upbraided them with reading the sacred  
scriptures after the *Egyptian* manner, or backwards;  
that is, from the left to the right, which they affirmed  
was contrary to the course of the sun, and as absurd as  
making that planet rise in the west and set in the east: in-  
so much that they gave them the vilest language, and  
sometimes came to blows with them (10). However,  
it doth not appear that this hatred had displayed itself so  
soon as our Saviour's time; on the contrary, we find by  
the book of *Acts* that the *Hellenists* had a good number of  
synagogues, where they performed their service in *Greek*,  
and made use of the *Septuagint* version. Neither doth  
*Josephus*, or even *Philo*, who was a *Hellenist Jew*, men-  
tion any thing of their being then looked upon by the  
rest as a different sect from them, much less abased and  
persecuted for it; though their high regard for the ori-  
ginal *Hebrew* did really inspire them with a contempt for  
those who could only read it in a foreign heathenish lan-  
guage.

(X) Even *Lightfoot* is obliged to acknowledge thus  
much; he pretends that they were deposited there merely  
to confute the objections which that heathen raised against  
the *Jewish* religion out of those books. But that is said  
without either proof or probability; and *Simon*, the son  
of *Gamaliel*, who lived in *Titus's* time, makes no scruple  
to declare that the law might be wrote and read in  
*Greek*; and another rabbi affirms, that he who reads it  
in any language he understands, is doing his duty.

(Y) The chief design of them was to deprive the  
Christians of those advantages which the *Septuagint* af-  
forded them, and became in great vogue among all the  
dispersed *Jews*. *Aquila's* was the first, and was used by  
the greatest part of the *Hellenists*; though the *Thalmudists*  
failed not to find some great faults in it, in order to  
bring the people back to the original *Hebrew*; and some  
Christians condemned it as done with an ill design; tho'  
they, and even *St. Jerom*, did afterwards make use of it,  
as more exact than the old one.

*Theodotion*, a heathen converted to Christianity, under-  
took a second; but, being afterwards brought over to

*Judaism*, rather chose to copy the *Septuagint* than to at-  
tempt a new one from the *Hebrew*; and hath followed  
it so close, that *Origen* made use of it to fill up the chasms  
which were found in his copy of the *Septuagint*; and the  
*Ebionites* and *Nazarites* among the Christians preferred it  
to the others.

*Symmachus* made a third, which was esteemed more  
clear and useful than any other; that author having a  
greater regard to the sense than to the literal signification.  
But, as these three were calculated against the Christians,  
and had suppressed some pregnant prophecies, particu-  
larly that of *Isaiah*, *A virgin shall conceive*, &c. (11),  
the *Septuagint*, where it is still found, was preferred above  
them (†).

(Z) Thus we are told by *Philo*, who was one of them,  
(*in vit Mos.*) that the 70 elders, who were employed in  
this version, had been confined all the time, each in a se-  
parate apartment, and that when the work was finished,  
and brought to the king seated on his throne, and examin-  
ed before him, there was found such exact conformity  
between each other, as well as with the original, even  
to a letter, or point, that both he and the assembly were  
convinced that the Holy Ghost must have inspired them;  
and some ancient fathers have been so fully persuaded of  
it, particularly *St. Austin*, *Hilary*, and others, that where  
it differs, as it doth often, from the *Hebrew*, they have  
rather chosen to think both divinely inspired, and both  
in the right; though there be no visible way of recon-  
ciling them (12).

On the other hand, the *Hebraizing Jews* affirm (13),  
that the day on which that version was made, proved  
more fatal to their nation than that on which *Jeroboam*  
set up the gold encaves of *Dan* and *Bethel*; and that the  
sky was covered with darkness three whole days; in me-  
mory of which they appointed a fast-day on the 8th of  
the month *Thebet*, answering to our *December*, to shew  
their abhorrence against those who had presumed to  
translate the sacred oracles into a strange and impure lan-  
guage.

(10) Vid. Scal. not. in Euseb.

(11) Isai. vii. 14.

(†) See Ancient Hist. vol. iv. p. 38. & seq.

(12) De his, vid. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l. i. Just. Mart. exhort. ad Gent. & Dial. cont. Tryph. Iren. Epiphani.  
Chrysost. Homil. iv. August. de Doctr. Christ. l. ii. c. 15. & alib. Hil. in Psal. cxxxi. not. 24. & al. (13) Vid.  
Sepher. Taanith in Mens. Thebet & Scalig. not. in Chron. Euseb. sub an. 133. See also vol. iv. p. 37. & seq.  
sub not.



Jews faithful  
to Severus;

and favoured  
by him;

raised to high  
posts

under Cara-  
calla.

Apocryphal  
books wrote  
about this  
time.

Jochanan  
compiles the  
Thalmud.

WE read nothing worth notice concerning them till the revolt of *Pescennius Niger*, who, being proclaimed emperor in *Syria*, in the beginning of *Severus's* reign †, and having tried in vain to bring them over to his interest, proved a bitter enemy to them during his short-lived reign. Their firmness to the emperor did not however meet with a suitable return from him; for we are told that he made war against them and the *Samaritans*, at his return from the *Parthian* war ‡; and that the senate, confounding what the father had done in *Syria*, and the son in *Judea*, ordered him a triumph over the latter <sup>h</sup> (A). He likewise kept up the laws against their making proselytes and going to *Jerusalem*, though he allowed them the liberty of circumcising their children during the first years of his reign<sup>1</sup>; but at length he grew more mild towards them, when he was apprised of their fidelity to him; or, which perhaps was a more prevailing motive, as he was beyond measure covetous, when he came to know that they had many rich and considerable persons among them, who would be glad to buy his favour and protection upon his own terms. Accordingly we find them not only protected by him, but several of them raised to some high posts; though he did not fail making them pay dear for the preference he shewed to them above the Christians, whom he grievously persecuted, by the heavy imposts he laid on them <sup>k</sup>. There was one clause however very much in their favour, in that emperor's decree, *viz.* the liberty of refusing such places and offices as were rather burthensome than honourable, though they enjoyed by it all the privileges of *Roman* citizens; and this so puffed them up with pride and insolence, especially against the persecuted Christians, that *Tertullian*, who was then writing his *Apologetic*, loudly complains of it <sup>l</sup> (B).

It is very probable that they enjoyed the same privileges under his son *Caracalla*; at least we do not find any thing to the contrary; and as that emperor, bad as he proved afterwards, had been brought up with one of them, for whom he expressed an uncommon affection (C), it is reasonable to suppose that he still retained so much kindness for them, as to leave them in possession of those franchises which his father had granted to them; and that they made use of that quiet interval, in making their collection of traditions both *Jewish* and *Hellenish*, which were by this time grown very numerous, and the teachers and writers of both not a few. Among the latter were the *Pseudo-Esdras*, the author of the additions to the book of *Daniel*; those of the histories of *Tobit* and *Judith*, of the book of *Enoch*, the assumption of *Moses*, and some others of the same apocryphal kind, concerning which, and the most probable time of their being wrote, the reader may consult the authors mentioned in the margin <sup>m</sup>.

In this century flourished the famed *R. Jochanan*, the great disciple of *Judah Hakkadosh*, chief of the *Amoraim*, or commentators on the *Mishnah*, and compiler of the *Jerusalem Thalmud*. The time is variously conjectured by the learned; the most probable supposition is, that he was born about the latter end of the second century, or *A. C.* 184, or 185. Some writers pretend that he was chosen chief of the academy of *Tiberias* in the 15th year of his age<sup>n</sup>; which is improbable, and contrary to the practice of the *Jews*; because his master was still alive, and *R. Chanina*, whom he appointed his successor, is affirmed by the *Jewish* chronologists to have enjoyed that dignity about ten years more: so that the soonest that he can be supposed to have mounted the chair, is about *an.* 225, and about the 40th of his age; by which time he had space and opportunity sufficient to finish his studies under those two masters, in order to fit himself for his great work; in which he was assisted by two other learned rabbies, *viz.* *R. Samuel*, and *Rab* or *Rau*, who had likewise been disciples of his two masters, *Judah the Saint*,

† See Ancient Hist. vol. iv. p. 108, & seq.

Sever. <sup>1</sup> Vid. TERTUL. Apologet. cap. 21.

Scapnl.

& al.

<sup>m</sup> FABRIC. Apocr. Test. BARToloc. DODWEL. de Cycl. Differt. ix.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. BARToloc. ub. sup.

<sup>2</sup> EUSEB. Chron. sub an. 198.

<sup>h</sup> SPARTIAN. in

<sup>k</sup> ULPIAN. in Sever.

<sup>l</sup> Apolog. ad

PRID. CALMET. BASNAG.

(A) We are indeed told by *Abulpharage*, that on the very first year of *Severus's* reign, the *Jews* waged a grievous war against the *Samaritans*, in which great numbers of both were slain (14). But, as no other author hath mentioned it, it is more likely that he only mistook some skirmishes, which *Claudius*, a captain of *Jewish* banditti, had had with those *Samaritans*; for he was grown so bold as to surprise the emperor, and to salute him at the head of his own freebooters, as if he had been one of the tribunes of his army; and then fled away with them so far that he could not be found. And this might be, very likely, what gave occasion to that triumph, seeing they had stood so firm for him against his competitor.

(B) He mentions, among other things, a *Jew* going

along the streets of *Carthage*, and carrying the picture of a man in a long robe, with ass's ears, and a book in his hand with this inscription, the *God of the Christians*; which we chiefly mention, because it shews that the *Jews* had by that time spread themselves from *Egypt* into those farther parts of *Afric*, and how insolent they were grown under the favour of that emperor.

(C) This *Jewish* boy, who had been brought up at court, and was *Caracalla's* play-fellow, who was then about seven years of age, having been ordered by the emperor to be whipt for some misdemeanor, that young prince, we are told, not only shed tears over him, but was so concerned for him that he could not see his father for several days (15).

(14) *Abulpharag. Dynast.* p. 79.

(15) *Spartian. in Carical.*



a and *R. Chanina*. This famed piece, commonly known by the name of the *Hierosolymitan Thalmud*, together with the occasion of its being written, and other particulars relating to it, the reader will find an account of in the margin (D).

*R. JOCHANAN* is said by the *Jewish* writers to have lived 95 years, and left two famed disciples, viz. *R. Ase*, mentioned in the last note, and the compiler of the *Babylonish Thalmud*.

(D) The word *Thalmud* signifies *Doctrine*, and is emphatically given to this work, as being a complete system or body of it, or of the religion and morals of the *Jews*. They have two of that name and import, viz. this of *Jerusalem*, which is the shortest and more obscure of the two; as likewise the more antient by near one century; and that of *Babylon*, of which we shall speak in its proper place. It is properly a comment upon the *Mishnah* of *Judah Hakkadosh*; and the occasion of its writing was as follows:

*Judah* had scarce finished his own work, before he had the mortification to see a collection of traditions quite different from his, published under his nose by one *Rabbi Chua*, with the *Chaldee* title of *Bara-Zijethoth*, or *Extravagants*, which was afterwards inserted in the *Mishnah*, in order to make that piece more complete. It had, indeed, two considerable defects, viz. 1st, It only collected the various traditions and sentiments of the *Jewish* doctors, without enquiring which of them was most to be preferred; which confirms the conjecture, that *Judah* had only collected what he found ready written to his hand. And, 2dly, It was so concise as to be in some measure useless, because it reached but to a few doubtful cases, in comparison of the many questions that began by this time to be in vogue among the *Jews*. To remedy these defects it was that those three great men wrote this comment upon it, which being compiled in *Judea*, and for the *Jews* that lived in those parts, as well as in the *Hebrew* then in use, was stiled the *Gemarrab*, or *Perfection*; and this and the *Mishnah* together made that which is called the *Thalmud* of *Jerusalem*.

Neither *Jews* nor Christians are agreed about the time of its being finished; some placing it about 150, others about 200, and *Buxtorf* 230 years after the destruction of *Jerusalem* (16); that is, about the 300th year of Christ. Its mentioning the emperor *Dioclesian*, shews that it must have been compiled in or after the reign of that emperor; but *Morinus* is of opinion, from several barbarous terms he has observed in it, which are of *Vandalic* or *Gothic* extract, that it did not appear till the 5th century (17). Thus much for the *Jerusalem Thalmud*; which being still found not only too succinct, on account of the small number of cases and quotations from the *Jewish* doctors, as well as too obscure, by reason of the barbarous terms it had borrowed from other nations, gave birth to the *Babylonish* one, of which we are now going to speak.

This last was compiled by *Rabbi Ase*, a very learned disciple of the great *Jochanan*, but who left the academy of *Tiberias*, and went to preside at that of *Sora* near *Babylon*, where he continued in that dignity about 40 years, during which he compiled his *Gemarrab*, or comment upon the *Mishnah* of *Judah the Saint*; and from the place where he wrote it, it came to be stiled the *Babylonish Thalmud*, or, more probably perhaps, because it was done for the use of the *Babylonish*, or the *Jews* on the other side of the *Euphrates*. *Ase* did not live to finish it; but this was done by his sons; and some of his disciples gave the concluding hand to it; so that it became a vast body or collection of traditions, concerning the canon laws of the *Jews*, and of all the questions relating to the *Jewish* law, wherein the *Mishnah* is the text, and the *Gemarrab* the comment upon it.

The *Jews* in general prefer this *Babylonish Thalmud*,

on account of its clearness and fullness, much above that of *Jerusalem*; and though it is stuffed with ridiculous fables and stories, yet they will not suffer any one to call it in question without the censure of heresy. Insomuch that they even give this book the preference to the sacred ones; for these they compare to water, the *Mishnah* to wine, and the *Gemarrab* to the choicest wine †. They own all three to be equally of divine authority; but the last to be preferable in point of clearness, and without the help of which the former is but as a dead letter. We shall dispense with giving a farther account of that voluminous work, and only observe that the learned *Maimonides* hath given us an excellent abridgment of it, in which he hath thrown out all that was puerile and ridiculous, and confined himself to the collection of the most material cases and decisions that are contained in it. This epitome, which he stiles *Yad Khazachab*, or *Strong-hand*, is therefore much preferable to the *Thalmud* itself, as being one of the most complete bodies of the *Jewish* laws that ever was wrote; not so much on account of the dignity and importance of the subject, as of the clearness of the style, and the beautiful order in which he hath ranged them. As to the *Babylonish Thalmud*, there is as much difference of opinions about the time in which it was finished, as about that of *Jerusalem*. The *Jews* have greatly antedated it, as they do most of their own books; and the Christians were so little acquainted with it before *St. Jerom's* time, that we can come at no certainty from either. *Morinus* hath given it the latest date of any writer, and offered several very probable reasons for his opinion, that it was not finished till the year 700 (18). But as it would be doubtless out of our province, as well as swell this note to too great a bulk, were we to enter into a farther detail of this matter, we shall content ourselves with referring such of our readers, as are curious about that point, to the authors quoted in the margin, for a farther account of it (19).

No less is the difference of opinions concerning the book itself. We have seen what esteem the *Jews* have for it; some Christians come very little short of them, who, not content to look upon it as an inexhaustible mine of divine treasures, (from the search of which, nothing but the most carnal indolence, or too worldly pride and self-sufficiency, deters the learned) go even so far as to insinuate, that there is nothing grand or sublime in the sayings of Christ or his apostles but what they fetched from that divine fountain; insomuch that they will even affirm, that not only the finest parables and allegories of the gospel, but even the Lord's prayer, are taken from the *Thalmud*. If you ask them how they could have these from a book published so long after their time? they will answer, that they were conveyed by tradition from one doctor to another, and taught in their schools many years before, though not committed to writing till then †.

On the other hand, one meets with a quite different sort of men, who, running into the opposite extreme, condemn the book as detestable and dangerous, fit only to be flung into the flames. But those pass the more equitable judgment, who, without exaggerating its authority, can yet make use of it in order to explain the sacred writings, and the antient rites and religious ceremonies of the *Jews*: and this is what we have endeavoured to do in several parts of this work, as far as we could find

(16) *Recensio Op. Thalmud.* p. 200.

vol. i. p. 596. sub not. (B).

ub. sup. tom. i. p. 448. iii. 359.

Trigland. *Dissert. de Caraitis.* p. 17, & 35.

Calmet sub voc. *Prid. Connex.* part ii. lib. viii.

Reland. *Annales. Rabbin. ultra Traje.* an. 1702.

& seq. *Morin. Prid. Calmet.* & al sup. citat.

(17) *Exercit. Bibl.* l. iii. *Exercit.* 6.

(18) *Exercit. Bibl.* ub. sup. cap. 2, & seq. *Serrar. de Rabbin.* l. i. c. 9.

(†) See *Ancient Hist.*

*Bartoloc.*

*Hornbeck cont. Jud. lib. i. Basnag.*

(19) *Vid. int. al. Lightfoot in Matth. xx.*

*Vid. eccl. ibid.*



R. R. Ase, *mud*, and R. Anne, who boasted to have written 400 books; by which is not meant that he <sup>a</sup> and Ame, *disciples of* Joseph, either was the author, or even transcriber, of so many volumes; but only that he copied some sentences out of each: for we are told, that even the transcribing of a sentence out of *Deuteronomy*, v. 9. doth entitle one to the title of having wrote that book <sup>o</sup>. Both those disciples received the imposition of hands from their master, and both were chiefs of the academy of *Tiberias*, to the great mortification of one of their school-fellows, named *Sceman Bar-Abba*, who almost broke his heart for not being raised to that dignity.

*Jews in danger under Heliogabalus;*

HITHERTO the *Jews* had lived in peace and happiness, but were like to have suffered a most dreadful persecution in the reign of *Heliogabalus*. That whimsical prince, it seems, caused himself to be circumcised, and abstained from swines flesh, out of devotion to his gods; and this he had probably learned from some *Jews*, in whose neighbourhood he had been brought <sup>b</sup> up, and with whom his family, particularly his aunt *Mammea*, was very intimate. All this, however, could not have saved them from his fury, had he not been assassinated by his soldiers, before he could bring his mad project about, of making his god *Heliogabalus*, as *Lampridius* tells us he designed to have done, the only object of men's worship all over his empire; for the *Jews* would have suffered the severest persecutions rather than have joined in it. But this danger was soon over, and they began again to feel the effects of peace under the empire of successor.

• BARTOLOC. tom. iii. p. 673.

it of any service; and, as we have reason to hope, to very good purpose, and to the satisfaction of such of our readers who have not suffered themselves to be carried away into either extreme †. However, as we have taken upon us to observe, that it is fraught with many absurd and puerile notions, we shall now close this note with a few instances of it, to serve our readers as a specimen of the rest.

Nothing can be more absurd, and even impious, than what they tell us of the Deity's passing his time away before the creation, in making and annihilating of a number of worlds, by way of essay, till he had found out the way of making one to his mind, which is that we live in: his creating of the two monsters of *Henoc* and *Leviathan* on the fifth day, the former of whom was sent to range on the earth, and hath the grass of a thousand mountains to supply him with food; and the other confined to the sea till the day of judgment, when it is to be killed, to make a feast for all the elect: his creating the male and female *Behemoth*, and killing and salting the latter for the same banquet: *Adam* having been created an hermaphrodite, and trying in vain to assuage his lust with all the other animals, and fixing at length upon *Eve*. These, and many more of the like nature, which a modest *Jew* one would think must be ashamed of, are yet swallowed down by the vulgar; whilst some of the more sensible of them pretend that those stories are allegorical; and contain such sublime mysteries as none but their greatest saints can be able or fit to attain.

What can be more childish, as well as prophane, than the story of the sly rabbi, who is there reported to have cheated God and the devil, by praying to the latter to carry him up to the gate of heaven, when, having once beheld the glory of the place; and happiness of the saints, he might die more easy and quiet; and having obtained his request, and found it luckily opened, gave himself a spring, and jumped into it, and swore by its great God, that he would never come out of it; whereby God was obliged to let him stay there rather than make him forswear himself.

Many of the rabbinic decisions are also found there no less ludicrous and absurd; as when it introduces two women disputing in the synagogues, about the use which a husband may lawfully make of them; and the rabbies answer positively that he may safely use them as he pleases; and for this reason, that as a man that buys a fish may eat either the fore or hind part, as he likes best, so, &c. They are sometimes contradictory to each other; as when, instead of endeavouring to reconcile or remove the manifest opposition; they make a voice from heaven do it; by pronouncing both decisions right. We shall pass by some of those which are chiefly levelled against Christians,

which not only oblige the *Jews* to curse them in their prayers, morning and night, but encourage the greatest inhumanities against them. It is indeed to be hoped that those who are living under the protection of our mild government, will look upon themselves as less bound to such uncharitable precepts, and we may say, in some measure, so contrary to the *Mosaic* law; but how much the authority of the *Thalmud* is to be preferred to that, may appear from the following story taken out of it, and with which we shall close this note. It is as follows:

A certain heathenish king, named *Pergandicus*, having invited eleven of the most celebrated *Jewish* doctors to sup with him, and received them with a suitable magnificence, put it to their choice whether they would feed upon some swines flesh, or have carnal conversation with pagan women, or drink wine that had been offered to idols; after mature deliberation, they chose the last, as being only forbidden by their doctors; whereas the two former were so by the law. Accordingly the king obliged them with some excellent wine, consecrated to the gods, of which they drank very freely. The table, which stood upon a hinge, being turned about, and covered with swines flesh, they fell to it without further enquiry; and, after a full meal, being also well heated with wine, they were conducted to bed, where they found such handsome women as they were not proof against; and it was not till after a sound sleep that they became sensible of their gradual violation of the law, in that threefold manner. As a punishment for it, they died all within the year, and of a sudden death, for having transgressed the precepts of their doctors; thinking that they might more safely do it than break the written law. And accordingly the *Mishnah* pronounces them more guilty who transgress the words of their wise men, than those who transgress the words of the written law. (20). And R. Eleazer, being questioned by his disciples upon his death-bed about the surest way to life, answered, Turn away your children from the study of the written law, and let them listen to the words of the wise men; that is, to the *Thalmud*. The reason they give is no less singular; for, say they, the prophets and inspired writers were obliged to prove their doctrine by miracles; whereas the wise men have no need of such proofs, God having enjoined his people (*Deut.* xvii. v. 10. *et seq.*) to do according to that which they shall shew them, and to act according to all they shall injoin them, &c. and for this reason it is another maxim of the *Thalmud*, that there can be no peace of conscience for those who forsake the study of it, for that of the sacred writings. And thus much shall suffice to give our *English* readers a notion of the nature of the two *Thalmuds*, and of their authority among the *Jews*.

† *Vid. Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 588, & 599. sub. not.*

(20) *Tract. Sanhedr. c. x. n. 3. tom. iv. p. 25.*



- a THE mild disposition of *Alexander Severus*, joined to the prejudices he had imbibed in his youth, in favour of that nation and of their religion (E), made him shew so much favour towards them, that the then wits used to give him the title of *Archisynagogue* of Syria. He was no less an admirer of the Christians, and imitated the method of both, of proclaiming the names of those officers whom he set over his provinces, as those did by their chiefs and bishops, to the end that those under them might have it in their power to accuse them, when their behaviour deserved it. He was no less fond of the negative maxim common to Christians and Jews, which he often repeated, of not doing that to others which we would not have done to ourselves: but he seems to have been ignorant of that positive and more excellent one, peculiar to Christ and his disciples, *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto*
- b *them*, or else it is not to be doubted but he would have given it the preference.

His successors suffered the Jews to live in peace and full liberty, particularly *Philip*, who, being born in *Arabia*, had been conversant with, and was a great favourer of them, as well as of the Christians, and in whose time the famed *St. Cyprian* wrote his treatise of Testimonies, in which he mentions a vast number of prophecies which were fulfilled in *Jesus Christ*. Among the Jews flourished the famed *R. Scesciab*, who, though blind, became famed for his learning, and held several disputes against the Christians, and particularly opposed their praying towards the east. They attribute two works to him; one a cabalistical exposition of the *Sephiroth*, the manuscript of which was kept in the library of *Heidelberg*; and the other a *Targum*, or paraphrase on the sacred books<sup>p</sup>. As *Decius* raised a persecution against the Christians, out of spleen to *Philip* who had protected them, some have thought that the Jews bore a share in it; but as the difference between the Christians and the Jews was better known by this time than it had been formerly, it is more likely these escaped it. That which raged afterwards in *Valerian's* reign against the Christians, hath been thought by some to have been in a great measure owing to the Jews; and *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* tells us, that that prince was stirred up to it by the archisynagogue of *Egypt*. But it is probable that our author hath given that title to the chief of the magicians, out of hatred to the Jews; for it was really an *Egyptian* magician that induced him to it, and it doth not appear that the Jews had any hand in it.

- We have now gone thro' the history of the western Jews during the three first centuries: it is now time to pass over the *Euphrates*, and give some account of the eastern ones; of their princes or chiefs; of their captivity; their academies, and most celebrated doctors in them; and such other transactions relating to them as we think worth our reader's notice. And this place is so much the more proper to begin their history in, because it is in the third century, and not before, that these chiefs and doctors began to make a figure, and to found their most celebrated academies; we therefore think, for the reasons hinted in the margin (F), that this new dignity did not introduce itself in *Babylon* till the time of *Huna*, the son of *Nathan*, there

<sup>p</sup> SAGHI NAHOR, ap. Bartoloc. Bibl. Rabb.

(E) That prince had received such a strong tincture of *Judaism* from his mother *Mammea*, that tho' he never forsook the worship of the heathen gods, yet he had adopted into their number *Abraham*, the father of the faithful and patriarch of the Jews, and would have done the same by *Jesus Christ*. This, indeed, was a strange medley of religion, and seems to have been a kind of refinement on *Heliogabalus's* wild project, only with this difference, that *Severus* forbore all kind of violence, and strove to promote it by mild and gentle means. As to the title of *Syrian Archisynagogue*, it was given him as being a native of that province, and on account of his singular favour to the Jews<sup>\*</sup>.

(F) We have already shewn how fond the Jewish writers are of giving the preference to these *Babylonish* chiefs, above the patriarchs of *Tiberias*, on account of their being of the royal blood of *David*, and the persons to whom the title to the Jewish scepter belonged. In consequence of which, their lesser chronicle, or *Seder Holam Zeathu*, hath given us a list or series of them, from king *Jeconiah*, who was carried away captive into *Babylon* by *Nebuchadnezzar* †, and was afterwards released out of his prison by *Evil Merodach* his son, in the first year of his reign, and set above the rest of the captive kings (21). To him that chronicle gives nine successors; viz. 1. *Salathiel* his son, under *Bel Shazar*. 2. *Zorobabel* his son, who brought back that captivity

under *Cyrus* ‡. 3. *Mesbullam* his son, under whom prophecy ceased, and who died in the time of *Alexander the Great*. 4. *Hananiab*, under the reign of *Salmon*, *Alafcan*, and *Maparis*, kings of the *Greeks* (so they call *Ptolemy*, the son of *Lagus*, *Seleucus*, and *Cassander*). He died, according to them, an. 140 of the æra of the *Seleucidae*. 5. His son *Barachiah*, under that *Ptolemy* who caused the Scriptures to be translated into *Greek*, who died 170 of the same æra. 6. His son *Hafadia* an. 175, when *Nicanor* was defeated by the Jews. 7. *Isaiab* his son. 8. *Abdiab* his son, who died in *Herod's* reign; and *Shamaja* his son, who makes up the 10th generation of the royal line since *David*. From this they give us a regular series of 31 more, beginning at *Sheebaniab* his son, who died an. 160, after the destruction of the temple, or 236 of Christ, down to *Azariah*, the brother of *Jacob Phineas*, the 41st and last of those chiefs, who made up according to that chronologist, the 89th generation. We shall not trouble our readers with a list of them, which is palpably faulty in many respects, and hath little else except their bare names, and here and there some synchronism; of which we shall give an account in the sequel; and now and then one of those new chiefs who chose to be buried in *Judea*.

But were this list ever so authentic, with relation to the regular succession of those families, yet, with respect to their power, dignity, or figure, the Jews don't pre-

\* See *Ant. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 358, 359.

c. ult. v. 27, & seq.

Mod. Hist. Vol. V.

† De hoc, vid. *Ant. Hist.* vol. i. p. 848, & seq.

‡ See *Ant. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 3, & seq. & not. (C).

(21) 2 King.



mentioned, who was cotemporary with *Judab* the saint, and flourished about the year 220, or, at the earliest, under his father, about the beginning of the third century; and then their authority could be but small, considering the slavery under which the *Jews* groaned from the *Parthians*, *Romans*, and other tyrants, whatever titles they might bestow on them to raise the credit of their nation.

When first begun.

Favoured by the Persians.

Learned men there.

We need not repeat what hath been said in other parts of this history concerning these wars, and the triumph of *Severus* over *Artaxerxes*, the famed restorer of the *Persian* monarchy †. This last died about *an.* 244, and was succeeded by his son *Sapor*, from whom that new succession took their name \*. Both of them became great favourers of the *Jews*, and shewed an extraordinary esteem for their rabbies; and it is under them that we find the celebrated *Samuel Jarchi*, or the Lunatic (G), not only honoured with the title of *Nassi* or Prince, but likewise with the names of those two monarchs, being first surnamed *Ariochus*, or *Artaxerxes*, and, after his death, *Sapor*, the name of his son, to shew the high degree of authority they had gained at that new court. This great man, as we formerly hinted, came from *Judea* hither; and, among his other dignities, had that of counsellor of *Huna*, the chief of the captivity ‡. He is said to have died *an.* 250, and to have been succeeded by *R. Ada*, who perfected the reformation which he had left defective. The other doctors that flourished in this century, and raised the fame of that university under *Huna*, the reader may see in the margin (H).

BUT

† See Ant. Hist. vol. vi. p. 141, & seq. \* Ibid. p. 162, & seq. vol. iv. p. 326, & seq. ‡ GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 113. BARToloc. ub. sup. tom. iv. p. 388. Vid. BASNAG. ub. sup.

tend to it, knowing well enough that many of those to whom they gave the pompous titles of *Nassi*, *Prince*, *Rosh*, *Chief*, and others of the like nature, lived in the utmost indigence; especially during their slavish subjection to the *Parthians*, *Romans*, &c. and bore those titles, more on account of their merit, either for learning and sanctity, than on that of their figure or authority.

But what farther confirms that this dignity did not begin till the epoch which we mentioned, is, that *Josephus*, who wrote under the emperor *Trajan*, hath never once spoken of it; and that *Justin Martyr*, who is still later, objects against his antagonist *Trypho*, that his nation had neither king nor chief. Is it probable the latter would have let him triumph over him thus if the case had been otherwise? and would he not have retorted to him this succession of chiefs, if he had known of any such being still preserved? We may add, that those chiefs above-mentioned are only known by their names, except *R. Nathan*, who is there said to have come from *Babylon* into *Judea* in the patriarchate of *Simon*, the father of *Judab* the saint, and became celebrated there, not only on account of his being chosen *Ab-Beth-Din*, at *Tiberias* (22), but likewise for some works he published there. But is it probable that he would have exchanged his dignity of chief, or prince of the captivity at *Babylon*, if he had been in possession of any such, for that of second in the *Jewish Sanhedrin*; and at a time when *Palestine* was ruin'd by the wars that had raged in it, and by the avarice of *Domitian*? Had his dignity and authority been so high at *Babylon*, is it likely he would have come so far to be chosen to one so inferior to it at *Tiberias*? But, by what appears, his father was chiefly distinguished in the former, for the immense riches and credit which he had acquired at the court of the *Parthian* kings; on which account the *Jews*, according to their constant custom, had given him some pompous title. *Nathan*, therefore, seems rather to have come to *Tiberias* in search of learning, and some honourable employment, which he had not before, to add new merit to his wealth; and, having stayed there a considerable time, upon his return to *Babylon*, he resolved to set up some dignity there also, answerable to the patriarchate of *Judea*. What confirms it is, that he lived very long, seeing he is numbered among the *Talmudists*, or commentators on the *Mishnah*; which shews that he cannot be well supposed to have come to *Tiberias* till after the conclusion of the war, lately mentioned under the emperor *Adrian*, or about the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. However, after his return home,

the wars between the *Romans* and the *Parthians*, under the emperors *M. Aurelius* and *Severus*, having reduced that country to the greatest extremity, towards the close of the second century, it is not likely that this new dignity could be introduced there till matters had taken a more favourable turn, that is, under *Huna* his son, who is therefore supposed the first chief of the captivity (23).

(G) So called from his great skill in astronomy; some tables of which he is said to have calculated, which are still preserved in the *Vatican* library (†). He was moreover well versed in the *Jewish* laws, and was president of the famed academy of *Nahardea*, where he became famous for his astronomical and other lectures; and particularly, as we have lately hinted, for the improvements he made of *Hillel's* reformation of the calendar.

(H) *Rabbi Jehudab*, the son of *Eliezer*, raised himself by his great learning; insomuch that we find several of his decisions in the *Babylonish Talmud*; tho', in most of them, he betrays his aversion to the heathen and strangers. Some have misplaced him in the university of *Pundebita*, which was as yet unfounded. He had a successor named *Nachman*, who filled the chair with no less reputation; and, in general, the professors of *Nahardea* are said to have excelled those of *Sora*, its rival; only these latter were more in favour with the prince of the captivity.

Among these we may, however, put in the first rank the famed *R. Abba Aricka*, who was emphatically stiled רב רב, or *Rau*, or *the Great*, and is chiefly known and quoted by that title. Both he and *Samuel Jarchi* had spent some time in *Judea*, and studied under *Judab* the saint; but, after the death of their master, they both returned and settled, the former at *Sora*, and the latter at *Nahardea*. *Rab* was so well beloved by one of the *Babylonish* princes, named *Adarchan*, that he used to assist at his lectures, and at length caused himself to be circumcised about *A. C.* 243. He wrote, they say, a comment on the book of *Ruth*, and some other pieces, and was of opinion that the *Romans* would be masters of the whole world nine months before the coming of the *Messiah*.

He was succeeded in the chair of *Sora* by *Huna*, a relation of the prince of that name, and was so proud of his affinity to him, that he is the first who took upon him the title of *Prince of the Academy*, or ראש ישיבה *Rosh Jeshubab*. He had 160 volumes of the law; one of which was found פסול *passul*, or *illegal*, merely be-

(22) De hoc. vid. Ant. Hist. vol. iv. p. 40. & seqq. & not. (R). Vid. Basnag ub. sup. l. viii. c. 3.  
(23) Vid. Bartoloc. Basnag. (†) Idem, ibid. lib. viii. c. 3.



- a BUT their felicity soon proved the prelude of a violent persecution under *Sapor*, the second *Persian* monarch of this race. That prince, who loved to converse and often dispute with them, having one day questioned them about their custom of burying the dead, and insisted upon their producing some express and decisive text in their law for it, received such an illusory answer, that, from a favourer, he became a furious persecutor of them (I). But how far the evidence on which this fact is founded is to be relied on, the reader may judge from what we have said in the last note. However, it is plain, from the famed inscription engraved on *Gordian's* tomb, which *Capitolinus* tells us was written in the *Persic* and *Hebrew* characters, that it might be read by all the world<sup>a</sup>, that there were still great numbers of the *Jews* in *Persia*, and considerable enough to be thought worthy of reading that emperor's praises in their own language.
- b *Sapor* is said to have reigned from A. C. 241 to 272: and how unsuccessful he was in his wars, Ab. A. C. not only against the *Romans*, but especially against the great *Odenatus*, and his celebrated queen 260, ad an. *Zenobia*, hath been seen in a former part<sup>c</sup>; and it was under that glorious princess that the 272. *Jews* made the most considerable figure all the time of her reign, and in every part of her dominions, which, as we there observed, were of very great extent.

SHE had been brought up in their religion, and was a zealous professor of it. Both she and her husband were become so successful and powerful over those eastern tracts, they carried all before them; so that there is no room to doubt of the *Jews* making the most of the favour and protection of two such powerful friends. She, in particular, is recorded to have built them a great number of stately synagogues, and to have raised them to the highest dignities. Her sad fate, however, soon put an end to all her glory and their happiness, unless we will suppose, that her son *Vaballat*, who succeeded her in some part of her old dominions, was of the same religion with her, and shewed the same favour and encouragement to them; tho' even in this case, which is not altogether certain, all he could do for them must come vastly short of what his mother had done. After the fall of that great heroine, the *Jews* retired from her conquered dominions into several cities of *Persia*, where they were likely to live more quietly, and where there still flourished several of their learned men, some of them chiefly famed for the most puerile actions; such as that of the celebrated *Chija*, who flung himself into a smoking oven or furnace to subdue his lust, after he had tried in vain variety of other means. The noble academy of *Nabardea* having undergone the same fate with that city, that of *Sora* became the most populous and famed for its great men (K).

IT was during the time of prosperity and glory abovementioned, that we find that the *Jewish* doctors began to take variety of pompous titles; such as those of *Abba* Father, *Baal* Lord, *Rom* High, *Rab* Master, *Mor* Teacher, *Rosh* Chief or Head, and the like. Among them was a famed doctor named *Jeremiah*, who stiled himself *the Master of Questions*; and, to mortify the *Babylonish* doctors, made his wife hold frequent disputes against them<sup>d</sup>. They

<sup>a</sup> IN GORDIAN, p. 165, & seq.    <sup>c</sup> See Ant. Hist. vol. iv. p. 327, & seq. Vol. vi. p. 183, & seq.    <sup>d</sup> BAR-TOLOC. ub. sup. tom. iii.

cause it was as broad as long; which we chiefly mention to give our readers a taste of the doctors, and learning of those times.

We shall only add one more learned, viz. *R. Cohanab*, of the priestly order, as his name imports, and of the family of *Eli*, the high-priest; tho' that is by some called in question. He had likewise studied at *Tiberias* under *R. Joebanan* and the patriarch *Samuel*; and indeed it was then a common custom so to do; insomuch that a man was not esteemed learned, unless he had studied some time in that academy. All this is a proof that the *Jews* not only lived peaceably, but were in high favour with the then *Persian* monarch.

(I) They tell us, that one of the doctors not being able to produce a command for it, another more subtle than he pleaded custom and example; to which *Sapor* retorted that of *Moses*, who was not buried: to this they replied, that the *Israelites* mourned for him (24), which did not satisfy him. But if we may believe a certain chronicle, said to have been transmitted from *Persia* into *Spain* (25), he was forced to this violence by his subjects, who could not brook the esteem he shewed to the *Jews*, and were ready to mutiny against him. So that he was obliged to imprison three of their principals, whom he tried in vain, by dint of scourging, to force into an abjuration of their religion. Provoked at their constancy, he caused all the princes of that nation to be imprisoned,

and so ill treated and macerated, that they had nothing left but skin and bones. From that time the *Persians* became so unfortunate in all their wars, especially with the *Arabs*, who subdued and led them away captive, that they acknowledged at length that their cruelty to the *Jews* brought all these evils upon them as a just punishment; on which account they granted them full liberty of conscience, whilst the *Arabian* princes, who looked upon that persecution as cruel and unjust, had courted great numbers of them into their dominions, where they were protected and caressed.

The chronicle above-named, which alone mentions all these particulars, is much called in question by the learned; tho' if by the *Arabians* there mentioned, we understand their neighbours the *Palmyrenians* and the *Saracens*, under the famed *Odenatus*, it is plain that they reduced the *Persians* to great extremities, at the same time that they highly favoured the *Jews*.

(K) Among them was the learned *R. Zira*, surnamed *Katana* (both which signify little), who had gone to study at that of *Tiberias*, but had been invited to *Sora* by *Huna*, the then chief of the captivity, who raised him to the professorship, which he enjoyed till an. 300; when, having conceived a desire of being interred in *Judea*, he chose to go thither in his life-time, rather than have his body transported thither after his death (26).

(24) Deut. c. ult. v. 8.

ub. sup. Ben. virg. & al. ub. sup. (25) Ex Gemar. tract. Sanhedr. Solam. Ben. virg. & seq.

(26) Gantz,

flourished



flourished about the year 290; but the most famed among them was *Manes*, a person of great a learning, but who could by no means be reconciled to the religion, or even God, of the *Jews*; nor to what the sacred historians record, of his ordering that nation to destroy and extirminate such great number of kingdoms and people; and preferred that of the Christians, who commended nothing so much as universal love and benignity. He is said to have held frequent conferences with the *Jewish* doctors of *Persia*, in order to inspire them, as he pretended, with more worthy ideas of the Godhead. Our modern rabbies do not acknowledge any such conferences between their ancestors and him, whom they have noted in their calendar as the head of that new sect which still bears his name, and which they absurdly place towards the close of *Constantine's* reign, tho' he lived about the end of this third century. The persecution which was raised against the Christians about the same time, under *Dioclesian*, did not much b affect the *Jewish* nation either in the east or west; at least, neither *Jewish* or any other authors mention any thing of it: only the former pretend, that he designed to have made them feel the severest marks of his resentment for some scandalous reflections which the disciples of *Judah* the saint had cast on him; but that they found means to appease him and prevent it (L). But it is now time to pass on to the 4th century, and see how they fared under the Christian emperors.

Jews in the  
4th century,

whether per-  
secuted by  
Constantine.

Laws against  
them.

Decree of the  
Elviran coun-  
cil.

WE have had occasion already to mention some severe laws which *Constantine* was forced to enact, to suppress the insolence of the *Jews* against the Christians; and to forbid them making of proselytes, and abusing those who embraced Christianity. But some historians have gone farther, and made that prince a very severe persecutor of them; insomuch that one of the *Greek* c fathers tells us, that, being shocked at their assembling themselves in order to rebuild the city of *Jerusalem*, he condemned them to have their ears cut off, and to be dispersed like vile slaves through all the parts of the empire<sup>1</sup>. And another writer adds, that he obliged them to be baptized, and to eat swine's flesh on *Easter-day*<sup>2</sup>. All this however is wholly rejected by the generality of the moderns, and not without good reasons; which the reader may see in the margin (M). His design was neither to persecute them, nor to force them to turn Christians, but to prevent that liberty which was granted to them from being abused, to the detriment or disgrace of Christianity. In consequence of which, he enacted a law, six months before his death, declaring all those slaves free which had by any means been circumcised by their *Jewish* masters (N). He farther ordered, that they should be obliged to serve all public offices, d like all the other subjects of the empire; which was but right they should; but yet exempted their patriarchs, priests, and others, that officiated at their synagogues, schools, &c. from them, that they might not be thereby diverted from those necessary employments<sup>3</sup>. But the council of *Elvira* in *Spain*, which is commonly placed under this reign, made two decrees which were more severe against them; by the first of which they were excluded from eating with Christians, as they had commonly done till then; and, though the penalty fell only on the Christians, who were excommunicated by it for eating with a *Jew*, yet it put the latter to very great inconveniences, and made them liable to insults and contempt. By the other, all possessors of lands were forbidden, under the same penalty, to suffer the fruits of the earth to be blessed by the *Jews*, because their blessing rendered that of the Christians abortive. This e custom of blessing the fruits of the earth at certain seasons was common to Pagans and *Jews*, as well as Christians: but who would have imagined, that the latter should have made use of

<sup>1</sup> CHRYSOST. Orat. in Jud. iii. xvi. tom. viii. cap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> EUTYCH. An. tom. i. p. 466.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. THEODOS. lib.

(L) They upbraided him, it seems, with having been a swineherd; but appeased his resentment with telling him, that tho' they despised the swineherd, they revered the emperor. This story seems founded on the prediction which had been made to that prince, that he should ascend the throne when he had killed *Aper* (the boar); meaning *Aper* the *Præfatus Prætorii*, whose death opened to him the way to the empire, as hath been shewn in that part of the *Roman* history (†).

(M) The *Jews* themselves all own, that it was *Adrian*, and not *Constantine*, who ordered their ears to be cut off; and this is also confirmed by the *Arabic* historian (27). Besides, we have elsewhere seen, that *Jerusalem* was already rebuilt in *Constantine's* time; insomuch, that the bishop of it had assisted at the *Nicene* councils; and *Constantine* had adorned that city with such magnificent edifices, that *Eusebius* compliments him on it as the builder of the *New Jerusalem* foretold by the prophets (28).

How then could the *Jews* assemble themselves in a riotous manner to rebuild that city, which was already done in so stately a manner? We may add further, that, among all the edicts of that prince against the *Jews*, which are preserved in the *Theodosian* code, there is not a word about their being condemned to have their ears cut off, to eat swine's flesh, &c. Though some of them accuse the *Jews* of stoning and burning those of their nation, whom they found inclined to embrace Christianity, and of having forced their Christian and heathen slaves to be circumcised, which was the reason of his resentment against them.

(N) *Eusebius*, who could not but be well acquainted with that law, says, it extended even to a prohibition of their having any Christian slaves, and gives this reason for it, that it was unjust that those, who were redeemed by the blood of Christ, should be in subjection to his murderers (29).

(†) See *Ant. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 205, & seq. iii. c. 33.

(27) *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 27.

(28) *Abulphed, dynast.* vii. p. 77. (28) *In vit. Const. lib.*

either



a either of the former, if this decree had not informed us of it. However, both this and the other decree plainly shew, that the *Jews* had lived very peaceably in *Spain*, and in good harmony with the *Christians*, till then, whatever they may have done since.

THEY enjoyed no less a benign sunshine in the east; and their academies went on in a flourishing manner, if we except the persecution which was raised against one of their greatest doctors, the famed *Ravenna* or *Rabba Nachmanides*, chief of the academy of *Sora*, and a person in such esteem, that he had no less than twelve thousand disciples under him \* (O). This person, after having taught a considerable time at that city, was at length accused of some very high crime to the king of *Persia*; for which he thought fit, to avoid farther prosecution, to abscond; and either died in his retreat, as some affirm, or was banished by that monarch, according to others, and died in exile (P). What this crime was we are not told; but it was not attended with any ill consequence towards the nation, nor even to his family, since we find him succeeded in the same academy by his own nephew of the same name, whom he adopted into it (Q). This last had made such progress under him, that he was chosen chief of the academy of *Pundebita*, so early as *an.* 324; and had continued in it till *an.* 329, when he married, and had a son known by the name of *Rab-bibi*. The university of *Sora* had another famed professor, namely, *Joseph*, surnamed *the Blind*, for so he was; yet he had so great a share of inward light, that he was styled, *Sagbi Nabor*, or *Great Light*. They gave him likewise that of *Sinai*, because he was a perfect master of all the traditions given to *Moses* on that holy mountain. He is commonly supposed to be the author of the *Chaldee* paraphrases upon some of the *Hagiographa*, such as the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Ruth*, and *Esther*, which are held in great esteem among the *Jews* and *Christians*; at least one would think so by the number of editions which that book has had, though too much fraught with fables and subtleties.

THE last thing worth mentioning, relating to the *Jews*, under the reign of *Constantine* (R), is the bloody persecution they raised in *Persia*, where their interest was very great at that court against the eastern *Christians*, to be revenged, as was pretended, for those which they had suffered in the *Roman* empire. Christianity had passed from *Armenia* into *Persia*, and other parts of the east, where a great number of churches and bishopricks had been erected without any molestation. But when the *Jews* found, that *Ustazades*, one of *Sapor's* chief eunuchs, was going to be converted to it, they lost all patience; and, by the help of the *Magi*, persuaded that prince to persecute them with the utmost severity. *Simeon*, the worthy bishop of *Cteziphon*, whom they had accused of holding a treasonable correspondence with *Constantine*, was one of their first martyrs, and *Ustazades* another. The persecution was long and bloody; all the churches were demolished, and the traces of Christianity almost obliterated.

\* GANTZ TZEMACH, et al. ub. sup. Lib. Cabal. p. 61. b.

(O) There were two famed rabbies of that name; the one distinguished by the title of *Hakadmon*, or the elder, who flourished about *A. C.* 322, and the *Acharon*, or younger, who lived about *an.* 474. We are now speaking of the elder, who was a man of such profound learning, and so dextrous at removing the greatest difficulties, that they gave him the title of עוקר הרים,

*Hoker Harim*, the remover of mountains. His chief work is the *Bereshith Rabbah*, which is a learned comment on *Genesis*, giving an account of the creation, and a description of the *Holy Land*, together with the literal and mystical sense of that sacred book (30) and hath been often quoted in this work, especially in the *Jewish* history. There is another treatise of the same name, which must not therefore be confounded with it, and which is a comment on the *Mishna*, written by *R. Hoshianghia*, a disciple of *Judab Hakkodish*, but less esteemed than the former.

(P) Some tell us, that *Sapor* had actually condemned him to death, but that his mother got him reprieved, by sending him the same message which *Pilate's* wife had formerly done to that judge; viz. *Have nothing to do with that righteous man, for I have suffered many things in a dream by reason of him* (31). Whether the *Thalmudists* have stolen this story from the gospel, or have invented it out of their own heads, we will not determine (32). But if there be any truth in it, the message of the empress dowager had a different effect on the *Persian* king, who contented himself with banishing him for life.

(Q) And therefore tells us, that he gave him the name of אבי, *Abji*; First, Because he had taken him as an orphan out of charity into his house. And, 2dly, Because he should not be confounded hereafter with him; that is, the disciple with his master.

(R) It may not be perhaps altogether impertinent to this history of the *Jews* under this reign, to mention the discovery of the holy cross, which is, by one of the oldest writers on that subject, attributed to a *Jew* named *Judas*, who became soon after a convert to Christianity, and took the name of *Cyriacus* (33). The generality of writers of the church of *Rome* give the honour of it to the empress *Helena*, the mother of *Constantine*, on the authority of *Sulpitius Severus*, who hath added a great number of miracles to this transaction (34); and a letter of *Cyril*, bishop of *Jerusalem*, the authenticity of which is justly called in question. It is out of our province to enter into that controversy (\*); we shall only observe, that *Eusebius's* silence on so remarkable a discovery, seems quite to discountenance the pretences of the latter; for who can imagine, that such a man as he should have omitted it, if the discovery had been really made by that empress, and been confirmed by so many miracles, at a place so near his bishoprick, and usual residence. But the wonder will cease if it was made by an obscure *Jew*, and without any miracle or extraordinary thing attending it.

(30) Vid. Bartoloc. ub. sup. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. sub Rab. Ben. Nachman. & Rabolb. vid. & Lib. Cabal. p. 61. b. (31) Matt. xxvii. 19. (32) Vid. Lightfoot, Hor. thalmud. in Matt. xxvii. (33) Greg. Turon. lib. i. c. 36. (34) Lib. ii. c. 48. (\*) See Ant. Hist. vol. vi. p. 262.



Circa A. C. 341. THEY went not long unpunished for it; and *Constans*, who succeeded *Constantine*, observing to what height of insolence they were grown in divers parts of the empire, especially in *Egypt*, where they committed the vilest insults against the Christians (S), found himself obliged to use them with greater severity than his father. But what incensed him most against them was the treachery of the *Jews* of *Diocæsarea* in *Palestine* (T), who took the advantage of *Magnentius*'s revolt in *Hungary*, and of that prince's absence whilst he was gone to quell that rebel, to raise an insurrection in *Judea*, whilst the *Persians* were attacking the empire on their side, and were laying siege to *Nisibis*. He was therefore obliged to send *Gallus* against them, whom he had created *Cæsar*; and who took *Judea* in his way to *Persia*, defeated the rebellious *Jews*, and razed *Diocæsarea*. After this, *Constans*, who, besides his just resentment against them, was a very zealous Christian, not only revived all the old laws of *Adrian* and *Constantine*, but made some more severe ones against them; among which, one condemned any *Jew* to death that married a Christian, circumcised a slave, or kept any that were Christians. They were moreover forbid to enter into *Jerusalem*; and those who were desirous to see it at a distance, must buy that liberty at a vast price. He likewise loaded them with very heavy taxes; and was projecting some fresh ones against them to keep them still more under, but was prevented by death<sup>y</sup>. It was under his reign, that young *Epiphanius* was converted from *Judaism* to Christianity, not without some miracles attending it, with which we shall not trouble our readers with, since they were hardly powerful enough to keep him from running into the wild notions of the *Gnosticks*, whom he met with in *Egypt*<sup>z</sup>.

St. Epiphanius converted.

Julian's great favours to the Jews.

WE come now to the reign of *Julian* the apostate, to whom the *Jews* made some of their first addressees, with a complaint, that they were unjustly debarred from entering into *Jerusalem*, which had been the glorious residence of their ancestors for so long a series of ages. They not only met with a kind reception, and the most sensible marks of his favour, such as the exemptions from those heavy taxes with which his predecessors had loaded them, and the free exercise of their religion, but he likewise permitted them to rebuild their temple, and to revive their ancient worship in it; and even furnished them with money and materials for the work. He condescended so far as to write a letter to them, in which, the more to mortify the Christians, he gives their patriarch the title of brother (U). All these signal favours could not fail of raising that nation to the highest pitch of insolence against the Christians, which they could not but see was the most effectual means of ingratiating themselves with him. Accordingly they assembled themselves in several cities of *Judea* and *Syria*, where they began to demolish the churches, and committed other outrages, especially at *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Berythus*, and *Damascus*, whilst those of *Egypt* did the same at *Alexandria*, and other places; and a third sort set themselves about rebuilding the temple at *Jerusalem*. In the carrying on of which work, we are told, men, women, and children, were zealous to put an helping hand; and some of them were so sanguine in it, that they made themselves tools of gold and silver to rear up

<sup>y</sup> SOZOMEN, lib. ii. cap. 9. HILAR. in Ps. lviii. p. 731—734. Ps. cxxxi, & cxlvi. SOZOM. lib. iii. c. 17.  
<sup>z</sup> JOAN. in vit. Epiph. num. i. & seq. p. 33, & seq.

(S) They not only plundered their churches, burnt their sacred books, and other church utensils, but defiled their fountains, or baptisteries, in such a filthy manner, as St. *Athanasius* was ashamed to mention (35); they carried their insolence so far, as to force young virgins to abjure Christianity, after having stripped and abused them (36); in all which indignities, they were countenanced, if not privately set on work, by *Gregory*, the *Adrian* bishop, who was then in high favour at court; so that they went on in them with the utmost boldness and impunity.

(T) This city was the ancient *Sephoris*, and was situated in *Palestina Secunda*. The *Jews*, who were retired thither, and at *Tiberias*, after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, had suffered much from the heathens, who had revolted against *Adrian*; but being at length freed from their insults by that emperor, both places expressed their gratitude to him; the latter, by erecting a temple to him, which they called *Adrianon*; and the former, by changing its name of *Sephoris* into that of *Diocæsarea Adriana*, to distinguish it from three others of that name; one in *Phrygia*, the second in *Cappadocia*, and the third in *Isauria*, whose bishop assisted at the council of *Chalcedon* (37). St. *Jerom* places that of *Palestine* within a mile and a half of *Gath*; and, though it underwent so severe a fate

as being the seat of the *Jewish* revolt, it was not long before it raised itself out of its ruins, and became again an habitation of the *Jews*.

(U) It were absurd, considering the character of that emperor, to suppose, that he heaped all these favours on the *Jews* with any other view than to spite and weaken the Christians, by encouraging and increasing the number of their enemies, that his favourite Paganism might the more easily triumph over them. In other respects, the *Jews* must have been equally hateful to him with the Christians, since both equally condemned and abhorred the superstitions of the heathen. But what might still render the former more obnoxious to him, was the notion, which, St. *Jerom* tells us, was then rise among them, that about 430 years after their dispersion, they were in their turn to become lords over the *Romans*, and sell them to the *Sabeans*; after which, not only *Jerusalem*, and all the cities of *Judea*, but even those of *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, were to be rebuilt. So that, when *Julian* gave them an invitation to rebuild the temple, they all looked upon it as the forerunner of the completion of that pretended prophecy, or rather interpretation of the words of the Psalmist and other prophets, that *the Lord would revenge his people, and rebuild the cities of Judah*.

(35) *Epist. ad orthodox.*  
*Chalced.* iii.

(36) *Idem ibid. vide & Sozom. lib. ii. c. 9, & alib.*

(37) *Act. concil.*



a new edifice with; till the Divine Providence was pleased to put an effectual stop to it, by such a series of prodigies as quite deterred them from pursuing it, and made them sensible of the infallibility of Christ's predictions against that place (W). Soon after which, *Julian* himself, mortally wounded in a surprising manner at the *Persian* war, was forced, by his dying words, to acknowledge his superior power, as we have already shewn in the *Roman* history †.

*Jovian*, who succeeded him, would not have failed to have suppressed the insolence of the *Jews*, had not death prevented him before he had reigned full eight months: so that they quickly began to breathe again under his two next successors, *Valentinian* and *Valens*, who not only gave them full liberty of conscience, but restored their patriarchs to the enjoyment of their privileges. Only the latter deprived them of one of the most valuable ones, by annulling the b edicts which exempted them from publick offices. The tenor of this last decree being somewhat remarkable, we shall give it to our reader in the margin (X). It continued in force against them under the reign of *Gratian*, *Theodosius*, and *Arcadius*. Though, in other respects, they lived peaceably under them: only we hear of one of their synagogues being burnt at *Rome*, which the rebel *Maximus*, who was desirous to have them in his interest, ordered to be rebuilt. He was soon after defeated, and beheaded at *Aquilia*; and *St. Ambrose*, bishop of *Milan*, who was highly offended at him, looked upon his unfortunate end as a just judgment for his favouring the *Jews* <sup>a</sup>; and prevailed upon *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, who came soon after to that city, to revoke all the privileges which he had granted to them. <sup>A. C. 387.</sup> <sup>Valens's edict against them.</sup> <sup>St. Ambrose's untimely zeal against them.</sup>

THAT father was indeed very inveterate against them, as one may see by some of his expressions in his letter to *Theodosius*; and strenuously opposed the rebuilding another synagogue, which the Christians had set on fire at *Calinichus*, and which that emperor had ordered to be rebuilt at their charge. But as to what *Zonaras*, a *Greek* monk, and some other writers of later date, say of his preaching before him, and taking him to task in an unhandsome manner for suffering the *Jews* to enjoy the privilege of their synagogues in his capital, whose prayers were so many curses and execrations before God, it is all false and absurd. He did not preach but write to him; and, as his letter is still preserved, it is a more faithful witness than the writings of the *Greek* monk; and the most that can be said is, that he carried his censures too far against them, in telling that emperor, that they were so far from thinking themselves obliged to observe the *Roman* laws, that they thought it a crime to submit to them <sup>b</sup>. The contrary to d this appears by all that we have said hitherto of the edicts made for and against them, and much more by the new one, which that prince published in the last year of his life, against the untimely zeal of some Christians, who, under pretence of religion, plundered and demolished their synagogues contrary to the laws, which allowed them liberty of conscience, and for punishing such offenders for the future <sup>c</sup>. He even granted them a particular jurisdiction on account of the frequent law-suits which they had either among themselves, or with Christians (Y); by which they were not only free from the trouble and charge of seeking for justice from strange tribunals, but were likely to obtain it more easily from judges that were maintained by themselves. All which privileges would have hardly been granted to them, if, as *St. Ambrose* pretends, they had looked upon it as a crime to submit to the laws of the empire.

HOWEVER

† See Ant. Hist. vol. vi. p. 334, & seq.  
THEODOS. tom. viii. lib. 16.

<sup>a</sup> AMBR. Epist. xxix.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. lib. v. c. 29.

<sup>c</sup> Cod.

(W) This wonderful event, which consisted in dreadful earthquakes, balls of fire breaking forth from the places where they were digging up the foundations, and other such prodigious phenomena, is variously related by the ecclesiastical writers (38); and by some adorned with many other circumstances equally miraculous, which however we shall not trouble our readers with, since they all agree in the main thing, that it caused a total suppression of the work, and the fact is acknowledged by unquestionable testimony; such as is that well-known one of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a heathen writer, who relates it much after the same manner we have done (†). But more especially, that of two famous *Jewish* chronologists, the first of whom (39) attributes the cessation of the work to the death of that emperor; and the other, who says, that the temple being actually built at a vast charge, fell down; and that, on the following day, a great fire which fell from heaven melted all the iron work of it, and killed a vast multitude of the *Jews* (40). Which last testimony is so much the more considerable, as those

writers are the least liable to copy the books of the Christians, and much less so to confirm what they write against their own nation.

(X) "The edict by which the *Jews* flatter themselves of an exemption from publick offices, &c. is by these presents revoked, and disannulled. For the clergy are not permitted to consecrate themselves to the service of God, till they have previously paid that which they owe to their country; and whosoever designs to give himself wholly to God, ought to furnish a proper person to supply his place in all public offices (41)." This plainly shews, that the privileges of the clergy in those days were not quite so large as some are apt to imagine.

(Y) Whether it was *Theodosius* that obliged them to live out of his capital, and assigned them a quarter in the *Stanor*, or space between that and the sea, we cannot be sure; but there they built themselves a kind of city, which still subsisted in the time of the *Crusade*, and was both rich and populous; and is so even to this day. That emperor further ordered, that they should not be

(38) Confer. Socrat. lib. iii. c. 20. Sozom. lib. v. c. 22. Theodore. lib. iii. c. 20 (†) Lib. xxiv. c. 4.  
(39) Gantz Tz'mach Dawid. (40) Gedaliab Skalg'sheleth Hakabala. (41) Valens, ad Hyppat.

summoned



S  
St. Jerom's  
stream for  
hem.  
A. C. 390, &  
seq.

Assisted by  
them.

A. C. 401, &  
seq.

His credit in  
the church.

Theodosius  
suppresses their  
insolence.

A. C. 408.  
A new edict.

HOWEVER that be, St. *Jerom* was so far from imitating his zeal against them, that he associated himself to some of their most learned rabbies, and, with extraordinary pains and application, learned the *Hebrew* tongue from them; made use of their assistance in his versions of the Old Testament; and doth not scruple giving those doctors the greatest encomiums, whom he had procured from some of their most celebrated academies, such as *Tiberias*, *Lydda*, &c.; among them was the famed *Rabbi Barabanius*, who, to avoid giving offence to his brethren, was wont to come to him in the night (Z). The credit which that father gained by his learning and useful works caused him to be looked upon as a prodigy. And indeed, if we consider with what difficulty the knowledge of those eastern tongues was acquired, at a time when there were neither grammars, lexicons, concordances, nor any of those helps we have since enjoyed, we shall not need to wonder at the great esteem which he gained in the Church, nor indeed at that high opinion he seems to have of himself on that account; especially considering that he was the first that had attempted it, and the only one at that time who had made any progress in it, whilst most of the bishops and clergy hardly knew more than their own mother tongue; since even the great St. *Austin*, who was no lover of him, could not forbear looking upon him as a prodigy of learning.

WE are now insensibly got into the fifth century, in which we shall find the *Jews* grown to such a height of insolence by the long series of peace and liberty allowed them, and particularly under *Theodosius II.* as to oblige that mild, generous, and equitable prince to suppress it by the punishment of the guilty, but without using any severity to those who behaved peaceably and submissively to the laws. The first just occasion of complaint which they gave, was on one of their festivals, in which they celebrated what they call the feast of *Haman* (A); and on which, instead of hanging that enemy of theirs on a high gibbet, as had been their constant custom on that solemnity, they presumed on this year to fasten him to a cross, which failed not to be interpreted by the Christians, and not without reason, as an indignity offered to Christ. This did not hinder them from taking both down, and burning them with the usual execrations; which however was attended with no other consequence (except some blows exchanged on both sides) than with an edict, forbidding for the future the erecting and burning such gibbets, under the penalty of forfeiting all their privileges. The *Jews* obeyed in most parts of the empire; nevertheless those of *Macedon*, *Dacia*, and some other parts, still continued affronting the Christians with such kinds of insults; and were as often retaliated by having their synagogues and houses burned, and some of their leaders even put to death by the magistrates. This produced a new edict from that good prince, expressly forbidding the Christians to prosecute them on account of their religion, and these to offer any contemptuous insults to the established Church. This suspended their insolence for two or three years; but, at length, those of *Innessar*, a city in *Chalcis*, being heated with the wine and zeal usual at

summoned before any judge but the pretor of the *Stanor*; which privilege they enjoyed till the reign of *Emanuel Comnenus* (42).

There is another law made by *Arcadius*, an. 393, which confirms their obedience to the *Roman* laws; it is to the following effect; that the *Jews*, who lived according to the *Roman* and common right, should be obliged to bring their law-suits before the common judges, in all cases that did not regard their superstition, and to such proper courts as are appointed for them. This degree is intitled *De foro Judæorum*, and concludes with a remarkable clause; viz. that, if the contending parties shall compromise the matter before the patriarch, such compromise shall be valid, and deemed of as full force as a sentence from a judge (43). And as religious affairs are there excepted, they had (besides the pretor of their quarter, mentioned above, who was appointed by the emperor), their own magistrates and officers, chosen from among themselves; who, St. *Chrysostom* tells us, were chosen in *September*, and presided over ecclesiastical matters, and religious disputes; and could inflict punishments, or even excommunicate, according to the nature of the offence. It is therefore likely, that St. *Ambrose's* zeal might transport him too far; soured perhaps by the too great liberty they enjoyed, and the ill use they made of it, they being at all times very apt to grow bold and insolent against the Christians upon the least encouragement, though, in other respects, they might conform to the laws, and pay all due obedience to civil authority.

(Z) The great encomiums which that father took pleasure to bestow on his masters, and more particularly on this, made *Rufinus*, who thought that the septuagint version ought to be preferred to that of an unknown rabbi, expose them both, by punning upon his name, and calling him *Barabbas*. I see, said he, on one side, Jesus Christ, and on the other, *Barabbas*. You may cry as loud as you will for the latter, whilst I do the same for the former. *Eusebius* made much the same complaint at one time, that they still preferred *Barabbas* to Christ, because they joined with the Infidels against the Christians, and yet he was glad to make use of their help in compiling his comment on *Isaiab* (44).

(A) This festival, which was kept in memory of the victory which the *Jewish* nation got over *Haman* (45), was usually kept with great alacrity and good cheer; and even, during the reading of the book of *Esther* in their synagogues or houses, men, women, and children, made a most horrid noise with their feet, hands, and even with stones and mallets against the walls and benches, as often as the name of *Haman* was repeated. Their devotions were no sooner ended than they gave themselves up to feasting; which they indulged to such a height, that it frequently hurried them into a kind of zealous frenzy, in which they were very liberal of their insults against the Christians, and as often occasioned blows on both sides.

(42) *Balsam. in Nem. canon. tit. de fid. c. 11. nag., ubi sup. l. viii. c. 5. §. 22, & seq.*

(43) *Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tom. viii. p. 227. Vid Balsam. in Isaiab v.*

(45) *Vid. Esther. p. 217 & c. ult.*



- <sup>a</sup> that feast, took it into their heads to tie a young Christian to one of those gibbets, and to whip him so severely that he lost his life by it; which so exasperated the Christians that they took up arms against them. The *Jews* being very numerous there, a bloody fight ensued, in which many were killed on both sides. At length, the governor of the province having informed the emperor of it, was ordered to punish the guilty; by which means an effectual end was put to the tumult <sup>d</sup> (B). A. C. 412, Insults to the Christians punished.
- THIS did not prevent the one from frequently renewing of their hostilities, nor the other from burning and plundering their synagogues, particularly at *Antioch*, where the *Jews* were very numerous and rich, the plunder being commonly given to the church. These skirmishes became so common and scandalous, that complaints of them were made to the emperor, and <sup>b</sup> backed by the præfectus prætorio; so that the clergy were condemned by a new edict, which obliged them to restore the plunder, and to assign the *Jews* a place where they might erect a new synagogue. He was however obliged not only to repeal it, at the instigation of the famed saint (and martyr in the air, as he is stiled) *Simon*, surnamed *Stylites* (C), who had taken upon him to condemn it, and even to turn the præfect out of his office for having obtained it in favour of the *Jews*. It was not long however before he was forced to publish a fresh explication of his former edicts, in order to suppress the excesses which the revocation of his late one had encouraged the hot-head zealots to commit against the *Jews*, not only at *Antioch*, but in many provinces of the empire; and to forbid the burning of their synagogues, or persecuting them on account of their religion. Christian reprisals against them.
- <sup>c</sup> A STRANGE accident which happened in the isle of *Candia*, where the *Jews* were very rich and numerous, occasioned great numbers of them to embrace Christianity, not only there, but in other provinces of the empire; and the shame of having been seduced by a false messiah (D), and having placed such strong and surprising confidence in him, opened their eyes to find out the real and only one in the church. Another event, related by the same ecclesiastical historian<sup>e</sup>, brought a fresh number of proselytes into it, to the no small mortification of the rest, on whom the miraculous cure, performed on an old paralytic, could not make the same salutary impression (E). As we are writing the history of the *Jews*, and not that of the church, we shall pass over a number of those miraculous conversions with which this century abounded, and only observe, that the Christians having then accustomed themselves to make some considerable presents to those new converts, induced many cheats, not only to become Christians with that view alone, but even to run privately from one sect into another of them, and be baptized in them all, for the sake of gaining fresh tokens of their liberality. A. C. 423, both forbidden. A. C. 425. A. C. 432, converted in Candia, &c.
- <sup>d</sup> Several cheats among them.

<sup>a</sup> Cod. THEODOS. lib. xvi. xviii. & xxi.

<sup>e</sup> See the following note.

(B) The celebrated lawyer *Godfroy* pretends, that it was on account of the murder of that young Christian that the emperor published those two edicts (46); whereas there is a manifest difference of time, place, and occasion: the first of them being published, *an.* 408, and extended over the whole eastern empire; and as such was directed to *Anthemius*, the then præfect over it; and the other not till four years after, and extending only to *Eastern Illyricum*, *Dacia*, and *Macedon*, and was therefore directed to *Philip*, the then governor of those provinces.

(C) So called from living on the top of a pillar. This fanatic devotee was then in such esteem with all the clergy, that the emperor was obliged, to avoid his and their censure, to recall his orders about making restitution to the *Jews*. Mr. *Valois* even pretends that he wrote a civil letter to him, wherein he stiles him, The most holy martyr in the air. But whether those were the words of the emperor, or of *Evagrius*, who was a great admirer of that airy monk, is hardly worth enquiring; that title carrying, to all appearance, more pleasantry than veneration.

(D) This impostor, who had taken upon him the name and office of their great lawgiver and deliverer, had so far infatuated them, as to make them expect as great a deliverance under him, as they had under the former, *viz.* of opening to them a miraculous way through the sea into their own land. We are even told, that he himself was so persuaded of it, that he had in one year run thro' every town and village of that island, and persuaded the

*Jews* in it to follow him (47), and to be ready for him on the day and place appointed by him.

Their delusion proved so strong and universal, that they neglected their lands, houses, and all other concerns, and took only so much with them as they could conveniently carry; and, on the day appointed, the *Pseudo Moses*, having led them to the top of a rock, men, women, and children, threw themselves headlong down into the sea, without the least hesitation or reluctance; till so great a number of them were drowned, and some others saved by fishermen, as opened the eyes of the rest, and made them sensible of the cheat. They then began to look out for their pretended leader, but found he had disappeared; infomuch that they began to think themselves misled by a devil instead of a man; upon which the far greater part renounced *Judaism*, and were baptized.

(E) This was an old *Constantinopolitan Jew*, who had been afflicted with the dead palsy, and had in vain exhausted the physicians art, and, in a great measure, his own substance. He was at length prepossessed with the hopes that baptism would obtain him a cure; and, having received it of *Atticus*, the then patriarch of that metropolis, recovered the use of his limbs immediately upon his having received that sacrament. This miraculous cure made so great an impression upon the *Jews* and heathens, that great numbers became converts, though the far greater part of the former still continued in their unbelief (48).

(46) In Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. xviii. *an.* 408, & xxi. *an.* 412. Vid. & Socr. lib. vii. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. vii. c. 38.

(48) Id. ibid. lib. iv p. 341, c. 17. p. 354.

(47) Socrat.



A REMARKABLE instance of this our author gives us of a *Jew*, who went through all the sects then at *Constantinople*, but was at length discovered in a miraculous manner by the *Novatian* bishop there, and owned, that he had been baptized by every one but that<sup>f</sup>. These cheats could not but render the *Jews* obnoxious to the Christians; but there was still another thing that made them more so, *viz.* the several arch-heretics, such as the *Novatians*, *Nestorians*, &c. who, by borrowing some of the *Jewish* tenets, were stiled *Judaizers* and *Jews*. But it is time to see how they behaved and fared in other countries.

Jews raise a  
tumult at  
Alexandria.

A. C. 415.

Bishop Cyril  
arms against  
them.

Those of *Alexandria*, who are computed to have amounted to about 100,000 at the time that they raised a bloody uproar against the Christians, had had many skirmishes against them before, which seldom ended without bloodshed (F). *Cyril*, then bishop of it, and since fainter, was thought as much too zealous against them, as *Orestes*, the then prefect, was partial to them; and at length carried it so far as to infringe upon his office, and to threaten them with ecclesiastical execution. This however they despised, knowing the governor to be on their side; and grew to such an height of insolence, as to resolve to fall foul upon them in the middle of the night. To this end, they hired some of their own people to run about the streets of the city, crying out, that the great church was all in flames; which immediately brought all the Christians out unarmed, to go and save that noble building; whilst the *Jews*, who had taken care to distinguish themselves by some peculiar mark, fell upon, and killed great numbers of them. *Cyril*, as soon as he was apprised of it, staid not to be righted by the civil power, but, putting himself at the head of a sufficient number of Christians, entered their synagogues, and seized on them to the use of the church. He then abandoned their houses to be plundered, and obliged them to march out of the city almost naked. This failed not to exasperate the prefect, who could not brook such an infringement on his authority, and the city to be stripped of so vast a number of its inhabitants, without making the severest complaints against the bishop, who, on his part, sent several bitter accusations to court against him. Here the people, having declared for the prefect against the patriarch, would have obliged the latter to submit to the former, but he absolutely refused to do it.

Odd behavi-  
our to the pre-  
fect.

Affaults &  
wounds him.

Hypatia  
murdered at  
a tumult.

INSTEAD of that, he went to him with the Gospel in his hand, and threatening in his words and looks, tried to frighten him into a reconciliation. But, finding him inflexible, he ordered a regiment of his monks, to the number of fifteen hundred, to come down from the mountains, and to assault him in his chariot with volleys of stones, which wounded him in the head, and covered him with blood; so that he must have been killed inevitably (his guards having been forced to abandon him) had not the people come to his assistance, and rescued him out of their hands. The tumult being appeased, *Orestes* caused one of the ringleaders of those monks, named *Ammonius*, to be executed, and sent an account of the whole affair to court. The patriarch did the same; and not only justified the proceedings of his monks, but, in his next sermon, declared *Ammonius* a martyr. This behaviour produced a new tumult soon after; in which, among many others that lost their lives, was the deservedly celebrated *Hypatia*, a young heathen lady, of great sense, learning, and virtue, who was hurried by the bishop's mob before one of their churches, and there cruelly butchered. The untimely zeal and presumption of the *Alexandrian* patriarch, which is so visible in all these transactions, hath been justly blamed by all impartial persons; even *Socrates* himself observes<sup>g</sup>, that the death of the amiable *Hypatia* reflected no small dishonour on him and his clergy. And it is plain, that the *Alexandrians* were highly offended at his proceedings, since they all along sided with the prefect against him. Though it must be owned that he betrayed such a spirit of opposition against him, and such a partiality for the *Jews*, as was inconsistent with the character of a Christian prefect, as his was with that of a Christian bishop.

<sup>f</sup> Cod. THEODOS. l. xxi. c. v. p. 342.

<sup>g</sup> SOCRATES, ubi sup. lib. vii. c. 13, & seq.

(F) The *Jews*, it seems, were by this time grown not only so bold, but dissolute, that, instead of assisting at the duties of their synagogues on the sabbath, they chose rather to be present at the public diversions and shews, which were commonly exhibited on that day; which seldom failed of producing those bloody skirmishes we mentioned above, and which the magistrates were seldom able to suppress. This put the prefect upon making some wholesome regulations against those disorders. But, whilst he was one day at one of them, and was giving some orders for the more peaceably exhibiting those shews, he found himself surrounded with a croud of the patriarch's

creatures, who are supposed to have been sent for no other end, but to exasperate him against the *Jews*; one in particular, named *Hierax*, an admirer and great favourite of *Cyril*, behaved on that occasion in such a manner against them, that they loudly complained of him to the prefect; who thereupon, without any other ceremony, ordered him to be publicly whipt upon the stage. This was a sensible affront to the patriarch, who failed not to resent it as such: so that, instead of uniting their authority in promoting the public tranquility of the city, they only strove to thwart each other's measures to the manifest disturbance of it (49).

(49) *Socrat. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. vii. ch. 13, & seq.*



a THE *Jewish* nation received a more universal blow in this century, in the total suppression of their patriarchs. We have formerly shewn, that they lived upon certain levies, which they made on those of their nation, and which used to be collected by their officers, or, as they affected to call them, apostles. These became at length to grow so exorbitant, that the people, weary of them, applied to the civil power, from which however they received no other redress than the mortification of seeing that tribute converted to the emperor's use, and their patriarch deprived of it. *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* were the two monarchs who appropriated that income to their own treasury, by which means the patriarchal dignity was more effectually suppressed, than any edict could have done it; and, for want of a proper income to support it, was forced to dwindle away. *Photius* pretends, that the primates which succeeded the patriarchs were charged with it, and answerable for it, and obliged to see it conveyed into the emperor's coffers (G).

LET us now pass over to those of the west, where we shall find them enjoying indeed the full exercise of their religion, under *Honorius*, who had enacted a law, much to his honour, importing, that the glory of a prince consists in allowing all his subjects the full and peaceable enjoyment of all their privileges, even when their religion is not such as he can approve<sup>h</sup>. Pursuant to which, he expressly forbade the pulling down, or appropriation of their synagogues, or even to oblige them to violate their Sabbath, on account of the public service, for which, he said, the other six days are sufficient. On the other hand, to prevent their abusing their liberty, he forbade them to build new synagogues, and making proselytes, and stripped them of some posts and offices which they had enjoyed before (H); particularly that of furnishing the army with provisions. He caused also a severe edict to be published against an upstart sect in *Africa*, called *Cælicolæ*, or worshippers of Heaven; at the end of which is a clause forbidding the *Jews* to make proselytes; upon which account the *Cælicolæ* have been thought by many to have been a *Jewish* sect, tho' without any foundation, as the reader may see by what we have subjoined in the margin (I).

In this century happened likewise the much celebrated, tho' no less questioned, miraculous conversion of the *Minorcan Jews*. That island had then two considerable towns, the one the episcopal residence, and interdicted to the *Jews*, who were commonly punished with some sudden and miraculous death, if they ventured to set foot in it. The other, called *Porto Mahone*, was chiefly inhabited by *Jews*, who there enjoyed very considerable titles and posts, tho' subject to *Honorius*; inasmuch that *Theodosius*, the chief of their synagogue, and a doctor of the law, was the chief man in the whole island. *Severus* being become bishop of it, was easily persuaded by *Orosius* (lately returned from *Jerusalem*, loaded with miraculous relics, which he was carrying into *Spain*), to undertake the conversion of the *Jews*. They began with private conferences, and proceeded to public ones; the last of which was held in their synagogue, where finding that some *Jewish* women had armed themselves with stones to pelt them, they provided for their own defence. The consequence was, that the synagogue was pulled down, and nothing saved out of it but the books and plate: but the bishop plied them with such numbers of miracles, that their greatest men began to relent, and in about eight days time, the greater part of them were converted, and the synagogue turned into a church. Many, however, who remained obdurate, went and hid themselves in caverns, till hunger forced them out; and others, leaving all they had behind them, went and sought an asylum in foreign

<sup>h</sup> Cod. THEODOS. tom. xvi. lib. xx.

(G) Some will have it, indeed, that *Theodosius* did expressly abolish it; and others think, that the people, weary of paying it, and maintaining so high an office at so vast an expence, let it drop of their own accord. The last however is not quite so credible, seeing that high dignity, expensive as it was, did not a little contribute to the ease and credit of the *Jewish* nation, as it kept up, as it were, a center of unity among them through the whole *Roman* empire.

(H) These chiefly related to the militia and agency. These agents had a threefold employment; viz. 1st. levying of imposts in the provinces; 2dly, the providing and transporting of corn and other provisions for the use of the army; and 3dly, the serving as couriers and spies in all the provinces of the empire, and to send a faithful account of all that passed. And on this last account they had the care of the public carriages (50).

(I) The famed lawyer *Godfredius*, had long ago distin-

guished between that part of the edict which related to the *Cælicolæ*, and that which related to the *Jews*, notwithstanding they have been absurdly confounded, and the former supposed to have taken that specious name, to conceal that of *Jews*, which was more odious (1): some have taken it to have meant the *Samaritans*, who had a temple at *Naplouse*, opened on the top like an amphitheatre; others the *Essenians*, a very strict and contemplative sect among the *Jews*, spoken of in a former volume †, and long since abolished: both which suppositions are absurd, seeing those two sects were of very old date, and sufficiently known, and could not therefore be called, as in the edict above-mentioned, a new and upstart sect. And the clause which obliges them to return into the bosom of the church, plainly shews that they must have been a sect of Christians, or, as is commonly believed, a spawn of the Donatists, whose tenets tallied with theirs (2).

(50) *De his vid. Salmas. in Spartian. p. 21, & seq.*

(†) *Ant. Hist. vol. iv. p. 169. & seq.*

(1) *Juvenal satyr xiv. vers. 97. Petron. in Catulect.*

(2) *Vid. int. al. Petit var. lect. lib. ii. c. 12. Cumeus Rep. Hebr. l. i. c. 6. Busman Helmsiad. hist. Cælicol. Basnag. lib. viii. ch. 7. § 4, & seq.*



countries; all which shews that there was some violence used against them by the bishop and his clergy; and *Baronius* seems to own as much, and adds, that his example would have been followed in many other places, had not the crowned heads put a stop to it.

under the  
Vandals.

UPON the irruption of the *Vandals* into the empire, one would have thought that the *Jews* would have met with the worst of treatment from that fierce nation; but yet we do not read that they fared worse than the rest, or were deprived of any of their privileges under them. They only shared in the common misfortunes, which are the usual concomitants of such great revolutions; but, in other respects, were still allowed the free exercise both of religion and commerce, only they were obliged to pay a tribute for it, and were moreover denied the enjoyment of titular dignities and high posts, either civil or military<sup>1</sup>; which is no more than what they were under the *Roman* emperors. *Theodoric* in particular protected them against the zealots among the Christians, and would not suffer any violent means to be used for converting them; and sharply reprov'd the senate, for having suffered one of their synagogues to be burnt at *Rome*; and the clergy at *Milan*, for going to seize upon another. The same he did at *Genoa*, where the citizens were going to deprive them of their privileges, which they had a long time enjoyed among them. They had recourse to that prince, who permitted them to rebuild their synagogues, and restored them to the free use of their religion and rights, upon condition they should not build them larger than they had been, and avoided adorning of them. Thus ended the 5th century with them in the *Roman* empire\*.

A. C. 500.

Jews in Persia  
under R. Asce.

LET us now take a view of those in *Persia*, during that interval, where we find their academies in a flourishing condition, under their famed chief *R. Asce*, the compiler of the *Babylonish* thalmud, lately mentioned. *Sora* was the place of his birth, and the most celebrated academy of all the east, of which he was chosen chief in the 14th year of his age, and continued in that dignity sixty years, that is, till the year 427, in which he died (K). It was during that time that he published a collection of his decisions, which he divided into four parts; the first of which contained the rules and maxims of the *Mishnah*, with the doubts and solutions relating to them. The second was chiefly about various questions of their doctors, with the sentiments of the *Tbanaim* and *Gemarrists*. The third contained the decisions and maxims published since *Judah* the saint; and the last contained the texts of scripture relating to law-suits, together with the comments of their learned upon them. This was the first division of the *Babylonish* thalmud; but as *Asce* did not live to complete it, his disciples, who put the finishing hand to it afterwards, altered his method, and made several additions, which have rendered the work rather more obscure<sup>k</sup>.

R. Thobiomi.

A. C. 455.

HE was succeeded, according to some, by *R. Marimor*, or *Amimor*; but soon after, according to others, by his own son *Huna*, whose feet hastened to the chair, and he by his son *Thobiomi*, an. 455, who reigned, according to the pompous *Jewish* stile, thirteen years, and in whose reign the *Jewish* nation enjoyed such profound tranquility, that they gave him the title of The doctor of daily prosperity. We have had occasion to take notice of the small extent of their power and income, notwithstanding their using the words reign, throne, &c. as if they had been in full possession of the regal authority. And so obscure were they, during this 5th century, that tho' we find a succession of the presidents of *Sora* and *Pundebita*, or at least their names, and here and there a remarkable action of some of them, yet we have hardly any thing said of those chiefs or princes, except of *R. Asce* above-mentioned; tho' one would have imagined their dignity to have received some additional splendor by the suppression of the patriarchate in the west.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Altercat. Eccles. & Synagog. ap. AUGUST. in Append. ad tom. viii. \* De hoc vid. TESOR del Regn. d'Ital. sub THEODORIC. <sup>k</sup> Vid. GANTZ TZEMACH DAVID, sub A. M. 4113. SEPHER JUCHASIN, p. 124. A. BENDDIOR Cabbala, p. 68. BARToloc. tom. i. p. 486. WOLF Bibl. Hebr. p. 224.

(K) The *Jews* tell us, that it was on account of his extraordinary merit and learning that he was raised so early to that dignity; and add, that in him met the law, devotion, humility, and magnificence; four things which no man but he was ever master of.

His method of teaching was entirely new and peculiar: for instead of keeping his disciples, which amounted to two thousand four hundred, continually with him, he only taught them two months in the year; viz. in *February* and *August*; during which he gave them proper subjects to study and exercise themselves in, during the other five months; after which they were sent to their own homes. At their return they were examined by,

and held disputations before him, and he explained their difficulties and doubts, by the decisions of those doctors which had preceded him. Whilst these exercises were performing, twelve persons sat over against him, seven of which were stiled the princes of the crowns, whose chief business was to recapitulate and explain what he had said to them, and to give proper encomiums, rewards, &c. to those that had deserved them. The president was obliged to collect all the matters that had been debated and decided; and it was from this collection that the *Babylonish* thalmud was compiled; and when the month was near expired, he dictated to them the subjects which they were to study during the next five months (3).

(3) Sepher Juchasin, p. 124. Vid. Gantz Tzemach David, sub A. M. 4113. c. 353. R. Abr. Benddior in lib. Cabbal. 9. 68. Bartoloc. ubi sup. tom. i. p. 486. Wolf Bib. Hebr. sub רבנן, in thalmudo.



a ASCE had left, besides his son *Huna* above-mentioned, two famed disciples, viz. *Animbr* *A violent per-*  
and *Mor*, who were to have put the finishing hand to the *Babylonish* thalmud; but they were *secution.*  
diverted from it by a violent persecution, which was raised against the *Jewish* nation, which,  
they tell us, lasted 73 years; during which the synagogues were shut up, the observation of  
the Sabbath suppressed, and their schools and chapels given to the *Magi*. *Huna*, the then  
chief, and his two disciples above-named, were imprisoned, and soon after suffered death,  
with surprising constancy: but the *Jewish* youth, more addicted to the pleasures of life, were A. C. 474.  
soon determined to forsake their religion, which was followed by a general defection in *Israel*  
towards the end of this century<sup>1</sup>. Notwithstanding which, some of their learned resumed the  
work of the thalmud soon after; or, if you will believe the *Jewish* writers, even before the  
b persecution ceased, (which it did not but with the *Persian* monarchy, which the *Saracens* made  
themselves masters of) and finished it, according to them, about the close of this century, or  
the beginning of the next, after which it was dispersed throughout all the east, and it was uni-  
versally agreed, that nothing should be added to or taken from it (L).

THE only thing more, worth taking notice of, under this epocha, was the rise of the sect *The sect of*  
called *Sebureans*, or *Scepticks*, at the head of which was *R. Josi*. These doctors pretended to *Sebureans,*  
doubt of every thing, and seem to have started up to oppose the infallibility which the thalmu- A. C. 476.  
dists attributed to their thalmud; but whether by openly questioning its authority, or the sense  
of its decisions, we cannot affirm. However, their pyrrhonism became so odious to the rest  
of the *Jews*, that it proved but of short duration, it having begun to appear only about the  
c close of this 5th century, and being driven out of the world before the middle of the next,  
by the *Gaonim*, or *Gaons*, a new set of doctors, who took that pompous title upon them, which *succeeded by*  
signifies sublime or excellent, and became the idols of the academies and of the people, as we *the Gaons.*  
shall see under the next century, unto which it is now time to hasten (M).

THE 6th century began with a persecution of the *Jews* of the dispersion, as well as of the *Jews persecut-*  
ten tribes in the east, under *Cavadas*, a prince of a fierce and proud disposition, who wanted to *ed in Persia,*  
force all his subjects, Christians as well as *Jews* and others, to embrace the *Persian* religion. *under Ca-*  
A strange cause of this persecution is, by some authors, assigned, which the reader may see in *vades.*  
the margin (N), and which proved so violent, that we read of no less than four of their princes  
of

<sup>1</sup> R. GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 121.

(L) We have formerly taken notice of the impossibility of reconciling the anachronisms and contradictions of the *Jewish* chronologers; and in the part we are now upon, the author, tho' one of the best of them, not only contradicts other historians, but himself also. For if *rabbi Asce*, the first compiler of the work, died, as he affirms, A. C. 427, and his son *Huna* was chosen president of the academy of *Sora*, an. 455, and reigned 13 years, during which the *Jews* lived in great tranquility, and highly favoured by the king, till the time of the persecution above-mentioned, and if that could not begin till the year 474, lasted 73 years, and the thalmud was not finished till some time after that had ceased; then it is plain it could not be so till the year 547, even by his own account; and yet he affirms that work to have been completed by the close of the 5th century (4).

It would still be more difficult to reconcile him to other historians, even to those of his nation. The latter all agree that the persecution which was raised by *Isdegerd*, the last king of *Persia*, lasted seventy-three years, that is, till the *Saracens* put an end to it by the conquest of that monarchy; they must therefore be mistaken, either in the time of *Asce's* death, or else in the time of the completing the thalmud, and have antedated this last by near 50 years. But these are small oversights among them, and such as every one must overlook, that is conversant with their historians.

(M) Some critics (5) have looked upon the *Nephthalites*, by whom, *Agathias* tells us (6), *Perozes* was defeated in the war which he waged against them, to have been the descendants of the tribe of *Naphthali*, carried away captive by *Tiglath Pileser* (7), to the frontiers of *Persia*, where they are affirmed to have been settled many ages before the war (8). But as *Procopius*, in the place above quoted, calls them *Ephalites*, and says nothing of their being descended from that tribe, but from

that of the *White Huns*, who lived on the frontiers of *Persia*, near the river *Oxus*, and *Agathias* himself, who hath miscalled them *Naphthalites*, acknowledges them to be of that, and not of *Jewish* extract, we shall say no more of them. As for the farther account of that war, and of *Perozes's* treachery and punishment, the reader may see an account in a former volume.

(N) We are told by two Christian writers (9), that *Cavadas*, having besieged a castle, in which was a vast treasure deposited, and kept by demons, he had found all his military efforts against it abortive; and being very eager to make himself master of it, sent for his magi, for the *Manichees*, *Jews*, and Christians, to drive away those demons, and that those last were the only ones that could do it; upon which he stript the former of their privileges, and gave them to the Christians. But this account is contradicted by other historians, who affirm that he persecuted the Christians as well as the *Jews*.

The *Jews* tell us of a fatal quarrel which happened between the prince of the captivity and the chief of the academy, under the reign of *Cavadas*, in which the former used the latter with so much insolence and barbarity, that his tears and prayers brought such a pestilence upon the prince's family, that they all died of it, except a child then in his mother's womb. *Ghanina* (that was the academic chief) being reproved in a dream, for having destroyed the princely race, began to repent of it; and upon consulting with some of the other *Jewish* doctors, whether there might not be some sprout left of that family, was told that the prince's daughter was pregnant, and not far from her time; upon which he went immediately to her house, and never left her day nor night, hail or shine, hot or cold, till she was delivered; and then took upon him to bring up the child, which proved a son, and was called *Zcutra*. In the mean time, the princely dignity being vacant, *Paphra*, who was allied

(4) Gantz Tzemach, ub. sup.

(7) 2 Kings, xv. 29. xvi. p. 11.

Israel. Esporanza de Israel, c. 25

Mod. Hist. Vol. V.

(5) Vid. Skicard Taaric, p. 130. & aut. ab eo citat.

(8) Vid. Procop. bell. Pers. l. i. c. 4, & seq.

(9) Theodor. lect. l. ii. p. 564. Cedren. annal. p. 297.

(6) Lib. iv.

Minaj. Ben



of the captivity, who succeeded each other within the space of nine years; but whether they were deposed or put to death by that monarch, doth not appear. These were *Huna*, to whom they give but two years reign; *Acha*, who reigned three; *Tettana*, who reigned four; and *Zeutra*, who having been miraculously preserved, as we observed in the last note, reigned twenty years. In his time arose the famed *Meir*, a learned rabbi, and great miracle-monger, who having declared war against the *Persian* king, with only 400 men, was very successful against him, during seven years; after which his men having polluted themselves with strange flesh (O), he was defeated, taken and put to death by the *Persians*. These went thence into the city, where *Zeutra* resided, and plundered it, after which they took that prince, and the president of the council, and hanged them on a bridge. His family were forced to betake themselves to flight, and his son and heir, *Zeutra II.* retired into *Judea*, where he became prince of the senate or sanhedrin. This, the *Jewish* historians tell us, was the source of that series of misfortunes which attended them in *Persia*; insomuch that their great master *Habonai* never dared shew his face, during the space of thirty years, that is, during the whole time of *Cavadas's* reign<sup>m</sup>.

The chief of  
the captivity  
hanged,  
A. C. 522.

Jews persecut-  
ed under Chof-  
roes;

A. C. 529.

THEY fared still worse under his successor *Chosroes* the great; whose favour they had endeavoured to gain, by persuading him to break off his negotiation about a peace with the emperor *Justinian*, which was then in great forwardness; by promising to him, that if he would go on with the war, they would furnish him with fifty thousand men, by whose help he might make himself master of *Jerusalem*, one of the richest cities in the world. The king had so far given into that treacherous project, that he had broke off all the negotiations with the emperor, and made several preparations towards putting it in execution, when word was brought to him, that those persons who had been employed in it had been seized and put to death, after having made a full discovery of the design. He pursued his war however, and with success his frequent inroads into *Syria* and *Palestine*†: but that did not hinder him from making the *Jews* share in the common calamities of the war with the rest; nor from shutting up all their academies in the east, which quite extinguished their love of learning, whilst their present prince, being forced to go into *Judea*, and to exercise a function vastly beneath him, the eastern *Jews* were quite destitute of chiefs<sup>n</sup>.

restored by  
Hormisdas,  
A. C. 589.

THEY did, however, recover their liberty before the year was at an end, under *Hormisdas III.* (and the academy of *Pundebita* was again opened under the famed *R. Chanan Mehischa*, who became chief both of that and of the new set of doctors called *Gaons*, or excellent), and enjoyed it during the twelve years of his reign; when that prince was murdered by his son *Chosroes II.* as we have seen elsewhere\*. This last did not, however, quietly enjoy the fruits of his parricide; his son *Varamus* declared himself against him, as he had before done against his father, and soon after defeated, drove him out of *Persia*, and obliged him to seek for succours from the emperor *Mauricius*, who lent him some forces and generals. These had many a bloody contest with *Varamus*, who had got a strong party in the kingdom, and the *Jews* likewise in his interest. These last, whom the *Greek* historian styles<sup>o</sup>, a faithless, unquiet, impetuous, turbulent, and implacable nation, being then powerful enough in *Persia* to stir up the subjects against their princes, and virulent enough to strengthen the rebels against them. At length *Chosroes* having the upper hand over *Varamus*, made them pay dear for their perfidy. Those of *Antioch* were the first that felt the dire effects of his resentment, when that city (P) was taken by *Mebodes* the *Roman* general, who immediately put vast numbers of them to the sword, and many more to the most cruel deaths, reducing the rest to the most deplorable slavery<sup>p</sup>.

Persecuted by  
Chosroes II.  
A. C. 615.

Butchered at  
Antioch.

Reconciled to  
Chosroes.

CHOSROES, however, was no sooner seated on the *Persian* throne, but he was reconciled to them, and received some signal services from them; especially in the war which he waged against *Phocas*, the murderer of *Mauricius*, wherein he made a most dreadful havock of them both in *Syria* and *Palestine*, and took the city of *Jerusalem*‡. They seem even to have acted

<sup>m</sup> Seder Olam Zuta cum. not. Meieri, vid. & IMBON. Bibliot. Rabin. tom. v. p. 46. BASNAG. ub. sup. l. viii. c. 9. † See Ant. Hist. vol. iv. p. 357. <sup>n</sup> THEOPHAN. Chronogr. p. 152. \* See Ant. Hist. vol. iv. p. 361, & seq. <sup>o</sup> THEOPHIL. SIMOCAT. in Maur. lib. v. c. 7. Vid. BASNAG. ub. sup. § 7. <sup>p</sup> Idem, ibid. ‡ See Ant. Hist. vol. iv. p. 366, & seq.

to that house, bought it of the king, and enjoyed it, till *Zeutra*, the right heir, was fifteen years old, at which time he obtained it of that monarch, and *Papbra* was not only stripped of it, but punished with sudden death, for having obtained that dignity by money.

(O) The *Jews* do not tell us the occasion of this war; nor is it easy to guess whether it gave rise to the persecution we are now speaking of, or whether it was undertaken to suppress it. And as they are persons that prefer dealing in miracles and prodigies, rather than in exact or regular history, they tell us that this *Meir* had

obtained the same miraculous fiery pillar that had formerly guided the *Israelites* in the wilderness, gained frequent victories over the *Persians*, and raised vast contributions, till his men suffered themselves to be debauched by the *Persian* women to commit several sins against their law, after which they came to the untimely end we have mentioned above.

(P) Not the metropolis of *Syria*, but a new city of that name; and so exactly built after its model, by *Chosroes I.* that the inhabitants brought away from the old one could hardly believe but it was the same.

in



a in concert with him, seeing he was no sooner master of that metropolis, than he delivered up all the Christian prisoners into their hands, tho' he could not but know that they only bought them with a design of satiating their implacable hatred against them, as they accordingly did, <sup>90,000 Christians butchered by them.</sup> infomuch, that no leis than ninety thousand of them were unmercifully butchered by them<sup>a</sup>.

THIS is farther confirmed by what *Elmakin*, and other *Arabian* authors, add of the *Jews* <sup>Attempt on the city of Tyre frustrated.</sup> attempt upon *Tyre*, at the time when *Chosroes* was besieging *Constantinople*, and all the forces of *Syria* and *Judea* were drawn out to succour that capital. They, taking the advantage of that juncture, had combined to murder all the *Tyrians*, on *Easter-day*, and to seize upon that important place, and were actually come to the walls of it, but were stoutly repulsed by the inhabitants, who had timely notice of their design. Upon this disappointment, the *Jews* b dispersed themselves about the country, fell foul on the churches of the Christians, and burnt a vast number of them; but were at length cut off by the *Tyrians*, who sallied out against, and made a terrible slaughter of them<sup>c</sup>. This shews that they were doing the *Persian* king's work, if they were not really hired by him to it. We have seen his sad catastrophe in a former chapter<sup>d</sup>.

WE are now come to the 7th century, the beginning of which was signalized not only by the transactions above-named, but much more by the appearance of *Mohammed* on the stage of the world. We have given the life and actions of that grand impostor in a preceding volume\*, <sup>Jews under Mohammed in the 7th century.</sup> and shall only examine here, what share the *Jews* are said to have had in it; who, *Theophanes* tells us, seeing him appear in so splendid a manner, began to look upon him as the Messiah; infomuch, that many of them exchanged their religion for his; tho' they were soon after much c offended at his eating of camels flesh, which is forbid by the *Mosaic* law<sup>e</sup> (Q). However, the fear of appearing inconstant, or rather their hopes of receiving some considerable advantages from him, and of having it more in their power to injure the Christians, made them over-look that nicety, and continue in his interest, as we observed in the last note. What assistance they gave him in the forming of his new religion, we have already shewn in the volume above quoted: and shall only observe here, that it appears from his *Koran*, that he had read their books, and was not unversed in their religion and customs; and as they were then very numerous and powerful in several parts of *Arabia* (R), and had there many castles and fortresses, and maintained armies under their princes, when he began to lay the foundation d of his new religion, it is more than probable that he took all proper means to engage them in his interest, whilst they, always intent on their worldly advantage, were as easily induced by his caresses and promises to assist him in all his views. But whatever cause they might afterwards give him to dislike them, it is plain, from the tenor of his writings, that he hated and despised them; he calls them betrayers and murderers of the prophets, and a people justly cursed of God, for their violation of his sabbaths and laws, and for their obstinate unbelief both of the ancient prophets, and of himself; for which he hath cursed them in many places of his *Koran*, and did at length declare open war against them. <sup>Turn to and assist him.</sup> <sup>Hatred by him.</sup>

THIS war was at first began by one of the principal *Jews*, named *Cajab*, who opposed all his measures, for which reason *Mohammed* had given orders to some of his men to lay wait for, and kill him; upon which he appeared at the head of his nation. *Mohammed* began with <sup>Makes war against them.</sup>

<sup>a</sup> THEOPHAN. ub. sup. p. 252. <sup>e</sup> ELMAK. p. 271. PATRICEDES, p. 236. HOTTING. Hist. Orient. lib. i. c. 3. <sup>c</sup> See Ant. Hist. vol. iv. p. 369, & seq. \* Vol. i. pass. p. 14, & seq. <sup>d</sup> Vid. Levitic. xi. 4. Deut. xiv. 7.

(Q) It seems somewhat surprising, that they, who scrupled not to abandon their old law for this new one, should be so squeamish at *Mohammed's* transgressing in so inconsiderable a point; tho' it is no strange thing to meet such contrasts in mankind, especially among the *Jews*. But, as the same author tells us, that they dared not renounce this new religion, it is likely that their conversion to it was rather political than real; for in sticking still close to him, they not only sided with the strongest and most prosperous, but had thereby an opportunity to foment and exasperate that impostor against the Christians, and bring fresh persecutions against them: accordingly our author adds, that *they kept close to him till he was murdered* (10).

This last expression hath indeed shocked most readers; since it is well known that *Mohammed* did not die a violent death. Some have therefore suspected it to be some error crept into the text of the historian; and if so, it must be of old date, since *Cedrenus* hath said the very same thing after him. But whatever the mistake is, most

people think it to be meant of his flight, and not of his death. For it is not improbable, that they who had promised themselves such great advantages under him, might, when they saw him so reduced by the opposite faction, as to be forced to fly, be induced to abandon him. And accordingly, the *Arabian* authors boast that they did, on his first appearing, send him twelve of their doctors, to assist him in the compiling his *Alcoran* (11); which, if true, doth plainly shew that they were far enough from believing him to be the Messiah, whatever they might outwardly pretend, and whatever helps they might afford him in the carrying on his design.

(R) Particularly in that which was known by the name of *Hegiasa*; which word signifies separation, because it was situated between *Arabia Deserta* and *Arabia Felix*, without belonging to either. The *Greek* geographers, who have joined it to the latter, had neither rightly considered its situation nor barrenness; and it is to that canton the city of *Mecca* belongs.

(10) *Theophyl. sub An. Ch. 622.*

(11) *Vid. Imbonat. Bibl. Rab. ub. sup.*



besieging them in the fortresses they held in *Hegiasa*; and having obliged them to surrender at a discretion, banished them, and gave their wealth to his *Moslems*. After this *Cajab* attacked him near *Kaibar*, a place about four days journey from *Medina*, in the third year after the *Hejra*, and was totally routed by him, and with great difficulty saved his life by flight, whilst his troops were unmercifully butchered by the *Moslems*. This did not hinder them from trying their fortune more than once against him; but they still met with the same ill success: so that they were forced at length to submit to his superior force, and to become tributary to him, in order to enjoy what they had. This yoke, however, proved so grating to the *Jewish* nation, that one of their women resolved to rid them of it, by poisoning him with a joint of mutton; but the prophet smelt the poison out, and escaped the snare. Many other hostilities the *Arabian* authors mention, between the *Jews* and *Moslems*<sup>u</sup>, not worth mentioning; and the former, being convinced to their cost of the great success of that false prophet, as well as of the severity of his yoke, they have applied to him the vision of *Daniel's* statue<sup>w</sup>, whose feet were partly iron, and partly clay; whence they inferred that the Messiah was not to appear till after the foundation of that empire, since he is there prefigured by the stone cut out without hands, which was to destroy and put an end to it<sup>x</sup>. All which shews that there could be no such combination between the *Jews* and *Mohammed* and his disciples, as they have been charged with. Let us now see how they fared under his successors, during the rest of this 7th century.

Jews under the  
Khalifs,

enjoy their old  
freedom of re-  
ligion, &c.

AFTER the conquest of *Persia* by *Omar II.* Khalif after *Mohammed*, the *Jews* under that monarchy not only became subject to the *Saracens*, but very often changed their masters, both by the swift succession of those monarchs, and the rapidity of their conquests in the east, and yet we do not find that their condition was at all altered for the worse, except that they shared in the common misfortunes which those conquerors brought into every province they subdued. We even find them making great rejoicings upon *Omar's* having overthrown *Isdegeret*, and seized upon his dominions (S), as well as at every success which either he or his successors had against the Christians; especially as they found these new conquerors more mild and friendly towards their nation, so that they soon began to enjoy the full liberty not only of their religion, but of opening their academies, and restoring them to their flourishing condition. They mention indeed some sharp disputes which they had with the Khalif *Ali*, about the many factions into which his sect, tho' of so short standing, was already divided, which that Khalif retorted, by reminding them of their several idolatries, immediately after their miraculous passing of the *Red Sea*. However, this did not hinder that prince from protecting them, as they had taken care to secure his favour by the homage they paid to him (T). We are indeed told that the *Jews*, who pretended then to deal in astrology and magic, had promised *Yezid*, the son of *Hasan*, then on the throne, and a wicked prince, a forty years reign, if he would destroy all the images within his dominions; but that his accepting the condition raised such a powerful party of saints in heaven, that they obtained a sentence of death against him. Upon which his son was going to revenge the cheat, and his father's death, upon them, but that they retired betimes into the *Roman* territories, and so escaped his resentment<sup>y</sup>. But there is a manifest anachronism in that story, to say nothing worse of it, since *Yezid* died *A. C.* 683; whereas, according to the author last-named, the edict against images did not come out till three years after, that is, *an.* 686. Besides, it is so far from probable that the *Jewish* nation suffered under *Yezid*, or any of his immediate successors, that, on the contrary, they lived in such liberty and quiet under them, that their prince, or chief of the captivity, enjoyed as

<sup>u</sup> Set VATTIER. Hist. Mahometan. lib. i. p. 6, & seq. De Generat. Machumet Lat. edit. ab HERMAN DALMATA. Suffrata. 49. p. 265. HOTTING. Hist. Orient. lib. ii. c. 2. <sup>w</sup> Daniel ii. 31, & seq. <sup>x</sup> Ibid. vers. 34. <sup>y</sup> BARTOLOC. ub. sup. tom. iv. p. 464. MAIMBOURG. Hist. Iconoclast. lib. i.

(S) And well they might, if that prince, the last of the *Persian* kings, had, as they pretend (12), either began or carried on such a bloody persecution against them, and had caused all their academies to be shut up, as we have lately hinted. But this was not the only occasion of their joy; the vast success of those princes, great enemies of the Christians, and the demolishing of their churches, could not but flatter their hopes of seeing them in time reduced. They have been moreover accused of having instigated the *Moslems* against them (13), by which they so far ingratiated themselves to those new conquerors, as to recover all the privileges they had lost under the *Persians*.

(T) They tell us that *R. Isaac*, one of their most

famed *Gaons*, who went to pay his homage to him on his defeat of the *Persian* king, was not only well received, but raised by him to some high dignity (14), and that the Khalif bestowed one of the princesses of *Persia*, his captive, on *Bustenar*, the then chief of the captivity. But there seems to be a gross mistake in this; viz. that that it was *Omar*, and not his successor *Ali*, that defeated the *Persian*; unless we will suppose that our author hath named the one for the other; for *Omar* was no less a favourer of the *Jews* than *Ali*, even by their own account, tho' he afterwards obliged those that remained in *Arabia* to pay him a tribute (15), and upon their refusal expelled them out of it.

(12) Vid. Solomon Ben. Virg. p. 5.

(13) Paul Diacon. Hist. lib. xxii. p. 312. Beda in Luc. 23.

(14) Gantz Tzetzmach, p. 123.

(15) Vattier Hist. Mahom. lib. i.

great



a great an authority as if he had been their real king (U): and the same may be said of those that dwelt in *Egypt* and *Syria*<sup>a</sup>, which was then under the *Ommiades*, whose family was no less friendly to the *Jewish* nation.

But it is now time to turn our eyes to those in the west, under the *Roman* emperors, at *Constantinople*, *Africa*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, &c. during the 6th and 7th centuries, which we chuse to join together, to avoid breaking off the thread of their history. The first cause of complaint which the emperor *Justinian*, who affected to judge of most affairs relating to religion, gave them, was his edict which forbade them to celebrate their passover according to their own calculation, and enjoined them to keep it at the same time with the Christians<sup>a</sup>. This was no more than we are told he did to the latter, whom he obliged to follow his new calculation, which caused no less confusion amongst them<sup>b</sup>; but only the *Jews*, always tenacious of their old way, resented it at a higher rate (W). They had soon after a more severe edict against them, by which that emperor deprived them of several privileges; as first, of being admitted by the magistrates as evidence against the Christians. Secondly, of making wills, and bequeathing legacies: to which some add, that of bringing up their children in their religion, who were, instead of that, to be catechised, and brought up Christians; tho' this last is much to be questioned. He likewise deprived those of *Africa* of the exercise of their religion, at the request of the council of *Carthage*; and sent orders to his *prefectus pretoris* there to turn all their synagogues into churches, and to restrain them from performing any religious duties in caverns<sup>c</sup> (X).

c THESE edicts, which were by the *Jews* looked upon as a kind of persecution, failed not, as usual, to produce a more than ordinary discontent; which by degrees ripened into revolts,

<sup>a</sup> Vid. BASNAG. ub. sup. lib. viii. c. 10. § 13. Just. an. 19.

<sup>b</sup> PROCOPIUS. Hist. Arc. c. 28.

<sup>c</sup> THEOPHAN. ad

Procop. de Ædific. lib. v. c. 2. p. 110, & seq.

(U) We took notice lately of their academies being again opened and flourishing; and we are farther told, that the concourse to them was such, that for want of masters, they had been obliged to raise a weaver, who had applied himself to the study of the law, to the dignity of professor at *Sora*; soon after which the *Gaons* began to restore learning to its ancient lustre. Several of them became famed for their skill in physic, as well as divinity; and *R. Aaron*, a priest of *Alexandria*, did then publish his *Pandects*, or *Treasure of Remedies*, which was soon after translated into *Arabic* by *Massergiuiffe*, another *Jewish* physician, in great repute at the *Khalif's* court.

Some make this last to have flourished in the reign of *Heraclius*, and the khalifate of *Merwan I.* but absurdly; seeing those two princes were not cotemporary, and the latter reigned not till the 68th year of the *Hejra*, or flight of *Mohammed*, which answers to the year of *Christ* 684. However, what hath been said is sufficient to shew that the *Jews* were in a flourishing condition under the first *Khalifs*.

(W) A late critic, often quoted in this work, rightly observes some great mistake in the year and occasion of this edict, as mentioned by *Theophanes* and *Nicephoras*; and thinks that the emperor lengthened the *Lent* fast by one week, because *Easter* that year fell on the same day with the Christians and *Jews*: so that according to him, he made that change in the former only, to prevent its coinciding with that of the latter; but as his conjecture not only contradicts the two authors above-mentioned, but likewise by *Procopius's* account, we shall leave them as we find them.

There is still another difficulty in the account of that edict, the last-named author, and his annotator, viz. that it forbade the *Jews* eating of the paschal lamb on that solemnity, under great penalties; for the *Jews* did never eat it out of *Jerusalem*<sup>\*</sup>. So that it seems to relate only to those who lived in the neighbourhood of that city, or perhaps rather to the *Samaritans*, seated about *Mount Garizim*, either of which might think they might privately eat it.

(X) This was more particularly put in execution in the city of *Borium*, seated at the foot of a ridge of mountains, which make the boundary of *Pentapolis* on the west. Its situation was strong by nature, because the ac-

cess to it was inclosed by the mountains above-mentioned which had only a narrow passage to it. It was filled with *Jews*, who had now made it their retreat, and lived in it unmolested and tax-free. They had there a stately structure which they stiled a temple, and pretended to be as old as *Solomon*, which shews that they must have been settled there a considerable time, and were very populous and wealthy, notwithstanding their vicinity to the *Moors*. However, *Justinian's* orders were so punctually executed, that the *Jews* were mostly converted, and their synagogue turned into a church; after which the emperor caused the city to be fortified with stout walls (16).

This century is very fertile in miracles, which were wrought for the conversion of *Jews* and Heathens; some of which are too puerile a nature to deserve a place in a work like this, such as those wrought by one *Simon*, an idiot of the city of *Emessa*; which yet failed not to work their effect on those unbelievers, if we may credit the authors that have recorded them (17). But we shall mention a very remarkable one which happened at *Constantinople*, because it will give a light to some part of the history of those times.

It was, it seems, the custom then, after the communion was over at church, to call in the children to eat what remained of the consecrated bread. A *Jewish* boy being one day among them, went in and took part with them; and being questioned by his father, about his not coming so soon as usual, and having owned the true cause of it, that unnatural parent threw him into a burning oven, where he kept him three days shut up. At length the mournful mother, who had sought for him far and near, happening to name his name, in a kind of lamenting tone, near the oven's mouth, the boy answered to it; and being taken out, told her that a fine lady, clothed in purple, had saved him both from being burned and starved. The emperor being informed of it, sent for the mother and child, who were both baptized. The boy was brought up and became a clergyman, and the mother a deaconess; whilst the obstinate father, refusing to follow their example, was crucified in one of the suburbs of that metropolis. Thus far our author (18); after whom *Beda* tells us much the same story, only he removes the scene from *Constantinople* to *Rome*, as well as the time from *Justinian* to that of *Theodosius* the younger (19).

(\*) De hoc vid. vol. i. p. 500, & seq. 603, & seq. & notes. lib. iv. c. 36, ad an. Chr. 552.

(18) Idem ibid. p. 412, & seq.

(16) Procop. ub. sup.

(19) Collect. ad Fin.

(17) Evagr.



*A false Mes-*  
*siah in Pale-*  
*stine,*  
A. C. 530.

as soon as a proper opportunity offered. The first of them was raised accordingly by one *Julian*, who set up for the Messiah, and drew after him many of the *Jews* of *Palestine*, who were in great hopes of him, from the title of conqueror which he took, and the great appearance he made; and who having armed all his followers, led them against the Christians. These, being fearless of any hostilities from the oppressed *Jews* at that time, were slaughtered by them in great numbers; till at length the emperor sent his forces against, and suppressed them; they fighting rather like wild desperadoes than like regular troops. Their leader being taken, was immediately put to death, which soon ended the revolt <sup>a</sup> (Y).

*Jews revolt at*  
*Cæsarea,*  
A. C. 555.

Much such another happened at *Cæsarea*, about twenty-five years after; in which the *Samaritans* and *Jews*, though mortal enemies to each other, as we have had frequent occasions to shew, did yet join forces against the Christians, demolished their churches, massacred great numbers of them, and particularly the governor in his own palace. His lady, having happily escaped their fury, sent word to *Justinian* of all that happened; who immediately sent *Adamantius* thither to take full information of the facts; which being conveyed to court, with all their aggravations, the richer *Jews* had their goods confiscated, great numbers of those who had had a hand in the revolt were beheaded or banished, and their execution performed with such severity as made the rest of the *Jewish* nation tremble, and prevented for a time their taking up arms against the Christians (Z).

*Il. to defend*  
*Naples.*

THEY did however join with the *Goths* in *Italy* against *Justinian*, and his general *Belisarius*; especially at the city of *Naples*, which the latter was then besieging (A), and in which they fought most desperately against him, as being fully convinced that they must expect no mercy from him; for whilst the citizens were deliberating about a surrender, and had dressed up the articles of capitulation, the friends of the *Goths* came to dissuade them from it; and, to do it the more effectually, had brought with them a number of *Jewish* merchants, to assure them, that if they held out, they should want neither provisions nor ammunition of any kind: by which means the siege being prolonged, and that general being forced to lose a great number of his men, was the more exasperated against them. Other particulars of this siege being foreign to our present point, have been seen in a former part\*. What farther relates to the *Jews*, is, that they defended that part of the town which is towards the sea, even after the other part was surrendered to the besiegers. They were however forced to do the same; and tho' we are told that *Belisarius* tried all proper means to inspire his soldiers with sentiments of clemency, yet whether they did not believe him in earnest, or were too much exasperated to listen to him, a horrid slaughter was made of the besieged, in which the *Jews* were treated with greater cruelty than any of the rest <sup>f</sup>, and were horribly butchered, without distinction of age, sex, or quality. This dreadful severity quelled them for a time, and we hear of neither revolt nor persecution during the two subsequent reigns. Perhaps also they bought

cruelly but-

<sup>a</sup> PAUL DIACON. PROCOP. MALALA, &c. ub. sup. Max. patr. tom. xiii. p. 376. CEDREN. Annal. p. 316.  
<sup>f</sup> PROCOP. Bell. Goth. lib. i. c. 8, & seq. p. 329, & seq.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. P. VANFRED. Hist. in Bil. i. t.  
\* See Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 652, & (Q).

(Y) This story is differently related by another chronologer (20), who tells us that the *Samaritans* having had some skirmishes with the Christians at *Naplouse* their capital, in which they had burnt some of their houses, and *Justinian* having caused their governor to be put to death, for not having timely suppressed them, they grew so desperate, as to chuse one *Julian*, a captain of banditti, to be their king, and fell foul upon the Christians, overthrew their churches in several parts of the province, massacred *Amonas*, bishop of *Naplouse*, cut his clergy into mince-meat, and fried it with their relics, and committed many other disorders of the like kind, where-ever they came; insomuch that people were afraid to travel, till the revolt was quelled by the emperor's troops.

Among the other exploits which *Julian* did at that capital, having entered it when they were performing their races and games, he set himself up as judge of the prizes; and *Nicias* having gained one, and applying to him for it, he asked him what his religion was, and finding he was a Christian, immediately cut off his head, as unworthy of the crown; but being soon after defeated and taken, his head was likewise struck off, and sent to the emperor, together with the crown he had on. Twenty thousand of his troops were slain upon the spot; the rest retired to *Mounts Garizim*, *Arparizim*, and other mountainous parts of *Trachonitis*; and about 20,000 of

the young prisoners were sold for slaves, and sent into *Persia* and *India*.

(Z) Some modern historians make this second revolt against *Justinian* to have been soon after followed by a third; but as neither the *Greek* authors, who would hardly have omitted it, nor *Paul* the deacon, from whom they pretend to quote it, mention any thing of it; it is more likely that they had smarted too much in the second, to have been so quickly drawn into a third.

(A) That general having quitted the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and recovered the sacred *Jewish* vessels, which *Titus* had carried from *Jerusalem* to *Rome*, and *Genzeric* had seized on at the sacking of that metropolis, *Justinian* had ordered them to be conveyed to *Constantinople*, to adorn his general's triumph. The sight of them, which could not but remind the *Jews* of that capital of the sad catastrophe of their city and temple, made so lively an impression on one of them, that he could not forbear crying out, as if he had been seized with a sudden enthusiasm, that those vessels ought not to be laid up in any other place, but that for the use of which *Solomon* had consecrated them; and added, that it was on their account that *Rome* had been taken by *Genzeric*, and *Genzeric* had been vanquished by the *Romans*. This speech was soon brought to the emperor, who looking on the *Jew* as divinely inspired, immediately ordered them to be conveyed to *Jerusalem* (21).

(20) Malala Chron. Hist. Chronol. tom. xi. p. 181. apud Basnag. Hist. des Juifs, l. ii. c. 8. § 1. l. viii. c. 12 § 9 & 10. (21) Procop. Bel. Vandal. lib. ii. c. 9, p. 255.



a their peace by dint of money, especially from *Mauritius*, who was then engaged in a troublesome war against the *Avari*. But under the traitor *Phocas* they made a most bloody insurrection at *Antioch*, where they were very populous and wealthy; in which the Christians, who proved too weak to withstand them, suffered the most horrid cruelties; great numbers were burnt in their own houses; others, where-ever they met them, were thrown into the flames; and the bishop *Anastasius*, not the first, as *Nicephoras* hath mistakem him<sup>s</sup>, but the second of that name, and his immediate successor, treated with the most barbarous indignities; for, not content to have him dragged along the streets, they cut off his privities, and clapped them in his mouth; and, after having made a dismal spectacle of him through the streets of the place, flung him into the fire. They were however, with great difficulty, suppressed by count *Bonofus*, whom *Phocas* sent with a sufficient force against them, and made to undergo a condign punishment<sup>h</sup>. And those that came off the easiest were banished, and sent away mangled and maimed. By this time they were again grown very numerous in the island of *Cyprus*, notwithstanding *Adrian's* severe edict against their setting foot in it, even as travellers. And it was about four years after the massacre at *Antioch* that the good *Cyprian* bishop *Leontius*, fearing perhaps the same fate from them, resolved, if possible, to convert them to Christianity; and succeeded so well in it, if we may depend upon his apology to be genuine, that the far greater part of them were baptized by him<sup>i</sup>. Cruelties at Antioch, A. C. 602. Converted in Cyprus, A. C. 605.

WE find them very numerous and quiet in *Italy*, where pope *Gregory the Great*, who reigned about this time, exhorted his clergy and flock to use them with candour and tenderness, seeing, as he himself believed and alleged, they were all to be recalled, and become a considerable part of Christ's fold<sup>k</sup>; for which reason, said he, they must be brought into the unity of the faith by gentle means, fair persuasions, and charitable advice, and not by force, which is rather apt to disgust them. Accordingly, we read of several remarkable conversions wrought among them, and some of them attended with circumstances not much short of being miraculous, though we forbear repeating them here<sup>l</sup>. That pontif not only blamed the untimely zeal of some bishops against them, but even of some of their new converts, particularly that of one of the latter, who went and planted a cross and the virgin's image in their synagogue; and which he ordered to be taken away; alleging, that, since the laws do not permit them to build new synagogues, they ought to be allowed the free use of their old ones (B). He not only revived the old edicts against their having Christian slaves, which had been long since shamefully neglected, but ordained, that all the *Jewish* domestics, who should take refuge in the churches, and be baptized, should, *ipso facto*, become free (C). Their state under Gregory the Great. Laws against them.

THEIR condition altered much for the worse soon after, that is, as soon as the emperor *Heraclius* had concluded a peace with *Persia*, by which the cross of Christ, formerly taken by them, had been restored to him, and sent to *Jerusalem*; of which we have spoken more fully in a former part\*. It plainly appears, from his own words, that he hated the *Jewish* nation, because they were enemies of Christ and his religion. But what gave him the first handle against them, was, his meeting with one at *Tiberias*, named *Benjamin*, so wealthy, as to have alone furnished his army and court with provisions; and so elated on that account, that he had plagued the Christians with troublesome law-suits and malicious prosecutions. *Benjamin*, fearing his resentment, found no better expedient to avoid it, than turning Christian; but this did not lessen his aversion to the nation, whom he soon after caused to be banished out of *Jerusalem*, with a severe prohibition against any of them coming thenceforth within three miles of that city. Change under Heraclius, A. D. 628.

BUT what more effectually exasperated him against them, was an answer given him by some of his soothsayers, whom he had consulted about the fate of the empire, that he would be undone by a circumcised nation; for, when he came to consider how numerous and Reasons of his persecuting them.

<sup>s</sup> Hist. lib. xviii. c. 44. <sup>h</sup> See Anc. Hist. vol. vi. p. 538, & seq. ZONAR. Annal. tom. iii. PAUL. DIACON. hist. lib. xvii. <sup>i</sup> LEONT. Episc. Neapol. Cypr. apol. cont. Jud. act. concil. Nic. ii. can. 4. <sup>k</sup> GREG. lib. iv. ind. 13. epist. 50. lib. vii. epist. 24. <sup>l</sup> Id. ibid. lib. i. epist. 34. dialog. lib. iii. c. 7. \* Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 369. vol. vi. p. 542, & seq.

(B) It appears by this, that the former edicts of the emperor *Theodosius* were still kept in force against them, notwithstanding that pontif's clemency to them. He likewise enforced another, viz. against their having Christian slaves; alleging, that it would be a dishonour to Christianity to be subject to *Judaism*; and ordered, that those who had been sold for such should be released without any farther ransom, such a traffick having been long since forbidden by the imperial laws.

(C) Some of the prelates, particularly *Januarius*, then bishop of *Cagliari*, had, it seems, till then, followed a more laudable method and example, viz. either of sending such runaway slaves back to their masters, as St. Paul had *Onesimus* to *Philemon*, or of buying their liberty with the church's money. But *Gregory* would not suffer the church's wealth to be employed to any such purpose, seeing their conversion made them free without any further consideration (22).



powerful they were in most parts of the empire, what frequent efforts they had made to recover their liberty, and what bloody revolts they had raised against the Christians at divers times and places; he no longer doubted but they were the circumcised meant by the soothsayers; and, consequently, that the most effectual means of preventing its accomplishment, were, to persecute and oblige them to abjure *Judaism*; little dreaming, that the *Saracens*, who are also circumcised, and not the *Jews*, were the people who were to overthrow the empire.

Their sad case  
in Spain

and Gaul.

A. C. 533.  
Council of Toledo's decree.

A. C. 639.

A new council,  
A. C. 653.

HE did not think it sufficient to persecute them in his dominions, but endeavoured to have the same done in *Gaul*, *Spain*, and other kingdoms; and made it one of the principal conditions of the peace he concluded with *Sizibut*, king of *Spain*, that he should oblige them either to abjure *Judaism* and be baptized, or to abandon the kingdom; and that monarch made no difficulty to consent to it; and, without consulting any of his bishops, as *Marianna* words it, engaged in an action which was contrary to the Christian religion; and, in spite of all their remonstrances, caused the principal among them to be flung into prison, where having languished a considerable time, one part of them turned Christians, to avoid the grievous punishments to which they had been condemned; and the rest retired into *Gaul*, where *Heraclius* made them undergo the same fate (D). His zeal, however, was highly discommended, not only by *Isidor*, bishop of *Sevil*, who was, in other respects, a great admirer of that prince<sup>m</sup>, but likewise by the fourth council of *Toledo*, in which he presided; which declared it unlawful and unchristian to force people to believe, seeing, *it is God alone who hardens and shows mercy to whom he will*. However, there was one clause or regulation in it very derogatory to so pious a declaration, seeing it obliged these forced converts to continue in the faith and communion of the church, in which they had been partakers of the sacraments; and which they could not swerve from without manifest scandal to it<sup>n</sup>. There might indeed be but too much reason for such a clause, seeing it was now common with the *Jews* to play fast and loose, to become converts, and judaize again as soon as they had an opportunity. However, the next *Toledan* council, which sat about five years after, was so far from condemning the violence used against them, that they highly commended their monarch's (*Sciuntila*) zeal, and blessed God for inspiring him with it, ratified the laws he had made against the *Jews*, decreed, that from thenceforth no king should mount the throne till he had taken a solemn oath to observe them, and concluded with an anathema against those who should violate them. This decree was so punctually executed by the succeeding princes, and such severe laws made against the recusant *Jews*, that they chose to conform rather than incur the penalties. But as those forced conversions were nothing less than sincere, and great numbers were observed to judaize again, and a new council was convened by king *Receswinthus* to put a stop to that abuse, the *Jews*, on their part, resolved to avoid the ill consequences of it, by sending a letter to that monarch, in the name of all their brethren then in *Spain*, protesting, that tho' they had till then dissembled, being neither altogether *Jews*, nor thoroughly converted, yet they were now fully resolved to become sincere professors, and wholly to conform to the laws of the Gospel (E). This solemn protest became the more suspected as it promised so fair, and was looked upon, both by the king and council, as designed only to prevent the penalties being inflicted against those that had relapsed; for their behaviour was quite opposite to it, they still making open profession of *Judaism*, and publicly attacking Christianity (F); inso-

<sup>m</sup> ISIDOR. Hispal. Chron. Gothor. p. 402. Vide & SOLOM. BEN. virg. SHEVETH JEHUDAH, p. 93, & seq.  
<sup>n</sup> Act. concil. Tolet. iv. sub an. 633. c. lvii. & seq. tom. v. p. 1719.

(D) The *Jews*, who call that prince *Sisebut*, tell us, that they urged against him the example of *Joshua*, who did not constrain the *Canaanites* to be circumcised, but only to observe the precepts of *Noah* (23), of which we have formerly spoken\*. But were answered, that *Joshua* did as he then thought best, but that now the case was different; and, though men ought to be left at their liberty, whether or no they will accept of a temporal advantage, yet, with respect to those which are of a spiritual nature, they ought to be forced to embrace them, as a child is to learn his duty, &c. He accordingly used such violent methods as obliged them, if not to be sincere converts, at least to pretend to be such. His successors followed his example, and a new law was made, that those, who did not turn Christians immediately after the publication of it, should be publicly whipped, and receive a hundred lashes, suffer confisca-

tion of all their goods, and be banished the kingdom (24).

(E) Among other plausible promises, they engaged to avoid all commerce and intermarriages with those who were not baptized; to observe no longer the sabbath, and the circumcision of their children; and, if they could not be brought to eat swine's flesh, as having contracted a natural reluctance to it, through custom and education, they would not scruple to eat any meat that was dressed with it. Lastly, they engaged to stone or burn all those who acted contrary to this promise; or, if his majesty thought fit to grant them their lives, they consented that they should be doomed to perpetual slavery, with the confiscation of all their effects.

(F) They objected, among other things, that Christ was not come in the sixth millenary, which had been pointed out for his appearance. To which the archbi-

(23) Solom. Ben. virg. Sheveth Jehudah, ubi sup.  
(24) Leges Fijg. xli. ubi. xii. tit. 3. l. 3.

\* See Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 664, & seq. and note (K).



a much that *Ervigius* was obliged to order *Julian*, then archbishop of *Toledo*, to write against them; which he did accordingly, and with great strength and success<sup>o</sup>, in a learned treatise which he published a little before the close of the seventh century. Julian's book against them, A. C. 686.

*EGICA* soon after preferred a complaint to the same *Toletan* council against the *Jews*, who, he says, had combined with those of *Afric* against him. That prince added, that the infection had spread itself through all the provinces of the *Spanish* monarchy; and that, tho' it had not yet reached *France* and *Italy*, it was not therefore the less deserving of their serious attention. Whereupon it was there decreed, that all the *Jews* should be deprived of their privileges, and declared perpetual slaves; that their effects should be confiscated, and their children taken from them, and brought up by the Christians (G). This severe edict, however, they eluded, in all probability, as usual, by a timely baptism; for we do not read of any who suffered on its account. Jews in Gaul, A. C. 503.

Those of *Gaul*, if any were so early settled there, made so obscure a figure, that we should not have known of any there, but for some edicts of *Constantine the Great*, which mention them in *Belgic Gaul*<sup>p</sup>; and it is not till the sixth century that historians begin to speak of them; about which time mention is made of their having intended a false accusation against *Cæsarius*, bishop of *Arles*, for being in the interest of the *Franks*, then laying siege to it, and having engaged to deliver up that city to them; upon which the bishop was fetched from his palace, in order to have been thrown into the *Rhosne*; but was miraculously preserved, and brought back privately to his palace. The *Jews*, believing him dead, applauded their perfidy against him; and one of them, under pretence of throwing a stone into the besiegers trenches, sent them an invitation to scale the walls on that side which was guarded by the *Jews*; and promising to deliver up the city to them, on condition they should be exempted from being plundered. The letter being found out by the next morning, discovered the treasonable design of the *Jews*, as well as the innocence of the bishop<sup>q</sup>. This circumstance shews, that they were by this time in no small credit, seeing they were allowed, even during a siege, to take upon them the guard of one part of the city (H). Conspire against the Goths.

As soon as the *Romans* had been driven out of *Gaul*, and the *Visigoths* been suppressed in it, we find divers regulations made by the councils there, relating to the *Jews*, ever since the reign of *Clovis*, the first king of the *Franks*; one in particular under *Childebert*, to whom that crown was fallen by lot, which forbade them to appear in the streets of *Paris*, from *Thursday* in the holy week to *Easter Sunday*; which shows, that they were by that time settled either in that city, or in some of its suburbs (I). The same was likewise done by the council of *Orleans* in the very same year; from which one may conclude, they were dispersed in several other parts of *France*. They were still more numerous in *Languedoc*, whence *Berreol*, bishop of *Uzez*, was banished upon their account. His extreme desire of converting them had betrayed him into such a familiarity with them, as had rendered him suspected at court, where Edicts against them. A. C. 540.

<sup>o</sup> JUL. Tolet. cont. Jud. l. i. Bibl. Rabbin. p. 122, & seq. lib. iii. p. 139, & seq. <sup>p</sup> De his, vide GREG. Turonens. tom. ii. <sup>q</sup> Vide Fragment. de morib. & gest. Francor. tom. i. p. 232. CYPRIAN. ap. Mabill. §. i. p. 662. BASNAG. ubi sup. c. xiii. A. C. 556. Persecuted at Uzez;

shop gave a most learned answer out of the writings of the prophets, and proved to them, that Christ was born at the time prefixed by them; and, upon his reminding them, that they were now expelled out of the promised land, without kings, priest, sacrifice, or altar, all which, he urged, were abolished according to their express prediction; they replied, as they had long before done, that they had still a king of the race of *David*, who reigned in some corner of the east; but which they not being able to make out, was justly rejected as a forgery.

(G) This plainly confutes what *Luke de Tudela* affirms, that the *Jews* did not get footing into *Spain* till the reign of *Vitiza*, who invited them thither, since this prince was the son of *Egica* above-mentioned, who obtained that decree against them. It shews besides, that they had been settled there some ages before this time.

It proves likewise a more material error in another author (25), who makes *Vitiza* to have reigned about the year 520, and *Sisibut* about five years sooner, seeing the latter reigned at the beginning, and the other about the end, of the seventh century. How could he then place them so near one another in the beginning of the sixth?

(H) We shall not trouble our readers with an inquiry how far the perfidy of the *Jews* will clear the bishop from it; for though he was, in other respects, a man of great merit, yet, being a zealous orthodox, he might be more inclined to *Clovis*, king of the *Franks*, than to the *Gothish* king, who was as strenuous for *Arianism*. And a late historian and critic hath been highly censured by the Roman Catholics for having questioned his innocence (26). All that we need say about it is, that if the *Jews* and the good bishop had been in the same interest, it is altogether improbable that they would have turned his accusers, that they would have been so zealous to have taken him off, or so full of joy when they thought him drowned in the *Rhosne*. And this alone will go farther to clear that excellent prelate, than all that that author hath surmised against him; unless we could suppose, that their hatred to him, on account of his extraordinary virtue, learning, and piety, made them guilty of that complicated perfidy.

(I) The reason of these edicts seems to have been designed to prevent their causing some disturbances at that solemn season, when the streets and houses were empty, and the people at their devotions at church.

(25) Jac. Schudt. compend. hist. Jud. lib. iii. c. 8. & seq.

(26) Basnag. hist. ubi sup. lib. viii. cap. 13. seq. 14,



he was forced to go and justify himself to king *Childebert*; but being again restored, after a some years exile, he fell into the other extreme, and drove them all out of his bishoprick <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup>and Clermont. THEY brought a much greater mischief upon themselves by their untimely zeal at *Clermont*, in the province of *Auvergne*, where *Avitus*, the bishop of it, was making some conversions among them. One of the new converts being entered the city in his white garment, the sight of it did so far provoke one of the same nation as to presume to fling a pot of stinking oil upon him; for which he would have been torn in pieces by the Christians, had not the bishop prevented it. However, his charity did but delay their resentment till the next festival, which proved *Ascension-day*; on which the people, leaving the procession, went and pulled down the *Jewish* synagogue <sup>b</sup>. The consequence was, that they must either turn Christians, or be banished. Many of them chose the former, and those that remained obstinate returned to *Mar-*  
<sup>A. C. 569.</sup>  
<sup>under king</sup>  
<sup>Chilperic,</sup> *seilles*, whence they were originally come. St. *German* was no less zealous for their conversion; and the historians of those times relate some instances which were accompanied with miracles, for which we shall refer our readers to them <sup>c</sup>. King *Chilperic*, who observed those of his kingdoms of *Soissons* and *Paris* to be rich and numerous, did likewise oblige them to be baptized, and punished those that refused it. But neither his converts nor martyrs did him much honour; tho', being a wicked prince <sup>d</sup>, he doubted not but his zeal might make some atonement  
<sup>a</sup>and Dagobert, for his vices. The same befel them under king *Dagobert*, who, being then sole monarch in  
<sup>A. C. 629.</sup> *France*, and no less wicked than *Chilperic*, endeavoured to ingratiate himself with his clergy and people by his hatred against the *Jewish* nation <sup>e</sup>; and obliging them either to be baptized or banished; by which those, who had fled hither from *Spain*, found themselves in as bad a  
<sup>c</sup>plight here as they had been there (K). Many of them left that country, and took refuge where they could; but the greater part chose to dissemble rather than follow them; and, by degrees, returned to their old way.

<sup>Under Ba-</sup>  
<sup>thilda, A. C.</sup>  
<sup>655.</sup> THIS became more visible during the latter end of *Clovis's* reign, and the regency of his widow *Bathilda*. For this last, during the minority of her sons, among many other regulations, had abolished the capitation which had been in vogue time out of mind, and a great nuisance to the nation, because it restrained people from marrying, and obliged many to sell their children, to avoid paying of the tax. The *Jews* were become odious by the infamous traffick of those children, which they sold to barbarous nations; upon which account, that princess not only removed the cause of it, by taking off the capitation, but obliged all those captives to <sup>d</sup>  
<sup>Banished by</sup>  
<sup>Wamba,</sup>  
<sup>A. C. 675.</sup> be restored which they had in their hands, and forbade them carrying on of that cruel commerce for the future; though we do not find that she used any other severity against them. *Wamba*, king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*, designed to have done the same by them in his dominions, but met with a surprising opposition from the abbot *Raymirus* and the count of *Thoulouse*, who combined to protect them, and oppose his edict against them. Count *Paul*, a favourite of *Wamba's*, was sent against them; but, instead of suppressing, joined himself to them, and had got himself crowned king at *Narbonne*; but, being afterwards defeated and condemned by *Wamba*, both he and his accomplices, but especially the *Jews*, felt the dire effects of his resentment. His edict was put in full force, and they banished out of his dominions <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>A. C. 740.</sup>  
<sup>Chozar's con-</sup>  
<sup>version to Ju-</sup>  
<sup>daism;</sup> THE eighth century, to which we are now come, is chiefly celebrated for the conversion of <sup>c</sup>  
*Chozar*, a heathen, to the *Jewish* religion; for it is about this time that this wonderful trans-  
action is pretended to have happened. *Chozar*, though a heathen, was a serious thoughtful prince; and a dream, or, as the fabulous account of it says, an angel, had made him so dis-

<sup>a</sup> LE COINTE annat. sub A. C. 556.  
 Bibliot. max. patr. tom. x. lib. 4. epist. 5.  
 chron. hist. Francor. tom. i.

<sup>b</sup> GREGOR. Turon. hist. Franc. l. v. c. 11. VENAUT poeta apud  
<sup>c</sup> FORTUNAT. vit. St. Germ. c. 64. p. 580. Vide & FREDEGAR.  
<sup>d</sup> GREG. Turon. & MAROLLE's not. in eund. tom. i. p. 386. <sup>e</sup> Gesta  
 DAGOBERT. <sup>f</sup> CATEL's memoirs for the history of Languedoc, lib. iii. p. 308.

(K) About this seventh century began to flourish the famed academy of *Lunel*, one of the most celebrated in all the west, not only for its great doctors, and the great number of learned men, who had their education there, but much more for their extraordinary charity in maintaining their scholars at their own charges. This city is situate in *Languedoc*, between *Montpelier* and *Nismes*; and was still subsisting, in great splendor, in the twelfth century, when *Benjamin de Tudela* went through it. The famed *Solomon Jarchi*, one of the most learned *Jews* that *France* ever bred, had either his birth, or, at least, his education, in it; from which he took his surname of *Jarchi*, in allusion to the word *Jareach*, which signifies the moon; for *Bartolucci*, on the testimony of some *Jewish* rabbies, affirms, that he was born at *Troyes*, another city of *Gallia Narbonensis*, or *Languedoc*. He was a very expert man; and, though his decisions are too

much in the talmudic strain, and so not much admired by Christians, yet they are held in great esteem among those of the *Jews*; especially as he had travelled thro' most parts of the world, where there were any learned men of his nation, and had greatly improved himself by their conversation.

*Lunel* produced another great man; viz. *Zachariah Levita*, who was indisputably a native of it, though he be commonly stiled a *Spaniard*, because that city, as well as the rest of *Languedoc*, did then belong to *Spain*. He is said to have wrote a treatise, intituled, *The two great Lights*. Some other we might still name, who have been ornaments to this academy, but who all flourished in or since the twelfth century: even *Solomon Jarchi* was not born till 1105, though we have mentioned him on account of his denominating himself the *Lunatic*, from this city of *Lunel*.



<sup>a</sup> satisfied with his religion, that he resolved to seek after a better. He conversed with the philosophers, with Christians, *Mohammedans*, and *Jews*; and was at length, notwithstanding his innate contempt of that nation, convinced by a famed rabbi, named *Sangari*, that the *Jewish* was the only true religion; to which all others were at best but as a shadow to the substance, or the picture to the living original <sup>2</sup>. Several other learned matters he explained to him, so much to his satisfaction (L), that the king, afraid of alarming his idolatrous subjects, communicated his design of turning *Jew* to none but his general, with whom he went, with the utmost privacy, to some mountainous desert towards the sea, where, night having overtaken them, they retired into a cavern. Here they found, to their great joy, some *Jews* celebrating their sabbath; and, having there abjured his old religion, and received the seal of circumcision, returned with the same privacy to his capital. He then prepared by degrees, and with great address, the minds of his subjects to receive the news of his conversion; which spread afterwards so far, that those *Jews* among them, who had till then dissembled their religion, not only made now open profession of it, but assisted him in converting the rest of his kingdom. He sent soon after for the most learned *Jews* from other countries, to instruct those new converts, which amounted to above 100,000, and vouchsafed himself to take one of the most famous among them to be his instructor. He betrayed at first a kind of inclination for the *Karaites*, a sect of which we have formerly spoken <sup>†</sup>, as being more scrupulously attached to the law; but *Sangari*, who was a thalmudist, brought him over to his side. From that time the original *Jews* grew in great esteem; and a tabernacle was erected exactly like that of *Moses* in the wilderness; to which both they and all the *Chozrean* converts repaired to the *Jewish* worship. The king became rich, happy, and successful, triumphed over his enemies, discovered new treasures hidden in the earth, and enlarged his dominions with new and considerable conquests <sup>3</sup>. Thus far the book, the credit of which we have given an account of in the last note.

<sup>2</sup> Vide lib. Cozri, part ii. p. 83, & seq. p. 75, & seq.

<sup>†</sup> Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Vide lib. Cozri, part ii.

(L) For fear our readers should think them of so high a nature, as to regret the loss of them, we shall give them a specimen whereby to judge of the rest. He tells the king, that *Judea* was above all the other countries of the world; and that *Adam* had been there created, and was buried in the sepulchre which *Abraham* afterwards bought for himself; that the dispute between *Cain* and *Abel* was about the inheritance of that holy land, to which each laid a strenuous claim; and that the former, being driven from the presence of God, meant no more than his being banished out of *Judea* (27); all which sufficiently shew how unskilled he was in the situation of paradise <sup>\*</sup>. The rest being much of the same nature, we shall go no farther with it.

The misfortune is, that this kingdom of *Chozar* is nowhere to be found, notwithstanding all the pains which some of the most zealous *Jews* have taken to be informed about it; and even the famed *Jewish* traveller of the twelfth century, *Benjamin de Tudela*, who is not sparing of every thing, though ever so improbable, that makes for the credit of his nation, owns that he could not find it out. Neither have any since, either of that or any other nation, been more successful in its discovery. What authority this pretended conversion comes backed with, will be seen in the sequel. In the mean time we shall only observe, that, though this kingdom hath been commonly hitherto thought to be only a fictitious one (inasmuch that the learned *John Buxtorf*, and others, rather believed *Chozar* to be the name of the king now in question, though quite contrary to the rules of the *Jewish* grammar, which shews it to be that of a country or a kingdom), yet we read of a city of that name in the province of *Transoxiana*, south-east of the *Caspian* sea, and south of *Samarcande*, the ancient capital of *Bactria*, which was still flourishing in the time of *Timur Beg*, vulgarly called *Tamerlane*, and is mentioned in the history of that great conqueror, written by his physician *Shereff-eddin Hali*, and translated into French by M. Petit la Croix, anno 1723, and published at *Delph* in four volumes

*duodecimo*. To this we may add farther, that the geographical tables of *Nasir Eddin*, the *Persian*, and of *Ulug Beigh*, the *Tartar*, published by *Grawius*, speak of the city of *Balanjar* as the chief residence of the king of *Chozar*.

But, though what we have quoted above doth prove, in some measure, against Mr. *Basnage*, *Calmet*, and others, that there was once such a city or kingdom near the *Caspian* Sea, yet the main of the story about that monarch's conversion is still questioned by all the learned, and even by some of the *Jews*; and the book itself called *Haccorzi*, and, by the *Arabs*, *El Chozri*, supposed only a fable, or at best a fictitious dialogue, written by *Jehudah Halevi*, the pretended translator of it, in imitation of those of *Cicero*, *Plato*, *Gellius*, &c. in the twelfth century, that is above 300 years after its supposed epoch of 740; though the several editors of it, particularly *R. Jehudah*, *Ben. Tibon*, and *R. Muscato*, who both printed it at *Venice*, and, since then, *John Buxtorf* and *R. Aben Dona*, have strenuously defended both the book and the truth of the fact above related. But, upon the whole, whoever reads it with an impartial eye, will be apt to conclude it a mere romance, in which *Deus* and *Machina* are introduced to give a sanction to facts, which have not even the appearance of probability; such are, for instance, the apparition of the angel to make the king dissatisfied with his religion, without telling him where to look out for a better; the puerile arguments upon which he rejects that of the Christians; his extraordinary skill in philosophy, philology, and his surprising knowledge of the nicest subtleties of the cabbalah; his building a *Mosaic* tabernacle instead of a temple, with the ark; tho', as we have formerly observed, the *Jews* had none since the *Babylonish* captivity; the altar for sacrifices, tho' these were allowed to be offered no-where but at *Jerusalem*; and, in a word, his modelling his worship, government, &c. according to that established by *Moses*: all these are justly reckoned sufficient obstacles to the credibility of the book, was it better attested than it really is.

(27) *Haccorzi*, part ii. p. 83, and 96.

<sup>\*</sup> De hac vide *Anc. hist.* vol. i. p. 53, & seq.



King Joseph's  
account of  
that kingdom.

BUT as its authority had not weight enough to procure a general reception of its legend, a fresh one hath been trumped up by the *Jews* about 250 years after, which is no less liable to suspicion; viz. a letter procured with no small difficulty by rabbi *Chasdai*, a man in high esteem at the court of *Abdal-Rahman* in *Spain*, from *Joseph*, king of *Chozar*, in which that prince, at his request, gives him an account of his religion, government, country, &c.; and which, if genuine, would prove, at least, that the *Jewish* religion was not only established in that kingdom under one of his predecessors, whom he names *Bula*; and in the manner related in the book *Haccorzi*; and with the addition of several other particulars, which the reader may see under the next note (M); but likewise prove that it still continued to flourish in his dominions; though there be nothing in the description he gives of them, of their situation, limits, climate, cities, rivers, product, &c. that can direct a reader where to find them; b so that it were in vain to dwell longer on that legend.

Jews under  
the khalifs,  
A. C. 705, &  
seq.

WE shall therefore now turn our eyes to the *Jewish* tribes dispersed in the east during this eighth and the following century; where, if we except the common calamities that must attend the civil wars between the khalifs *Abbassides*, *Ommiades*, &c. of which a fuller account hath been given in their history †; and in which *Jews* and Christians must be supposed to have shared; in other respects, we do not find that any of those monarchs disturbed their quietness. The *Jews*, in particular, enjoyed full liberty of conscience, during the khalifat of *Abdelmelech*, about the beginning of the eighth century, and those of his successors *Al Walid*, and *Soliman*, his brother \*. Their academies flourished, and their doctors enjoyed all their antient privileges (N); only the Christians were obliged to fortify *Ramah* in *Palestine*, to suppress the inroads which the wild *Arabs* made into that province, and obstructed the concourse of *Jews*, of pilgrims, and other nations, into the *Holy Land*. They are supposed to have suffered some oppressions under the reign of his brother and successor *Zeyd*, though more from the rapaciousness of his ministers, than the cruelty of that monarch. But their greatest change for the better was under the reigns of the *Abbassides*, upon the dissolution of that of the *Ommiades* under *Merwan*. c

AB, or *Abbas Saffa*, whom *Elmakin* calls *Abulkabas* ‡, having gained the khalifat, removed the royal residence from *Damascus* to *Cusab*, situate on the *Euphrates*, about four days journey from *Baghdad*, or *Babylon*; and became thereby nearer neighbours to the *Jews*, and better

† See before, vol. i. p. 338, & alibi pass.  
p. 382, & seq.

\* Ibid. p. 343, & seq.

‡ De hoc vide supra, vol. i.

(M) *Chasdai* was, we are told (28), treasurer-general of *Abdal-Rahman*, and in high favour with him; and having often heard of this *Jewish* kingdom, particularly from some ambassadors sent from *Constantinople* to his master, who acquainted him, that they had often seen merchants from thence, who chiefly trafficked in furs, and from whom they had been informed, that the then reigning monarch was called *Joseph*, resolved at any price to send a letter to him; and dispatched accordingly an express with the ambassadors, who conducted him to *Constantinople*, whence he was forced to come back, being there informed, that the roads to *Chozar* were then impassable. He tried afterwards several other means not worth mentioning; the last of which brought him at length an answer from that prince, with a full account of all that he had desired him to inform him of.

This answer, among other trifling particulars we chuse to pass by, confirmed the account of king *Bula*'s conversion by *Sangari*, in the manner above related; and added, that his son *Obadiab* had built sundry synagogues, and maintained a number of learned rabbies to expound the sacred books and the thalmud, &c. The account he gave of his dominions was, that they were about thirty days journey in compass, and were situate near the *Gargan* sea; and that several neighbouring nations were tributary to him. They had several cities and towns, one of the three principal of which was about fifty parangs, or leagues, in circuit, and was the residence of his queen, and other wives, servants, and eunuchs, in which both Christians and *Turks* had liberty of their religion. The third in rank for bigness was that of his own residence; and in which he only spent the winter with his council; after which they all removed into the country, where the inhabitants busied themselves with the care of their grounds, whilst he and his court took a progress

round the country, to keep all things under due regulation; insomuch that they had neither quarrels, law-suits, nor tax-gatherers. He added, that it seldom rained there, but that they abounded with large rivers full of fish, with excellent vines, and all kinds of fruit-trees. He concluded with some account of the Messiah's coming, which he said was very uncertain, because God had delayed it on account of their sins; and with a kind invitation to rabbi *Chasdai* to come and visit his dominions, and the promise of an honourable welcome. This is the substance of the letter and answer that passed between king *Joseph* and him. But whether the rabbi was imposed upon in the last, or was the forger of both, was hard to say; but, upon the whole, the account out of the *Chozri*, and this letter, are looked upon as a mere fiction.

(N) We are even told, that one of them asked this last his daughter in marriage; and being answered, that the difference of their religion did not permit it, replied, that tho' the different sects of *Mohammedans* did curse one another in their mosks, since *Mohammed* had given his daughter to *Ali*, who was the chief of a different sect, it shewed, that the diversity of opinions ought not to hinder such intermarriages, much less countenance those curses which each publicly vented against the other.

This conference, which appears to have been concerted between that prince and the *Jews*, to put a stop, as it actually did, at least during his and some following reigns, to that abominable trade of cursing (29); both, however, show, that the *Jewish* nation must have been in high credit at that time with the khalifs, to be permitted to act such a part before a court, and the chief of the *Mohammedan* doctors.

(28) *A. Ben. Dior, Shalsheleth, Hakkabalab, sub A. M. 4921.*

(29) *Abulfarag. p. 131.*



- a acquainted with their academies. *Almanzor*, who succeeded his brother, and was a learned prince, and fond of all that were so, without inquiring what nation or religion they were of, had invited a great variety of them to his court; and, among the rest, a good number of *Jews*, who took that opportunity to put their academies in a more flourishing condition than ever. *R. R. Joseph* and *Samuel* surnamed the *Gaon*, or Excellent, presided at that of *Pundebita*, and were succeeded by *Doreus*, another *Gaon*, *Ananias*, and *Malcha*; that of *Sora* was governed by two learned professors, both named *Judab*; the one the son of *Nachman*, and the other of *Otrinæus* (O). *R. Acha* was no less famed for his high learning, and his large treatise on the precepts of the law, under the title of *Shealtoth*, or Questions: but having unfortunately quarrelled with *Samuel*, the then chief or prince of the captivity, he had the double mortification to see himself excluded from the title of *Gaon*; and soon after, upon the death of that chief, to see his own servant *Nitbronius* raised to that dignity. *Acha*, unable to brook the affront, went and died in *Judea*, and left *Nitbronius* to enjoy his principality; which he did during the space of thirteen years <sup>b</sup> (P). About this time, the *Jews* of *Persia* and *Ara-*bia had also the mortification to see an edict published against them by the *Imam Jaaffar*, surnamed *Zadic*, or the Just; by which those, who turned *Moslems*, became sole heirs of their whole family: and this induced great numbers of *Jewish* and other children to apostatize, in order to get possession of such estates, as they could otherwise have no title to <sup>c</sup>.
- ALMANZOR was succeeded by *Al Mobdi* <sup>†</sup>, in whose reign appeared the infamous *Hakem*, or, as the *Arabian* historian calls him <sup>d</sup>, *Almakaneus*, an impious impostor, whom some have supposed to have been a *Jew*, but without any foundation; for which reason we should hardly have mentioned him, but that he had, in spite of his impious tenets, some of them which seemed to be of *Jewish* extract, and found means to draw a great number of disciples after him, by some seeming prodigies with which he amused them. But *Mobdi* sent some forces against him, which so closely besieged him in one of his fortresses, that he first poisoned all his disciples, and then flung himself into the fire, according to the last-mentioned author; or, according to others, into a vessel of aqua fortis, which consumed all but his hair. *Al Mobdi* was succeeded by his brother *Aaron*, surnamed the Just, and a great lover of learned men; and so considerable a prince, that *Charlemagne* sent him an embassy, consisting of the two counts *Sigismond* and *Laufred*, and *Isaac*, a *Jew*, who was to be the chief manager of that commission. Authors vary about the purport and success of it <sup>e</sup>; which being foreign to our present purpose, we shall refer to the history of those two monarchs; and only observe, that *Isaac* was made choice of by that emperor, on account of the credit which the *Jews* were in at the khalif's court. However, as he loved to encourage learned men, without any partial regard to their religion <sup>f</sup>, and seldom travelled without having an hundred of them in his retinue, the *Jews* endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with him chiefly by that means; that is, by filling their academies with the most celebrated professors.
- He was succeeded by his son *Amin Al Musa Al Hadi*, or, as *Elmakin* calls him, *Abumusa*, about the beginning of the 9th century <sup>‡</sup>; but this proved so weak a prince, and so addicted to his pleasures, that his brother *Mamun* soon found an opportunity to dethrone him; and, being a great encourager of learning, caused all the best *Jewish* books to be translated into *Arabic*. This step was not at all relished by his subjects, who were ready to revolt upon it; but that never hindered him from distinguishing learned men of all nations; among whom was a celebrated *Jewish* astronomer, who had been in high repute ever since the khalifat of *Almanzor*, but was now esteemed at this court as a phoenix of learning, and, as such, highly beloved by

A. C. 760.  
Jaaffar's edict  
against the  
Jews.

A. C. 770.  
Mohdi khalif.

Aaron khalif;  
A. C. 786.

Amin khalif,  
A. C. 808.

<sup>b</sup> GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 124, & seq.

p. 407.

Bojor. l. iv.

vol. i. p. 438.

<sup>d</sup> ABULFARAG. p. 146.

<sup>e</sup> ABULFARAG. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Bibl. Orient.

<sup>f</sup> De hac vide DU HAILLAU hist. de France, lib. iv. AVENTIN. annal.

<sup>‡</sup> SANGAENS. de gest. Carol. Magn. lib. ii. EIGINARD vit. Car. Magn. p. 7, & al.

† See vol. i.

‡ See

(O) Some pretend, that the former of these two published a set of learned lectures; others, with more probability, attribute them to *R. Simon Keiara*, another famed doctor, who then flourished in these eastern parts, tho' not a *Gaon*. This book, which was stiled *Helcuth Gedoloth*, or Great Lectures, was so highly admired, that *R. Judab*, the *Soran* professor, epitomized it, and gave it the title of *Helcuth Pessuchoth*, or Decided Lectures (30). However, *Keiara* had the surname of *Great Light*, as well as *R. Mari*, his cotemporary, that of *Meor Henaim*, the Light of the Eyes, on account of their having lost their sight.

(P) About this time flourished the famed *R. Ananus*,

who was likewise excluded the title of *Gaon*, though a man of great learning, on account of some material error they suspected in his doctrine, and not without good grounds; since he became the reviver and chief of the *Sadducean* sect, which was thought to have been long since buried in the ruins of *Jerusalem*. But it took, it seems, not only new life, but new vigour, under that chief, and became formidable to that of the *Pharisees* (31). Those critics, who have stiled *Ananus* the founder of the *Caraitic* sect, are certainly mistaken; since, as we have seen in both parts of the *Jewish* history, they were of much older date.

(30) De his vide Bartoloc. Biblioth. Rabbin. & Wolf. Biblioth. Hebr. David, p. 125, & seq.

(31) Idem ibid. Gantz Tzemach



*Mamun*; during whose reign the *Jewish* academies of *Sora* and *Pundebita* swarmed with men of letters (Q). It was about this time also, that the famed impostor *Mooffa*, or *Moses*, the son of *Amran*, as he called himself, began to appear, and pretended to be that great lawgiver of the *Jews* newly risen from the dead.

Persecuted  
under Wa-  
theck,  
A. C. 841.

Under Mota-  
vel,  
A. C. 841.

Ahmet's re-  
volt,  
A. C. 869.

Accused of pro-  
moting the  
edict against  
the images.

MAMUN was succeeded by his brother *Al Motasem*, who, among other of his victories, defeated a famed impostor named *Babeck*, who cried down all other religions but his own, which chiefly consisted in pleasure and jollity; and was become so powerful, that he waged war against *Jews*, Christians, and *Moslems*; and was with difficulty overcome by the united forces of that khalif. His successor, named *Al Watbek*, and, by some, *Watbek-Billab*\*, became a bitter enemy to the *Jews* on two accounts: 1st, Because they had been guilty of some great frauds in the management of the finances, which had been committed to their care in his predecessor's reign. And, 2d, Because they would not receive the *Koran*; for which they were heavily taxed, and forced to pay very large fines into his treasury. *Motavel*, or *Motawakel*, who succeeded him, proved still more severe against them; and not only obliged them to wear a leathern girdle by way of distinction, and, on the same account, forbade them to ride on any but asses or mules, and the use of iron stirrups, but he also stripped them of all their honours, titles, and places; which shews that they enjoyed some considerable ones in former reigns. And what was still worse, his edict spread itself not only through his empire, but into the neighbouring states; and this mark of infamy hath, more or less, subsisted ever since in those countries that are under the *Turks* (R); and we may add, in several parts of *Europe*, and under Christian princes to this day. *Motawakel*'s successors, whose reigns were short and violent, followed the same severe methods against the *Jews*; so that they bought those little remains of liberty at the expence of very heavy taxes; and it was in the reign of *Al-tamed*, the last of them, who was a weak and effeminate prince, that *Abmet*, then governor of *Egypt*, revolted, and founded a new dynasty there; by which that province was dismembered from the empire of the khalifs about the end of the ninth century † (S).

WE come now to the *Jews* in the west, that is, in the empire, in *Spain*, *Italy*, *France*, and other parts of *Europe*, during the eighth and ninth centuries. We begin with the empire, which was at this time miserably torn by the civil dissensions between the *Iconoclasts* and the image-worshippers, and in which the *Jews* were said to have had a considerable hand, if they were not the first movers of it. We have given an account of that, and of its bloody effects, in a former part of this history ‡, and shall examine here only what is laid to the charge of the *Jews*, with relation to their being the first promoters of it; and which, appearing to us very doubtful and apocryphal, we shall remit to the margin, with some short but necessary

\* De hoc, vide vol. i. p. 459, & seq. & p. 465.  
before, vol. i. p. 492, & 494.

‡ D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. p. 640.

† See

† Anc. Hist. vol. vi. p. 552, & seq.

(Q) *Rabbi Gantz* hath given us a long catalogue of the *Gaons*, and other learned *Jews*, that then flourished at those two academies (32); but as it consists chiefly of their names, it were of little use to insert them. He tells us, however, of a disaster which happened at that of *Sora*, about the beginning of the ninth century; viz. its being two whole years without a professor; which was not so much owing to the want of encouragement, as to the divisions and feuds that then reigned among those doctors, and thwarted their elections of proper persons to fill the chair. For that of *Pundebita* was filled by the famed *R. Abumer*. This last, at length, sent his son *Cohen-Zedek* thither, who carried the election; so that this family filled both chairs for a considerable time, and with great credit. The father and the son, the uncle and the nephew, were chiefs of both academies. But, upon their demise, the great prosperity they enjoyed soon made them fall into their old dissensions, as we shall see in the next note.

(R) They brought, at the same time, another misfortune upon themselves, by the revival of their old academic jars. *R. Menachem*, the son of *Joseph*, who presided alone in that of *Pundebita*, and saw himself threatened with the concurrence of a colleague, which the *Jews* were going to force upon him, so strenuously opposed it, that the dispute ran to a great height. However, after much wrangling and ill blood on both sides, he gained his point; and his rival, named *Mattathias*, was set aside. *Menachem* did not survive his disgrace

above two years; and left the chair to him, who enjoyed it a much longer time. These feuds were the more unreasonable at these times, because the khalifs were now no longer such encouragers of learning as their predecessors had been; so that both, joined together, occasioned a general decay of it in those two places, which was not soon nor easily recovered.

(S) A little while before that khalif's death, which happened A. C. 891, was discovered on a down in *Syria*, called the *Down of the man run mad for love*, a tomb, in which were seven bodies; among which was that of a youth, whose face and lips were still as lively as if he had been in health; and near it a stone, on which was an inscription engraved, which no-body could read. *Motamed*, desirous to know the contents of it, tried in vain the skill of the most learned *Jews* and Christians; they all found it impossible to be decyphered (33).

In his reign arose likewise a famous *Jewish* astronomer in *Arabia*, named *Abulmanassar*, who pretended to foretel strange events by the course of the planets, not excepting those which chiefly related to religion (34). He pretended, that the *Jewish* law had its birth under the conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn*; and that the same configuration would usher in anti-christianism. He foretold likewise, that it would be fatal to Christianity; an. 1460; but the event hath proved him a false prophet, and his science an idle dream. He died in the year 886.

(32) *Gantz Tzemach Dawid*, p. 125, & seq.  
A. C. 879. Vide D'Herbelot. Bibliot. Orient. p. 638.

(33) *Chronic. Abbassid. ad an. Hegiræ 275, hoc est,*  
(34) Vide *Basnage*, ubi sup. lib. ix. c. 2. § ult.

remarks



a remarks on the whole story (T). However that be, it is plain that the new emperor declared himself no less zealous against the *Jews* than against images; for both they and the *Manichees* were ordered by him to turn Christians, under the severest penalties; only the latter, being more tenacious of their heresy, suffered themselves to be burnt for it; whilst the *Jews* took their old method of saving their lives by dissembling; which they found, however, proper means to disallow in private. But as the patrons for images gained their point, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the emperor and his followers, they obliged the *Jews*, whose sincerity they had no great reason to rely on, to subscribe to a formulary, by which they acknowledged themselves worshippers of the cross and holy images, and prayed to God to strike them with *Gebe's* leprosy, and *Cain's* tremor, if they did not do it from their hearts <sup>h</sup>.

THEY found themselves still more involved in those devastations which *Abdallah*, the son of *Ali*, was making at *Jerusalem* and *Syria*, and, among other hardships, were forced, as well as the Christians, to be branded in the hand, to distinguish them from *Moslems*. The latter, indeed, retired upon it to the *Roman* territories; but the *Jews* not only submitted to it, but chose to follow *Abdallah's* army, in order to enrich themselves with the plunder of the Christians. For that prince, we are told, had always a considerable number of them in his army, to whom he sold all the church plunder he took <sup>i</sup>.

THEY fared much better under *Nicephorus*, who succeeded *Leo* about the beginning of the ninth century, and who likewise declared himself for the *Iconoclasts*; for which it probably came that the other side branded him with having forsaken God, to put himself under the care of the *Manichees* and *Attingans*, who were a kind of diviners or soothsayers; but, according to the language of the *Anti-Iconoclasts*, were persons that dealt with the devil, and could by their art make kingdoms flourish, princes victorious, &c. (U). However, the latter of them were, against all probability, pretended to be of *Jewish* extract; and it was thought sufficient proof of their being so, that *Nicephorus* protected their nation, and suffered them to live quietly under him. They were still more in favour under his successor *Michael*, surnamed the *Stammerer*, who is by some represented as half *Jew*, and by others branded with the odious appellation of the Sink of all religions, because he had imbibed something from each, during his younger days. However, though he tolerated them all, and seems to have shewn a particular regard to the *Jews*, yet, as he was professedly a Christian, and an orthodox, and never swerved from them, it is not unlikely that his being an *Iconoclast* hath been the main cause of all that slander (W). We are told by *Photius*, that about this time there

<sup>h</sup> THEOPHAN. ubi sup. sub A. C. 759, & seq.

<sup>i</sup> Apud Goar. Euchol. in THEOPH. p. 149.

(T) The *Jews*, we are told (35), having cheated *Jez-yid* in the east, with the promise of a long reign, and being obliged to leave those parts, came from thence thro' *Cilicia* into *Isauria*, a province of *Asia Minor*, over-against the island of *Cyprus*, where they set themselves down by a fountain, to refresh themselves from the fatigue and heat of the day. A youth of that country came soon after and sat among them, who used to travel about and sell trinkets to the towns and villages adjacent. The *Jews*, having viewed him more intently, foretold to him that he should become emperor; and only begged, as a reward for their prediction, that when he was come to the crown, he would take from the Christians all their images, as contrary to the second commandment. And hence it came to pass, that when he ascended the throne, under the title of *Leo Isaurus*, he waged such a violent war against the image worshippers.

We might here, with Mr. *Basnage*, make several remarks on the improbability of this whole story; but as they are obvious to every thinking reader, it will be sufficient to remind him, that *Leo* could not be in *Isauria*, though that was his native place, at the time of the *Jews* coming thither, seeing *Justinian* had conveyed him and his family into *Thrace* before that time, and before he was of age sufficient to carry on the pretended pedling trade about his country. Neither was it the prediction of the *Jews*, but the orders of that emperor, which got him into his service, seeing he had been enlisted amongst his guards, an. 705: and, lastly, what seems most effectually to destroy the probability of this story, especially of the *Jews* prediction to him, is the persecution he

raised against them, upon his coming to the throne, as will be seen presently; for had there been any such thing, would they not have complained of his ingratitude and injustice? But all this story seems contrived to make one imagine that *Leo* could not conceive such a violent dislike to images, unless some such enemies to Christianity had inspired him with it; whereas the *Jews* were so far from wishing them abolished, that the more they were multiplied in the churches, the greater occasion of triumph it gave them over the Christians.

(U) It is not easy to say who either these *Manichees* or *Attingans* were. Some make them to be the same, under two different names, and to belong to the heretical sect of the *Manichees* (36), and to have used some kind of sacraments, &c. *Zonaras* (37) represents them as a kind of soothsayers, one of whom foretold *Michael's* succession to the throne, after *Nicephorus*. But that prince having declared against images, the *Jews* were again accused as the authors of it, and the *Attingans* affirmed to be a set of conjurers belonging to that nation, merely to brand the *Iconoclasts*.

(W) As a proof of this, we may remember, that upon his mounting the throne, tho' by murder and treason, yet so long as there were any hopes of his declaring for the use of images, he was extolled to the skies as a *David* or *Josiah*, by no less a man than *Theodore Studites*, one of their miraculous saints; but as soon as they found themselves disappointed of their hopes, he hath been represented as a monster, and had, among other opprobrious names, that of Sink of all religions, given him.

(35) *Theophan. Ann. sub A. C. 615. p. 336. Sigebert sub an. 724. p. 545. Zonar. Ann. tom. iii. Cedren. Ann. in Leon. Isaur. Maimbourg Hist. Iconoclast. l. i. (36) Paul. Diacon. lib. xxiv. p. 552. (37) Ann. tom. iii. p. 100.*



*A law against them.* was a law in force against the *Jews*, which made it capital for any of them to appropriate any <sup>a</sup> of the church's goods <sup>k</sup>; which is however denied by his commentator *Balsamon*, because no such one is to be found in the *Theodosian* code. But might not such a one have been made since, on account of their buying so much of the church's plunder from the *Moslems*, as was hinted above? And might not the empress *Theodora*, who persecuted all the *Iconoclasts* with so much severity, have made such a law against them, for being such professed enemies to the worship of images?

*Deceived by a false Messiah.* WE know but little of their condition either in *Italy* or *Spain*, during these two centuries; except that in the latter, a *Jew*, named *Serenus*, taking advantage of the feuds which reigned between that and *France*, proclaimed himself the Messiah, and drew great numbers of his nation to follow him into *Judea*, where he was to fix his kingdom. How far that deceiver <sup>b</sup> led them, we cannot find; except that *Ambisa*, the then governor in those parts, took the opportunity to seize on all the estates and effects which those infatuated people left behind them; those that did not perish by the way, returned to their habitations, where they were at leisure to bewail their folly and loss <sup>l</sup>. Here also, in the reign of *Abd-al-Rahman* or *Abderrama*, who had been acknowledged khalif in the west, and built a famed mosque at *Cordoua*, flourished the famed *R. Judah*, a man of great learning, who published a philosophical treatise, to shew why the sea did not overflow the land, which was highly applauded by the learned. <sup>c</sup> He likewise translated several books out of *Arabic* into *Hebrew*, and compiled a dictionary in the former: all which shews not only that the sciences flourished there among the *Jews*, but likewise that the first khalifs favoured them more than they did the Christians, whom they obliged to build the stately mosque above-mentioned, with the materials they had taken from them <sup>m</sup>.

*Invite the Arabs into Languedoc.* LANGUEDOC being at this time (as well as great part of *Spain*) in the hands of the *Visigoths*, was much infested with the incursions of the *Arabs*, who are said to have been in league with, if not invited thither by, the *Jews*, and to have engaged themselves, by their help, to massacre all the Christians. They are likewise accused to have invited the *Saracens* out of *Spain*, to free them from the tyranny which they suffered under the bishop of *Tholosa*, who, coming accordingly, took *Narbonne* and *Tholosa* in their way, and penetrated as far as *Lyons*, putting all to fire and sword as they went, except the *Jews* who had assisted them in it. *Charlemagne*, having afterwards defeated the *Saracens*, and retaken *Tholosa*, resolved to punish the treacherous *Jews* with the utmost severity, who had been the authors of so much bloodshed; but being at length softened by their groans and cries, commuted their punishment, and only executed the heads of them, and condemned the rest of those that dwelt in the city, to receive a box on the ear, three times a year, at the gates of one of the churches, which should be named by the bishop, and to pay a perpetual fine of thirteen pounds weight of wax. The greatest part of this accusation, and of the facts alleged to support it, have been refuted by a late historian <sup>n</sup>; and, indeed, the mild behaviour of the emperor towards the *Jews* shews nothing less than his supposing them the betrayers of that city, or the authors of the *Saracens* incursion (X): but as the farther discussion of these points would not only carry us too far, but be a mere repetition of the history of those monarchs, we shall refer our readers for a further account of it to the history of those times, in the second and third volumes, as well as to the authors there quoted. <sup>d</sup>

*Their credit under Lewis the Debonair.* THEY were still more favoured under *Lewis*, surnamed the *Debonair*, whose chief physician was a *Jew*, named *Sedecias*, whom some historians have represented as one of the greatest magicians in the world <sup>o</sup>; but who was in such high credit with that prince, that all the courtiers were glad to gain his and his countrymen's friendship with the noblest presents. They had the liberty of building new synagogues; and obtained such singular privileges, as could not fail of inspiring them with uncommon insolence, as well as of raising jealousy in the Christians, as it accordingly happened, more particularly in the diocese of *Lyons* <sup>p</sup>; where *Agobard*, bishop of it, did not content himself with forbidding them to buy any Christian slaves, and the keeping of their Sabbath, but forbade likewise, under some frivolous pretences, the Christians to buy any wine, or to deal with them during the time of Lent. The *Jews* made no difficulty to complain of the bishop's edicts to the emperor, who sent three commissaries to *Lyons* to inquire into the truth of it; upon which they were immediately <sup>f</sup>

<sup>k</sup> PHOT. NOMOCAN. tit. 9. p. 123, & seq. p. 138, & seq.

<sup>n</sup> BASNAC. ubi sup. l. ix. c. 3. §. 8, & seq.

<sup>l</sup> TRITHEM. Chron. Hirsaugienf.

<sup>i</sup> MARCA Hist. de Bearn. lib. ii. c. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>o</sup> DANDEN de suspect. de Hæresi.

<sup>p</sup> Vide AGOBARD. de Insolent. Judæor.

(X) The *Jews* in his reign boasted that they had been suffered to buy some of the richest vessels of the church, and other costly utensils belonging to the churches, abbeys, &c. which the luxury and avarice of the bishops and abbots had induced them to sell. *Charlemagne*, be-

ing informed of it, forbade, indeed, by a severe law, all such abuses for the future; but neither condemned the *Jews* to restore those they had, nor restrained them from that shameful commerce, but levelled the penalty wholly against such of his clergy as should be guilty of it.

restored



a restored to their ancient privileges, to the no small mortification of the bishop, who, though otherwise a moderate man, and averse to persecution, could hardly be persuaded of the reality of the emperor's orders, though signed with his own seal. This made him invent some new accusations against them, and to send him fresh remonstrances against them, signed by two other bishops. *Everard*, the chief commissary, remained firm to the *Jewish* interest, and all the allegations against them were rejected at court, as false and groundless, as indeed they deserved, being mostly such; and some of them so ridiculous, as to cast no small reflection on the blind zeal of those prelates. The reader may see them in the authors quoted in the margin<sup>1</sup>.

b A G O B A R D, seeing all his endeavours thus frustrated, resolved to take a journey to court, in order to solicit that prince more effectually against the *Jews*; but he failed of success, being only admitted to an audience of leave, wherein he was permitted to go back as he came, without any farther satisfaction, as he himself complains; so that he was even afraid of baptizing the heathen slaves that belonged to the *Jews*, for fear of exasperating the court against him, though he offered to pay them the full price for them<sup>2</sup>. But as he did not dare to venture upon this last, without the emperor's leave, he sent to beg his consent to it. What answer he had, we cannot learn; but if one may guess by the dreadful curses he pronounces against the *Jewish* nation, in his letter to the great and learned *Nebudius*, bishop of *Narbonne*, one may conclude that it was not such as he liked; and the spleen which he vents in that uncharitable epistle was the less excuseable, because it not only made the *Jews* the more flourishing and insolent, but had like to have caused a general defection; insomuch that people not only professed openly that they were to be respected as the posterity of *Abraham* and the prophets, but began to conform to the *Jewish* rites in many instances (Y) that were quite scandalous, and a reproach to Christianity.

c THEIR case was not quite so agreeable to them under *Charles* surnamed the *Bald*, when *Remisius*, the bishop of that diocese, caused some of his clergy to preach every *Saturday* in their synagogues; by which so great a number of their children had like to have been converted, that they were forced to send them away to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, to *Macon* and *Arles* in *Provence*, and other places, where they were more numerous. Of this the bishop sent a complaint to court, and begged of that prince to send orders to the bishop of *Arles*, &c. to follow his method; and represented to him, that the conversion of those children was a greater act of charity than the saving them out of the lion's mouth. It is likely he consented to his request; for numbers of *Jewish* children were baptized, all by their own free choice; and the emperor was soon after poisoned by *Sedecias*, his *Jewish* physician, lately mentioned, who is supposed to have been hired to that vile deed by some of his own nation<sup>3</sup>. These are likewise accused to have had a great hand in the troubles which happened under this reign, by the incursion of the *Normans* into several provinces, particularly that of *Aquitain*, where they were very numerous; and tho' it is likely the *French* authors have charged them with more crimes than they were guilty of, such as the betraying the city of *Bordeaux*, *Perigues*, &c. which those barbarians plundered and burnt<sup>4</sup>, whilst the *Jews* are said to be exempted from the common calamity; yet there is no doubt to be made that they resented the loss of so many of their children, tho' no violence was used in converting them (Z); and that they would willingly have joined with any other nation, by whom they might hope to be freed from such a sensible hardship: especially if we add to it, that they were still liable to the ignominious sentence passed against them by *Charlemagne*, of being buffeted three times a year at the church door, which was not indeed executed on all the *Tholosan Jews*, but was

*His untimely  
zeal suppress'd.*

*Under Charles  
the Bald.*

*Accused of as-  
sisting the  
Normans,*

*and of other  
treasons.*

<sup>1</sup> A G O B A R D, ubi sup. & Epist. BERNARD. & EVERARD de Judaic. superstition. ad proceres de Baptism. Judaic. vid. & BASNAG. ubi sup. §. 14, & seq.

<sup>2</sup> A G O B A R D, Consult.

<sup>3</sup> Flor. Collect. de Baptism. Hæbr.

<sup>4</sup> DU MOULIN Hist. Normand. p. 38. incert. auct. de

(Y) Thus we are told that some of them began to celebrate the sabbath, instead of the Lord's Day; that many of them chose to go and hear the *Jewish* rabbies declaim in their synagogues, rather than to hear the sermons preached in their own churches; and that a deacon named *Putho*, or *Paudo*, belonging to the court, had renounced the church, and gone over to the synagogue.

(Z) *Florus*, a deacon of the church of *Lions* in this reign, tells us, that the bishop above-named contented himself with sending for those young *Jews*, and asking

whether any of them were willing to become Christians; upon which six of them begged on their knees to be baptized, whose example was followed by seven-and-forty more. And that prelate protests to the emperor, that he dismissed the rest of them *intactos*, untouched (38). But though there might be no violence used in their conversion, yet there might be other indirect means practised to induce them, such as caresses, promises, gifts, &c. equally capable of working upon them, and disagreeable to their parents.

(38) Flor. Collect. de Baptism. Hæbr. ap. Dacher. select. tom. xii.



in time confined to their syndic or head magistrate, who received that punishment in the name of the rest. To this we may add, that though their credit was ever so high at court during the life of the treacherous *Sedecias*, yet they were liable to many insults and affronts from the populace in cities at a distance from it. Thus, for instance, those of *Beziers* in *Languedoc* were yearly wont to be driven about with volleys of stones, from *Palm Sunday* to the *Tuesday* in *Easter week*\*, which indignity they at length redeemed by a tribute which they paid to the bishop of the place.

State of the  
Jews during  
the 10th and  
11th centuries.

Learning be-  
gins to flourish.

It is now time to close the ninth century, and to pass on to the tenth and eleventh, which we shall be forced to join, to avoid breaking off the thread of the facts which happened in the intermediate interval. We begin, as usual, with those of the east, who were, during that time, if we may believe their historians, in a most flourishing condition; especially with respect to learning, which began now to revive among them, and the vast number of their doctors that then flourished; whilst almost the rest of the world, especially the Christian countries, were buried in darkness and ignorance; insomuch that the *Jewish* academies, not being capable of containing the overgrown multitude of their scholars, they were obliged to build a new one (A). They even add, that they never had, in any age, before or since, so many and such excellent doctors as now. It proved, however, but a short-lived glory, partly thro' the broils that were bred between the chiefs of the captivity and their professors and doctors, but more especially by the zeal of the crusaders, who made it an uncommon piece of merit to massacre all the *Jews*, before they went upon the conquest of the *Holy Land*; all which, joined together, caused the total downfall of their academies, and the utter expulsion of the nation from those eastern countries, and obliged them to take refuge in *Spain* and *France*, and other parts of *Europe*, of all which we shall now give an account in as few words as the subject will admit of.

Their acad-  
emies ruined by  
their dissen-  
sions.

R. Saadiab  
opposed by the  
chief.

DAVID, the then chief of the captivity, and a man of a haughty ambitious spirit, had raised the prerogative of that dignity beyond all his predecessors (B), and reigned as absolute as any eastern monarch; which raised such dissensions between him and the chiefs of the academies, as quickly hastened their downfall\*. That of *Pundebita* had chosen *R. Misbisher* for their chief, and *David* immediately appointed another; and the jealousy which reigned between those two arose to such a height, during the space of five years, that the only expedient they could think of to put an end to it, was to erect two schools in that place, though it had a contrary effect. That of *Sora* had scarcely raised itself up from the low degree it had formerly sunk into, when *David* sent likewise thither one *R. John Tob*, a man so ignorant and unfit, that the academy must have been soon abandoned, had not they sent for a proper person from *Egypt*, to preside over, and raise the character of it. This was *R. Saadiab*, a man of great learning and abilities, and who made it his first care to explode the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which had gone current for many ages, not only among the *Persians* and *Arabs*, but even among the *Jews*. He had already made some progress in it, when the prince of the captivity sent for him to subscribe to a new regulation, which he thought was repugnant to the *Jewish* laws, and which he therefore stiffly refused to sign, and thereby made him so far his utter enemy, that he was forced to retire, and seek for shelter in some place out of his reach, where he continued till the breach between them was happily made up (C).

THE

\* CATEL Hist. Languedoc, lib. iii.

\* GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 130.

(A) The reader may recollect that we closed the ninth century with an account of the feuds which reigned between the heads of those academies, and which had quite stopped the progress of learning amongst them. What caused the revival of it at the beginning of this, was the example of the *Arabs*, among whom it began to flourish about this time. And though it chiefly consisted in the study of physic, dialectics, astronomy, and astrology, yet it so far inspired the *Jews* with a fresh relish to them, that they immediately applied themselves to the same study, and set their academies again in a flourishing condition.

(B) The *Jews* complain that their chiefs till then used to pay tribute to the khalifs, but that he found means to shake off that ignominious yoke; to which two things chiefly contributed, viz. his long reign of thirty years and upwards, and the weakness of the then khalif, *Mochader*, who had been deposed twice by his officers, and was wholly governed by them †.

(C) This refusal, we are told, so exasperated the *Jewish* chief, that he sent at first his son to him, with a threatening to have his head broke, if he did not obey, and other opprobrious language, with which *Saadiab* having acquainted his scholars, they raised an uproar about him, in which they gave him some severe blows. The academy was soon divided into two parties, in which that of *Saadiab* so far prevailed, that *David* was deposed from his dignity, and his brother *Joseph* appointed in his room. It was not long, however, before *David* got himself restored, and *Saadiab* was obliged to flee, and seek out for a safe retreat, where he continued seven whole years.

It was during this recess that he composed the greatest part of those books which were since published after his death, and go under his name. He found means, nevertheless, to be reconciled to his haughty prince, and was again restored to the chair; and having outlived him by several years, enjoyed it quietly, and with great suc-

† De hoc, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 511, & seq.



a THE *Jewish* nation was at this time so numerous and powerful, that they reckoned no less *Jews very nu-* than nine hundred thousand of them in the city of *Pherutz-Shiboor* (D). This number may *merous.* probably have been greatly exaggerated by the *Jewish* writers. However, here it was that *Found a new* they had founded a new academy, at the head of which was the famed *R. Sherira*, under *academy.* whom it flourished about thirty years. He was a man of great learning, but a mortal enemy *A. C. 1037.* to the Christians, especially to the monks, and was on that account highly respected by his scholars and the whole nation; and, being at length worn out with age, left the chair to his son *Hay*, whom the *Jews* styled the most excellent of all the excellent. The rest of his character and writings the reader may see in the margin (E). He is said to have been the last, as well as the greatest, of all the *Gaons*, or sublimes, and to have presided at that academy about 40 years. He died in the year 1037, and in the 69th of his age<sup>\*</sup>.

b His successor *Hezechias*, chief of the captivity, was more unfortunate under that khalif, *Jews perse-* as well as the *Jews* under him; he being put to death with all his family, except two of his *cuted.* sons, who fled into *Spain*, by the time he had enjoyed that dignity about two years: after which the academies were ordered to be shut up, and the learned doctors obliged to retire into the west, whither they were followed by the rest of that nation, to avoid further persecution. A year or two before, that is, about the beginning of *Hezechias's* reign, happened that famed schism between the sons of *Asher* and *Naphtali*, which is looked upon to have given birth to *Rise of a new* the first *Massorites*. They are at least the first grammarians that took upon them to revise and *schism.* correct the sacred books (F). However that be, the persecution, which was partly owing

to

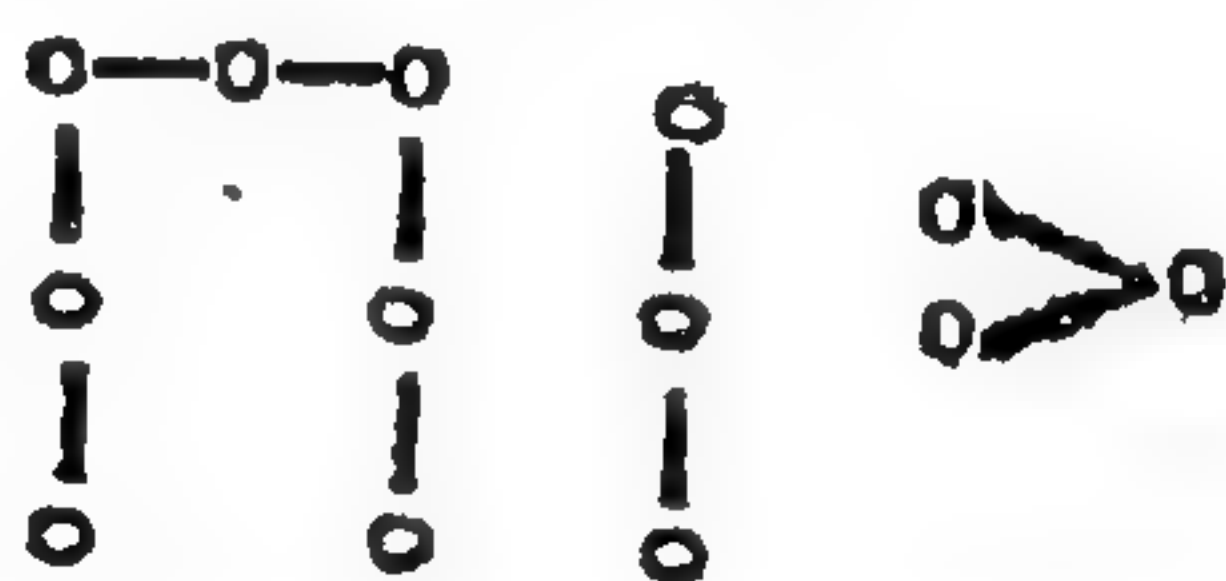
\* GANTZ *ibid.* sub A. M. 4797. *Juchas.* p. 125. *Shalshel. Hakkabal.* p. 37. BARTOLOC. WOLF, HOT-  
TINGER *Hist. Eccl. N. T.* §. xi. p. 495.

cess. However, the deposition of the chief shews that that dignity was neither absolute nor unalienable: besides, we find some of the chiefs of the academies chosen to be princes of the captivity, though this did not often happen. As for the choice of the academic chiefs, it was done by the plurality of votes; tho' the prince's authority did not a little influence it. Sometimes not only the doctors, but the people, joined in the election; and we have an instance of it during this tenth century, when the academy of *Pundebita* wanting a professor, and two candidates having offered themselves, *viz.* one *Aaron*, a rich merchant, and *Nehemiah*, a learned rabbi, the former was chosen by the interest of the people, and the latter succeeded him about seventeen years after, that is, in the year of Christ 959.

(D) This city, whose name signifies the breach of *Sapor*, stood about five miles distant from *Babylon*, and is by some supposed to have been built by *Sapor III.* king of *Persia*, a great conqueror, who built many cities in that kingdom. Others ascribe the honour of it to rabbi *Shiabour* or *Sapor XV.* though he only founded the academy of it (39).

(E) He is pretended to be lineally descended from king *David*, and, as such, bore the lion in his arms, as did all the kings of *Judah*, pursuant to *Jacob's* prophecy concerning that tribe (40). But what hath rendered him still more famous, was, the number and variety of his writings, such as his treatise on buying or selling, pledges, wages, and on the interpretation of dreams, which last was printed at *Venice*, among some other pieces of *R. Solomon Jarchi*, on the same subject (41), anno 1623; at *Amsterdam*, an. 1636, and 1642; and at *Wettersdorff*, with the *Shakare Zion*, or *Gates of Zion*, an. 1690 (42). His book intitled *Misephate Shébugboth*, or judgments on oaths, in 20 sections, printed at *Venice*, an. 1602, in which those on buying and selling, above-mentioned, were likewise printed there. His poetic treatise, intitled, *Mussar Hasbekel*, or on the forming of the understanding, printed at *Paris*, anno 1562, and at *Venice*, anno 1579. His *Pirush Shemot* 42 and 72, or an exposition of the names of God, written with 42 and with 72 letters (43). And, lastly, his questions on the book called *Jetzirah*, or a treatise of the formation, is re-

markable for shewing the manner in which the great name of God was antiently written at *Jerusalem*; which being somewhat curious and uncommon, we have here subjoined (44).



We shall forbear inserting the conjectures which some learned Christians have drawn from the triplicate number of o's or circles, which they think to have been meant to signify so many lights, implying thereby the mystery of the three persons in the Godhead. *R. Hay* was a great cabbalist, and hath not only explained the terms of that art, but his treatise of the voice of God, with power, is full of cabbalistical principles. His reputation was so great among those of his nation, that they flocked to him from all parts, to consult and hear him; and he was chosen chief of the academy of *Pundebita*, as well as of that of *Pherutz Shiboor*, in which last he had succeeded his father, from the 29th year of his age. There is even some probability that he was chosen chief of the captivity, during his father's lifetime; but they both did, by some means, so exasperate those of their nation, that they fell into disgrace some time after, under the khalifat of *Al Kader*, who, being come to the crown, † raised a kind of persecution against the *Jews*, for having taken too great advantage of the civil discords which then reigned, and had assumed greater privileges than they had a right to claim. Among them *Sherira*, and his son *Hay*, were accused of having raised their authority beyond its due bounds, and condemned to be stripped of all their wealth, dignities, and privileges. The former, who was then near 100 years of age, was apprehended and imprisoned; but the latter had the good luck to escape, and soon after to be restored to his academy, over which he presided till the year 1037 (45).

(F) They were called *Moses* and *Aaron*; and as to their styling themselves the sons of *Asher* and *Naphtali*,

(39) *Vide D'Herb. Bibl. Orient. sub voc.* (40) *Vide Gen. xlix. 9. See also Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 548, & seq.*  
(41) *Bartoloc. Bibl. Rabbin. vol. ii. p. 387.* (42) *Vide Wolf Bibl. Hebr. p. 345.* (43) *Vide Noflos Cbochmah, p. 195. & Wolf, ubi sup.* (44) *De hoc aut. vid. plur. in Gantz Tzemach David ad An. M. 4757, seu Chr. 997. Sepher Juchasin, p. 125. Shalshel Hakkabalab, p. 37. † De hoc, vide vol. i. p. 595, & seq.*  
(45) *Gantz, ubi sup. & al. sup. citat.*



Expelled from  
the east.End of their  
princes.Persecuted in  
Egypt.Restored,  
A. C. 1026.

to the civil discords then reigning among the khalifs (of which we have spoken more fully a in their history †), and partly to the jealousy which they conceived of the chief of the captivity †, and of their raising some revolt, proved so severe and violent, as to bring on not only the destruction of their family, the shutting up of all the academies, as we lately hinted, but likewise to oblige the rest of the *Jewish* nation to seek for refuge, some in the deserts of *Arabia*, and others in the provinces of the west. And here it is that most authors place the total extinction of the dignity of the princes of the captivity; though, if we may believe the *Jewish* travellers *Benjamin de Tudela* and rabbi *Petachiah*, who visited those parts in the 12th century; they still found one of those chiefs among the dispersed *Jews* in *Persia*, who was called *Samuel*, and boasted himself lineally descended from the great prophet of that name; and, for proof of it, produced a regular genealogy from the one quite down to the other; b which, if true, proves, 1st, that those princes were not all of the lineage of *David*, as the *Jews* pretend: secondly, that they were not wholly abolished in the 11th century, tho' they must be supposed to have sunk much from their former splendor and authority, if they really enjoyed more than the bare name. And as for the academies, especially those of *Sora*, *Pundebita*, and *Pherutz Siboor*, it plainly appears that they were quite abolished from the year 1039; and if any schools were left in those parts, that assumed the name of academies, they were too poor and obscure to deserve it (G). We have now nothing more to mention of them in the east, except that short-lived persecution which they suffered in *Egypt*, under the reign of *Hakem*, who pretended to set up a new religion, opposite to all others, and which was that of the *Drusi*, little known to us, if it was not the same with that of the c antient *Druids*, but which he had blended with a vast number of the most extravagant and impious notions not worth repeating; which he affirmed to have had from the Deity. The vast number of disciples which he gained among the heathens, made him resolve to persecute the Christians and *Jews*, as the only ones that opposed his doctrine; the latter of whom he obliged to wear a mark of distinction, and ordered all their synagogues to be shut up, and them to be cudgelled into compliance; but as he was of an inconstant temper, he soon changed his mind, and restored them to their ancient liberty † before he died (H). But it is now high time to pass into the west.

† Vol. i. p. 600, &amp; seq.

† SOLOMON BEN VIRG. Sheveth Jehudah, p. 307.

‡ See the Kitab

Almakid, translated by M. DE LA CROIX, and D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. sub voc.

that was the name of their tribe, and not of their parents. *Aaron* hath been supposed by some critics (46) to have been a native of *Tiberias*, because that academy, over which he presided, took his part against *Moses*; and his eastern followers, who preferred the corrections of his antagonists. It were lost labour to inquire after his native country; but it is plain, from the *Jewish* historians, that he taught in the east under *Hezekias*, from which he might afterwards retire to *Tiberias*, to avoid persecution. And here it was that the doctors gave him the preference to *Moses*, as he had preferred that city and academy to all others, to take refuge in. However, the dispute between him and his competitor was not about the points, as *Capellus* imagined, but about the terms of Scripture.

A learned critic in those matters, who had examined the corrections of *Aaron*, both printed and in manuscript, makes very light of them (47), and thinks them posterior to the *Masorah*, and though quite new, yet too trifling, notwithstanding the noise which that division hath made, which is no more than common, most of the school disputes being of that nature. However, if he is right, it still shews the authority of the *Hebrew* to be the greater, and that the original text had till then been so far preserved in its purity, as to stand in no great need of their correction.

That these two competitors flourished in the eleventh century, seems indisputable; not only because they taught in the *Babylonish* academies, which were shut up soon after, but because the learned *Maimonides*, who flourished in *Egypt* in the ensuing century, formed his own copies from that of *Ben Asher*, so that this last must have lived some years before him, seeing his corrections had been already approved in *Egypt*. And if those revisers are

still more ancient, as is generally pretended, then are they the less to be charged with novelty (48).

(G) The Christians have taken occasion from thence to triumph over the *Jews*, and to prove to them, from the prophecy of *Jacob* (49), that it is vain and absurd in them to expect the Messiah to come, seeing, by their own confession, the sceptre hath been so long departed from *Judab*, &c. And it is true, indeed, that they have now no longer that pretence to invalidate the force of that noble prediction against them. But whoever considers it in its full extent and purport, as we have endeavoured to state it in several parts of this work (50), will easily see that the good old patriarch could not mean, by the words sceptre and lawgiver, such princes as those chiefs of the captivity were, who, even in their most prosperous state, were at best mere tributary slaves to the princes under whom they lived, subject to their laws and capricious will, and liable to be deposed, imprisoned, or even put to death, by them. And can we think that such an imaginary dignity, which was neither hereditary nor confined to the tribe of *Judab*, could be the sceptre and lawgiver there meant? But we have sufficiently proved, in the places last quoted out of this work, that they were long departed, from them, and shall dwell no longer upon it.

(H) *Hakim* was murdered by order of his sister, A. C. 1026, in the mountain of *Moccatam*, to which he was wont to repair every morning, under pretence of holding an intercourse with the Deity. *Hamzah*, who had been his master, took the advantage of the privacy of the fact, to persuade his disciples, that he had only disappeared for a time, and would return again after a while; and the *Drusi*, his disciples, who are now masters of *Mount Libanus*, of *Berythus*, and some other cities in *Syria*, expect him as much as the *Jews* do their Messiah (1).

(46) *Copel. Arcan. Punctat.*

c. 4. §. 11.

&amp; seq.

(49) *Genes.* xlix. 10.(1) *D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient.* p. 418.(47) *Simon. Hist. Crit.* V. T.(50) See *Anc. Hist.* vol. i. p. 462, & seq. (G). vol. iv. p. 256,*Kitab Almikaid*, translated by Peter de la Croix.



a WE begin with *Spain*, where the wars between the *Saracens* and the *Christians*, which continued during the 10th century, gave them such time to breathe, that their schools were in a flourishing condition under the khalifats of *Abd-Allah* and *Abd-Al Ramab*, the latter of which reigned above 50 years with great success, whilst the *Jews* grew numerous and wealthy, and abounded with learned doctors, both *Spaniards* and of other nations. Among the latter was the celebrated *Moses*, surnamed *Cloathed with sackcloth*, because, in his coming from the eastern countries, he had been taken by some corsairs, and sold to the *Jews* of *Cordowa*, who paid his ransom out of charity. *Moses* being still destitute of every thing, and even of clothes to cover his nakedness, wrapped himself about with a sack, and in that despicable guise used daily to go and hide himself in some corner of the school, to hear their lectures. It was not long, however, before he gave them such pregnant proofs of his learning and merit, by his questions and answers, that the then professor yielded the chair to him of his own accord. He was soon after chosen chief of the nation, with a considerable income: but his desire of returning to his native country had like to have deprived them of him, had not *Hakem*, the khalif then reigning\*, put a stop to his going, for some reasons of state, and retained him to explain the thalmud to the *Spanish Jews* (I), and to determine all their controversies. *Moses*, according to the *Jewish* style, reigned with great credit and applause till the year 997, and left the throne, or chair, to his son *Enoch*. Jews in Spain in the 10th and 11th centuries. Moses Sack-cloth chosen chief A. C. 968.

*HASHEYM*, who succeeded his father *Hakem* at *Cordowa*, went still farther, and caused the thalmud to be translated into *Arabic*, whether out of curiosity to know what that so much boasted book contained, or perhaps rather to render it more common there, and so prevent the *Jews* frequently going to *Bagdad* or *Jerusalem*. *R. Joseph*, one of *Moses*'s disciples, was appointed to preside over the version, and succeeded so well in it, that it made him quite proud and arrogant, so that he strenuously opposed the election of *Enoch* to the chair. Nevertheless, *Enoch*'s party not only carried it against him, but caused him to be excommunicated; upon which he first applied to *Hasheym*; but he refusing to meddle in the dispute, *Joseph* was forced to leave *Spain*, and took the road to *Bagdad*, in hopes to have been protected by the famed *R. Hay*, who was then chief there: but he also sent him word, that he could not receive a man who had been excommunicated by the *Spanish* synagogue; so that he was obliged to retire to *Damascus*, where he died some years after, without being able to obtain a reversion of his sentence<sup>a</sup>. Thalmud translated into Arabic. R. Joseph excommunicated.

THE wars in *Spain* being still as violent during the 11th century as they had been during the 10th, the *Jews* reaped no small benefit from it during the first four years of it; in which *R. Samuel Levi*, being secretary and prime minister to the king of *Granada*, was by him created chief of the *Jewish* nation; and used all his credit to promote the interest and honour of it, and even to the sending for some of the most learned doctors from *Babylon*, *Afric*, and *Egypt*, to whom he was a very liberal benefactor. He had even the good fortune to see himself succeeded by his own son in all his dignities, though his being a haughty and arrogant youth was no small grief to his father, who was particularly famed for his humility and sweetness of temper, even in his most prosperous state. But their tranquillity was soon disturbed by an unlucky accident; for one rabbi *Halevi*, a learned and zealous *Jew*, having undertaken to convert the *Moslems* to the *Jewish* religion, to which the version of the thalmud into *Arabic*, lately mentioned, was a great help, soon awoke the jealousy of the *Granadan* king, who could not but resent so bold an attempt against the then established religion, by one that was barely tolerated. He therefore caused the *Jewish* rabbi to be apprehended and hanged; after which he began such a fierce persecution of that nation, that about 1500 families of them that lived within his dominions felt the dreadful effects of it; which proved the more severe, as they were, by a long series of prosperity, become very wealthy and powerful<sup>b</sup>; and because there was reason to fear that the other princes of *Spain* would have followed his example; nevertheless, they had the good luck to see it quickly stopt there, and without spreading itself out of that kingdom (K). R. Sam. Levi chief of the Jews. A. C. 1027. A. C. 1055. Persecuted in Granada, A. C. 1046.

\* De hoc & præced. vid. sup. vol. i. p. 423, & seq. & p. 495, & seq.

<sup>b</sup> SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 8.

<sup>a</sup> GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 130.

(I) That book was so little known at this time in *Spain*, it seems, that, when any disputes arose among them, they used to send deputies to the *Babylonish* academies, to have them decided by their doctors. The very prayers which they used on the grand expiation-day, and other national fasts, had been composed by *R. Miffim*, one of the *Babylonish* chiefs. The khalif, who was an *Ommiade*, and was apprehensive lest this frequent intercourse in the east, where the *Abassides*, his mortal enemies, reigned, should give rise to some dangerous change,

put at once an end to it, by setting up this *Moses* for their oracle; by whom all disputes and controversies were decided without going farther.

(K) However, as it was so violent while it lasted, the *Jews* took it into their head that God had caused that disaster to be bewailed a long time beforehand, because they had then kept a solemn fast all over *Spain*, on the 9th of *December*, the day on which this persecution afterwards began.



Ferdinand opposed by the bishops.

A. C. 1080.

K Peter refuses to persecute them.

A. C. 1096.

Men of learning.

Feuds and broils among them.

THEY would have undergone a more severe and destructive one under king *Ferdinand* (who, at the instigation of his bigotted wife, was going to sanctify his war against the *Saracens* by the extirpation of the *Jews*) had not the bishops, and even the pope, *Alexander II.* put a stop to his furious zeal, by publicly opposing and condemning it (L). But what most probably put them out of all danger from that monarch and his successor, was the revolution which the *Moors* caused in *Afric*, by which *Alphonso*, distressed on every side, found himself obliged to befriend and care for, instead of oppressing them, in order to make them serviceable to him with their purses and assistance. Accordingly they were promoted by him to considerable posts, and obtained such other privileges, that pope *Gregory* quite disapproved of them (M), though his censures could not prevail upon him to retract them. His grandson *Peter* was no less deaf to the remonstrances of *Nicholas de Valentia*, who endeavoured to divert him from joining in the crusade or holy war, lately published, by representing to him, that he had too many dangerous enemies in his bosom, meaning the *Jews*, to need to go so far to seek new ones. He insisted, in particular, that they hated the Christians to such a degree, that they never gave them any other than a *middling greeting* (the reader may see the meaning of that obscure expression in the margin (N);) to which he added many other incentives, equally ridiculous, to which the king, who was averse to persecution, only lent a deaf ear. However, this did not save the *Jews* from being massacred by the crusaders in many parts of *Spain*, by way of begging a blessing on their holy expedition.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these persecutions, *Spain* produced a great number of learned rabbies during this 11th century, particularly the celebrated *Samuel Cophsis*, a native of *Cordowa*, who published a commentary on the Pentateuch, the manuscript of which is still extant in the *Vatican* library. Those who have examined it, commend it as an excellent work, only too full of allegories. He died A. C. 1034. Soon after him flourished no less than five *Isaacs* at once, all of them famed for their writings, whose farther character and works the reader will find in the margin (O). But this increase of learned men did not fail of increasing their old feuds and quarrels, and still more between their disciples and them. For these, having gained a taste of polite learning, wanted to dive still deeper into the arts and sciences, which their masters were no less careful and desirous to prevent. We have had frequent occasion, through the course of their history, to observe, that they bred them up in a singular contempt for

(L) That pontiff having been acknowledged in *Spain* for the lawful pope, against his competitor *Honorius*, he wrote them a letter, in which he highly commends their laudable opposition to *Ferdinand's* bloody design against the *Jews*, by which he was going to take away the lives of those to whom probably God might grant light and immortality. He condemns his zeal as furious and unchristian, and reminds him of the example of pope *Gregory* the great, who had strenuously opposed the like persecutions, and the pulling down of the *Jewish* synagogues. He concludes with shewing them the difference between the *Saracens*, against whom the prince was going to wage war, and who were persecutors, and the mortal enemies of the Christians, and the *Jews*, who were only a kind of slaves under them (2). It hath been questioned whether this letter was directed to the bishops of *France*, or those of *Spain*; but the continual wars which the *Spanish* monarchs were waging against the *Saracens* mentioned in it, sufficiently shews that it was directed by that pontiff to the bishops of *Spain*.

(M) One of them, especially, that pope highly resented, viz. his setting up the *Jews* to be judges over Christians, for which he upbraids him with having set up the synagogue of Satan above the church of Christ (3). *Alphonso*, however, was too much intangled with his war to listen to his remonstrances; so that he let the *Jews* enjoy all their privileges and liberties, in spite of all the pontiff's orders to the contrary.

(N) He intimated by it, that when the *Jews* saw a Christian afar off coming towards them, they prayed to the gods and goddesses to destroy him; when he was come nigh enough to hear him, they wished him health and a long life; and when he was gone far enough out of hearing, they prayed to God that the earth might open and swallow him up, as it did *Corah* and his rebellious crew; or that the sea might overwhelm him, as it had done *Pharaoh* (4).

(O) One of them was called *Isaac Alphesi*, because he

was come over from *Africa*, and out of the kingdom of *Fez*, into *Spain*, probably with the *Morabethons*, or, as *Marianna* calls them, *Almoravides*, who were descended from the *Arabian Homerites*, who became Christians in the reign of *Justinian*. The *Morabethons* having conquered *Mauritania*, under their general *Abubekker*, his nephew *Joseph* extended his conquests as far as *Spain*, where his family reigned till the 12th century. And this *Isaac Alphesi* may be supposed to have come thither about the same time, where he was looked upon as the most learned man of his age, and became chief of the captivity there. His epitaph, which was wrote in hexameters, was to this purport: "Let it be engraven on this stone, that the light of this world is gone out, and that the fountain of wisdom is deposited within this tomb. Daughters of *Sion*, come and weep; the world is buried and stricken with blindness; weep and sigh, for the ark and the tables of the law are broken in pieces with this doctor (5)."

Another was the son of *Baruch*, who deduced his genealogy from *Baruch*, *Jeremiah's* secretary, and pretended that his family had passed into *Spain* at the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*. He was such a lover and master of the mathematics, that the king of *Granada* called him the Mathematician, and heard him read several lectures on that science at court. He continued in that country, greatly esteemed, till his death, which happened anno 1007, when he gave an ample proof of his repentance for having fallen out with the former *Isaac*, and having rejected all means of being reconciled to him: for, finding his death approaching, he sent his son to him to obtain his pardon; which the other, who was as near his latter end, readily granted, and, as a token of his sincerity, took care of that youth's education whilst he lived. The other three were likewise men of learning, but of the same proud leaven, and so not worth dwelling longer upon.

(2) *Alexand. II. Epist. xxxiv. p. 1183. ubi sup. lib. ix. c. 5.*

(4) *Solom. Ben Virg. p. 73.*

(3) *Greg. VII. Epist. i. lib. ix. Epist. ii. p. 277. Vide Basnag.*

(5) *Ap. Dav. Gantz, ubi sup. p. 134.*



a all kind of foreign learning; and we find, in the apostil to the text of the *Mishna*, a severe curse intailed upon him that breeds up a boy, and him that suffers his son to learn the *Greek* tongue; as if the one was equally impure as the other. But by this time we are now upon, they found it next to impossible to suppress either the knowledge of foreign tongues, or many of their studious disciples consequently from diving into their books, and conceiving a singular liking for polite literature: so that the professors now began to divide themselves on that account, some by endeavouring to suppress and condemn that profane curiosity, others by restraining it within some limits, and a third sort by giving it its full scope and liberty (P); and these last so far prevailed, that the young students began to apply themselves so closely to the study of the mathematics, and other sciences, that *Spain*, in a little time, produced a great number of learned men among them<sup>c</sup>.

It proved far otherwise in *France*, where the scarcity of rabbies of any note was such, during these two centuries, that we do not read of above five or six that distinguished themselves for their learning. The most celebrated of them was *R. Gershom*, or *Gersion*, who, whether a native of *France*, or of *Mentz* in *Germany*, as most people pretend, published there his book of constitutions, which, though it was a long time before it could meet with the approbation of the rest of the *Jewish* doctors, yet it was at length received as a body of excellent laws, about the year 1204, and its author dignified with the title of *Light of the French captivity*<sup>d</sup>. He is affirmed by some to have died *an.* 1028, and by others 40 years later. So that those who pretend that he flourished in the ninth century are egregiously mistaken. He had some eminent disciples, whose characters and writings the reader will find in the margin (Q).

But among the rest of the *French* rabbies of this century, we must not omit the author of the pretended history of *Josipp Ben Gorion*, whom, as we have elsewhere shewn, the *Jews* have substituted for the *Greek* historian of that name\*. This *Jewish* impostor, to gain the greater credit with his readers, begins with giving himself out for a royal prince and priest of the *Jewish* nation, in whose person Providence had united those two dignities, to war against their enemies. He calls himself the *Joseph* full of the spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel, fortitude, knowledge, and of the fear of the Lord; and who sacrificed his life to the defence of the sanctuary and people of God<sup>e</sup>. He adds, that one of his soldiers one day cried aloud to him, *Thou art the man of God; blessed be the God of Israel, who hath created the soul that animates thee, and hath endowed thee with such extraordinary wisdom!* And when taken by the *Romans*, their army asked each other with tears, *Is that the person so admired among the Jews, and so dreaded by the Romans? How is he caught, who was alone once able to inject terror into our army, and hath filled the universe with the fame of his valiant deeds?* *Titus* himself was no less taken with his person and courage, and raised him above all the priests and *Levites* of his nation (R).

<sup>c</sup> GANTZ & al. ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. BARToloc. ubi sup. tom. iv. p. 69, & seq. WOLF Bibl. Hæbr. sub voc. \* See Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. [292]. <sup>e</sup> Vide LADISL. Decret. lib. i. c. 10. ap. Verbocz. Corp. jur. Hungar.

(P) It was indeed in a manner impossible for them to prevent the learning of foreign tongues; for how could they that lived in *Egypt* avoid speaking *Greek*, those in the *Roman* empire *Latin*, those in *Spain* the *Saracen* or *Arabic*? Notwithstanding which, *R. Solomon*, who was professor at *Barcelona*, in this eleventh century, took upon him to excommunicate every *Jew* that should begin to learn *Greek* before he was 20 years of age; which, tho' a wide step from the rigidity of the ancient law, proved so little satisfactory, that *R. Mar*, without minding his anathema, gave these young students a full liberty to learn both the languages and sciences.

(Q) The most celebrated of them was *R. Jaacob*, the son of *Jekar*, a great musician and casuist, whose decisions are received with the greatest esteem, and cannot be rejected without incurring a crime. He is said to have flourished about the same time with his master; and to have died in the same year. The next was *R. Judah*, surnamed *Abercellonita*, who was a professor of laws at *Barcelona*, and wrote a treatise on the rights of women, and another on the various *Jewish* calculations of time; such as from the exod, from the first *Jewish* monarch, from the entry of *Alexander* into *Jerusalem*, &c. which last was followed down to the 10th century, when rabbi

*Sherirah*, formerly mentioned, obliged the *Jews* to reckon from the creation of the world. *Judah* likewise published some sermons. The last worth mentioning was *R. Moses Hadarshian*, or *The Preacher*. These two last introduced preaching in their synagogues, which had been till then much neglected; but the latter seems by his title of *Preacher* to have been the most admired, and was likewise the author of the *Beresith Rabbah*, or large comment on *Genesis*, often quoted by Christians (6) against the *Jews*, and by us frequently in their preceding history. He died in the year 1070, and left behind him a no less celebrated disciple, viz. *Solomon Far-chi*, or *the Lunatic*, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in this chapter.

(R) Thus much we thought necessary to mention, to give a sketch of the modesty and eloquence of this *Jewish* braggadocio; in which we need not wonder that a man who designed to impose such a forgery on the world, should be so lavish of his breath in blowing his own trumpet; though we may justly say, that so many of his own nation should be infatuated enough to join in the chorus, and raise his character and panegyric even beyond what he himself had done, as we have had occasion to shew at the beginning of this chapter.

(6) Vid. int. al. Pet. Galatin. v. c. l. viii. c. 11. & alib. pass. Raym. Pugio Fidei Mic. Neander & al. mult.



His history fabulous, and wrote in opposition to the true Josephus.

WE have already taken occasion to speak of his fabulous history, and the occasion of his imposing it on the world in an age so far remote from that in which he pretends to have wrote it, as well as of the time in which it began to be made known to the world, viz. A. C. 1140. His imposture hath however succeeded so well, by his pirating from the Greek and original Josephus such facts as were to his purpose, misrepresenting and adding such others as he pleased, and couching his history in the Hebrew tongue, that the Greek one became not only neglected, but suspicious, and at length rejected as a forgery by those of his own nation. So that we need not wonder if the generality of them have since extolled it to the skies, and so many learned men among the Christians have been deceived by it. As to the fuller confutation of the author and his history, and the many falsehoods, contradictions, absurdities, &c. which plainly prove its forgery, we shall, for brevity's sake, refer our readers to the authors quoted in the margin<sup>f</sup>, and proceed with our Jewish history in other nations in Europe.

Jews in Hungary, A. C. 1092.

WE begin to find them flourishing in Hungary towards the latter end of the 11th century, when St. Ladislaus, who then reigned, convened a synod, in which were made several regulations, such as if a Jew should marry, or, as the act words it, *sibi associaverit*, a Christian woman, or buy a Christian slave, they should be set at liberty, and the price given for them confiscated to the bishop<sup>g</sup>. His son Coloman being come to the throne, forbade them, by a new law, the using of Christian slaves; but permitted them to buy and cultivate lands, on condition they used no other but Pagan slaves, and settled only in such places as were under the jurisdiction of a bishop<sup>h</sup>. These two laws shew the Jews to have been numerous and powerful in that kingdom.

Success in Hungary and Bohemia.

THEY were no less so in Germany and Bohemia, where they had built many stately synagogues in most of their noted cities, particularly in the former, at Treves, Cologne, Mentz, and Frankfurt. They had likewise settled themselves in the latter ever since the 10th century, when they assisted the Christians against the irruptions of the barbarians, and for which they were allowed to have a synagogue there also (S). They underwent indeed, in several parts, some grievous persecutions from the zealots, such as those we have hinted at under the last note; but the emperor Henry (not the Vth, as the Jews have mistaken it<sup>i</sup>, but his father, who was then at variance with pope Gregory about some investitures) having declared himself for them, they were not only resettled in their antient abodes, but had, by his orders, all the goods refunded which they had been plundered of. This occasioned fresh complaints and accusations, they being charged with having magnified their losses, in order to enrich themselves by a more plentiful restitution, which, if true, they easily bore the scandal of, for the sake of the advantage they gained by it.

Protected by the emperor, A. C. 1096.

Massacred by the crusaders, A. C. 1094.

BUT what most contributed to kindle the heat and fury of the zealots against them, was the march of the crusaders through Cologne, Mentz, Worms, Spire, and other cities of Germany, where they committed fresh massacres in every one from April to July, on those that refused to be converted. The Jewish historians reckon but 5000 that were either butchered or drowned; and as to the number of those that saved themselves by dissembling, it was beyond compute<sup>k</sup>; and they are so far from having exaggerated the particulars of that persecution,

<sup>f</sup> COLODAN. Reg. decr. lib. i. ad an. 1100, apud Verbocz. ubi sup. p. 65. BEN GORION. Hist. Jud. libri sex, p. 309, & 346. <sup>g</sup> JOSIPPON seu JOSEPH

pass. <sup>h</sup> De hoc, vid. BASNAG. Hist. des Juifs, lib. ix. an. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Shalsheleth Hakkabalah, sub A. M. 4856, p. 110. <sup>k</sup> Id. ibid.

(<sup>c</sup>) We are told, however, that they were so much terrified by a variety of prodigies which seemed to threaten the destruction of the world, that having lost all hopes of the coming of the Messiah, they for the most part embraced Christianity. And indeed, if we may believe those historians, this eleventh century was remarkably pregnant with such wonders, and nothing so common as the then intercourse between this and the other world; there being scarce a night in which there were not some travellers from the one to the other. Pope Benedict XII. was seen to come from thence, mounted on a black horse, to give notice of a bishop being cruelly tormented there, because all his alms had been the fruit of his extortions; and to advise his surviving brother to open the chests of his ill-gotten wealth, and distribute it to the poor. Others came to inform against whole monasteries of nuns, who were employed in making drawers for men, which made them burn with lust towards them. All which, and many more, passed for current in those times.

However, those prodigies had not converted such numbers of the Jews, but that there was still left a quantity sufficient to stir up the zeal of a priest named Gotschal against them, who, at the head of 15000 banditti, committed the most horrid outrages against them, and was supported and encouraged in it by some of the crowned heads. He had already gone through Franconia, and was entered Hungary, when they were caught plundering the Christians as well as the Jews, ravishing their wives, and giving themselves up to all kind of debaucheries: and he was surprised in the midst of them, and slain with the greatest part of his troops (7). The landgrave of Lininghen having taken it in his head to follow his steps, and declare himself a persecutor of the Jews, had likewise made some havock among them, and penetrated as far as the Hungarian borders, when he was likewise surprised and defeated by the brave Hungarians, who were come to put a stop to his farther progress (8).

(7) Moulin's Chron. German. l. xv & xvi. p. 123—126. A. C. 1089.

(8) Id. ibid. & Pistor. Hist. Germ. tom. iii. sub

that



a that the Christians make the number of the former much greater, and the manner of it even more dreadful<sup>1</sup> (T): and as for the latter, they only made a shew of Christianity till the storm was over, and relapsed all into *Judaism* by the next year. The bishop of *Spires*, more humane than the rest, not only protected those that took refuge under him, but caused some of their persecutors to be hanged. The *Bavarian* annalists give us a still more dreadful account of those in their country<sup>m</sup>, of whom they tell us above 12,000 were slain; and all agree that the number of those who perished in other parts of *Germany* was almost infinite.

THIS was the first crusade; the next, which was published 50 years after, might have proved no less violent against them (it being promoted with great zeal and success along the *Rhine* by the hermit *Rodolphus*, who was charged with the care of it; the common cry of the preachers being then, that they must exterminate all the enemies of Christ within their own territories, before they went to seek new ones in foreign parts) had not this pulpit eloquence alarmed them time enough to give them an opportunity of retiring to *Nuremberg*, and other principal cities, where they met with a kind reception and a protection from the emperor. It must be owned, however, that that hermit's persecuting doctrine was displeasing to many Christian bishops and others, and that *St. Bernard* in particular wrote a letter to the archbishop of *Mentz*, in which he highly condemned it, and was for having that fiery zealot sent back to his solitude<sup>n</sup>. Nevertheless, the flame was spread far and near by his trumpeters, not only in *Germany*, but in most other parts of *Europe*, and vast multitudes were massacred by the Christians; besides a much greater number, if we may believe the *Jewish* chronologers, who, being driven to despair by the cruelties they were made to undergo, made away with themselves<sup>o</sup>. We are now come to the end of the eleventh century, which was closed with those butcheries in most parts of *Europe*, and with a fuller account of which our readers will easily dispense, whilst we now take a view of their more peaceable and flourishing state in the east, during the 12th century.

THE author whom we have followed, and whose character the reader will see in the mar-*Benjamin of* gin (V), tells us, that he found several considerable synagogues, and a great number of *Jews*, who lived there at their ease, and enjoyed the liberty of their religion unmolested<sup>p</sup>. That of *Bassorah*, mentioned in the last note, and situated in an island of the *Tigris*, had

<sup>1</sup> Vide Addit. ad LAMBERT SCHAFFNABURG. PISTOR. Hist. Germ. tom. iii. ad A. C. 1089. BERTHOLD. CONSTANT. Append. ad Herm. ap. WURSTIS, tom. i. p. 375. Hist. Trevor. ap. DACHER. specil. tom. xii. p. 236. <sup>m</sup> AVENTIN. Annal. Bosor. lib. v. p. 361. <sup>n</sup> BERN. Epist. 133. tom. i. <sup>o</sup> GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 133, & seq. <sup>p</sup> Itinerar. p. 59, & seq.

(T) These inform us, that there were no less than 1400 burnt at *Mentz*; and that the disorder which happened on that occasion, was the cause of one half of that city being reduced to ashes. Those of *Worms* went to beg the bishop's protection; who refused to grant it, unless they turned Christians; and as the people were very eager, they gave them so little time to deliberate, that the most intimidated of them immediately accepted of baptism; whilst others, more desperate, put an end to their own lives. Much the same was done at *Triers*, or *Treves*, where the very women, at the sight of the coming crusaders, murdered their own children; telling them, that it was much better thus to dispatch and send them into *Abraham's* bosom, than to leave them to the mercy of the Christians. Others, loading themselves with stones, flung themselves and their children into the *Rhine* (9).

(V) We shall, for want of a better guide, be chiefly obliged, for the account of the *Jews* during this 12th century, both in the east and west, to the noted traveller of their nation, *Benjamin*, surnamed of *Tudela*, a city in *Navarre*, his native place, and often quoted in this chapter; who tells us, that he had visited most of these parts. But we have had occasion before now to observe that he is, in the main, a very fabulous writer, and hath not scrupled to interlard his account with many absurd and incredible stories, to raise the credit of his nation. He hath even invented new countries, and mentioned kingdoms, cities, and places, not then in being; and to others he ascribes many ridiculous particulars, scarce worth mentioning after him. We shall, however, give our readers an instance or two by way of sample to the rest, which we design to pass by.

Of this nature is what he tells us of the city of *Pethora*, the residence of *Balaam*, said by *Moses* to have been near the river *Euphrates* (10), and where our traveller tells us was still standing the tower in which he lived, and which had been built by his magic art; and the synagogue pretended to have been built by *Ezra*, upon his leaving *Babylon* to return into *Judea* with the rest of the captivity; as if that great *Jewish* leader would spend his time in building such places in *Babylon* for his brethren, when he was going to lead them thence back into their own land. Another of his synagogues he mentions in a city built by *Omar*, one of the first and most successful khalifs, at the foot of *Mount Ararat* (11), where the ark rested, and with the remains of which he built a stately mosque; as if those materials, supposing them to have lasted ever since the flood, could be fit for such an edifice. Besides, that city did not stand at the foot of *Ararat*, but on the mouth of the *Tigris*, and seems designed to prevent the *Persians* from sailing into *India* through the *Persian* gulph, and was called *Balsora*, or *Bassorah*. These are some of the absurdities with which he hath blended the relation we are speaking of, but which hinder not its giving us the best general idea of the state of the *Jewish* nation that can be had during this century. However, as the route which he took from *Europe* thither is contrary to the method we have followed in this chapter, we shall stick to this last, and begin, as we have hitherto done, with the eastern parts, and those in particular there which lie along the *Euphrates*.

(9) Vide Hist. Germ. & al. sup. citat. & seq. & notes.

(10) See Numb. xxii. & seq. See also Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 287,

(11) Itinerar. p. 59, & seq.



Jews in the east.

Prince of the captivity's tomb, and other antiquities.

Jews at Bagdad favoured.

Not independent of the monarchs.

4000 Jews; that of *Almozal*, answering to the ancient *Nineveh*, and built of its old materials, had 7000 more. In this last he found *Zacheus*, a prince descended from the house of *David*, and *Beren al Pheres*, a famed astronomer, who associated himself as a kind of chaplain to king *Zin-Aldin* (W). Passing through *Rehobotb*, in his way to *Bagdad*, he found 2000 settled there, and 500 at *Karchemish*, famed for the defeat of *Pharoah Necho*, and situate on the banks of the *Euphrates*. *Pundebita*, or, as he writes it, *Pum-beditba*, once so famed, as we have seen, though much sunk from its pristine grandeur, and then named *Aliobari*, or *Eluebar*, had still a few doctors, though almost forsaken, and about 2000 Jews, some of whom applied themselves to the study of the law. It shewed still the tomb of *Bostenai*, a prince of the captivity, who had married a daughter of the king of *Persia*, and those of two celebrated doctors, and the two synagogues they had built before their death<sup>a</sup>. The academy of *Sora*, once so famed for being the residence of several Jewish chiefs of the lineage of *David*, as well as for the number of its scholars and learned professors, had likewise lost most of its ancient glory; and the same he says also of that of *Nabardea*, whose schools were all demolished, and the doctors retired into the west (X). We have given an account of this desertion in speaking of the foregoing century; nevertheless, though those parts had now neither academies nor learned rabbies, the Jews were still very numerous there; and our author tells us he found no less than 10,000 of them at *Obkeray*; which city he pretends had been built by king *Jechoniah*, during the *Babylonish* captivity.

From thence he came to *Bagdad*, where *Mostanged* who then reigned, tho' but two years, was a great lover and favourer of the Jews, and had a great number of them in his service. He was perfectly well acquainted with the *Hebrew*, could readily write it, and had gained some knowledge of their law. There were, however, not above 1000 Jews in that city, tho' some have enlarged them to many thousands, a thing very common among Jewish writers; but whatever their number might be, they had, he says, 28 synagogues, and ten tribunals or courts, at the head of which were ten of the most considerable of their nation, who applied themselves to the affairs of it, and were stiled the ten *Idle men*, over whom was the prince or chief of the captivity. The person who then enjoyed that dignity was stiled by them lord, and by the *Moslems* the son of *David*, he being, according to our author, lineally descended from that holy monarch<sup>r</sup>. His authority extended itself over all the Jews under the dominion of the khalif, prince of the faithful, and from the province of *Syria* quite eastward to the *Iron d Gates*, and as far as *India* (Y).

The Jewish rabbies who pretend that those eastern chiefs were independent of any other monarchs, and retained still the power of life and death, have left no stone unturned to prove that favourite point; insomuch that *Origen* himself believed that those *Affyrian* monarchs under whom they lived, being contented with their subjection and dependence, allowed them to govern their own people according to their own laws, and to inflict even death on the guilty; and proved it not only from the apocryphal book of *Susanna* against *Africanus*, but from more recent instances under the *Roman* emperors, after the destruction of the temple by

<sup>a</sup> Itinerar. p. 62, & seq.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 72, & seq.

(W) It may seem strange that a Jewish astronomer should be chaplain to a Mohammedan prince, for such was *Zin-Aldin* above-mentioned, who was brother to *Nor-Aldin* king of *Syria*, whom the Moslems revered not only as a grand conqueror, but as one of their greatest saints. But if we consider how apt the generality of the Jews were to temporize, either thro' fear, or for their own interest, we shall not be surprised to find that great astronomer so compliable to the religion of his prince (12).

(X) This last was then only famed for a synagogue, which its superstitious inhabitants had built of stones, earth, and other materials, brought from *Jerusalem* (13).

(Y) He farther tells us, that this chief was looked upon as a kind of sovereign, to whom even the Mohammedans were obliged to rise and bow as he passed, under the penalty of receiving 100 lashes. He had 100 guards that escorted him when he went to visit the khalif, and a herald cried before him, *Prepare the ways of the Lord, the son of David*. The most remote places of the Jewish nation were obliged to receive their teachers from him, by the imposition of his hands. The Jewish merchants likewise levied a kind of toll in their fairs, and paid a sort of tribute to him; the remotest provinces were

went to send him some sorts of refreshments, and other presents; besides all which, he had his own patrimony, and some lands allotted to him, to help him to keep up his grandeur, to supply his table, maintain the poor, and support some hospitals for his nation.

He was however obliged to buy this grandeur and his privileges by a tribute paid to the khalif, and by large presents which he made to his officers; which plainly shews, that if there was really a chief of the captivity still in being in this 12th century, and who still lived in such splendor (though what we have said of the persecutions they underwent in the preceding century, would induce one to believe our Jew hath greatly exaggerated the matter, and hath rather described his state according to what he formerly was, when they enjoyed more peace and favour), yet was theirs but a borrowed, or rather bought dignity, depending on the pleasure of the monarchs under whom they lived, and subject to such a tribute as they thought fit to impose upon them: so that the Jews have no great reason to boast of having still their princes of the house of *David*, and who still enjoy the regal dignity. But it is still more likely that this dignity, small and dependent as it was, had been abolished in the preceding century, as we have already shewn.

(12) Vide *Basnag. ubi sup.* l. ix. c. 8. §. 4.

(13) *Itiner.* p. 81.



a *Titus* \*. He hath been followed by others both ancient and modern, who pretended they had a power to raise a tribute on the nation, and to punish the recusants as well as other criminals with death †. We shall not repeat here what we have formerly said on the subject of the sceptre departing from *Judah* ‡ long before this time, nor on the unlikelihood that conquerors should grant such an extensive power to the conquered, notwithstanding the apocryphal story of *Susanna*, and what he quotes from other authors. What we said under the last note is sufficient to confute all the rabbinic pretences, since that power, let it extend as far as it would, Their power small and limited. was still subject to a superior one, and liable to be taken away or continued according to the will of the princes from whom they received it, by special commission under the royal signet; and so was but a precarious shadow of royal authority, which was either to be renewed by every successor upon his accession to the crown, or to become void of course. And therefore the more fair and impartial doctors of their nation have made no difficulty to give up that point (Z). Thus much we thought necessary to say concerning this pretended power of the *Babylonish* chief; we shall now follow our author thro' the other eastern provinces.

ON his leaving that of *Bagdad*, he passed through *Resen*, where he tells us † he found Jews in other eastern parts. near 5000 *Jews*, who were performing their devotions in a large synagogue; and some leagues farther about 1000 more, praying in an oratory said to have been built by the prophet *Daniel*. *Hela*, another town about five miles from that, had four synagogues, and about 10,000 *Jews*. Proceeding still eastward, he arrived at the banks of the river *Chebar*, on which is the tomb of the prophet *Ezekiel*, where he found 60 towers, every one of which was a syna- Tomb of Ezekiel revered. gogue, and not far from it the palace of *Jechoniah*, built by that *Jewish* monarch upon his being restored by *Evil-Merodach* ‡. The reader may see the account he gives of it in the margin (A). From thence he passed to *Cusa*, once the famed residence of the khalifs †, but since abandoned, wherein, however, he found 7000 of his own nation, who had but one synagogue. *Thema* was, according to him, the chief place where the *Rechabites* ‡ were still seated, and who were, as he informs us, masters of a vast territory about it: but this, as well as several other particulars, which he there affirms, concerning the ten tribes transported thither by the kings of *Assyria*, and their different settlements, &c. hath been sufficiently con- Account of the Rechabites confuted. futed by Mr. *Basnage*, to which we refer our readers †, and follow our author into *Egypt*.

HERE he found the *Jews* still more numerous, as it was a country in which they had from Jews in Egypt, the earliest times, before as well as after their total dispersion, been settled in great numbers. He reckoned no less than 30,000 in the city of *Chouts*, on the frontiers of *Ethiopia*; 2000 he saw at *Mizraim*, now *Grand Cairo*, who had two synagogues, and were divided about some trivial points relating to the division and reading of the sacred books, one sort going through the whole lecture of them in one year, as they do in *Spain* and elsewhere; and the other only once in three years. In this city it was that the chief of all the *Egyptian* synagogues resided, appointed their doctors, and took care of the affairs of the nation. Our author likewise visited the once famed land of *Goshen*, where, among other things, he found the *Jews* very numerous, in one place 200, in another 500, 300 in the city of *Goshen*, as many at in Goshen.

\* Epist. ad African. p. 144.

\* Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 256.

fore, vol. i. p. 588, &amp; seq.

&amp; seq.

† Vide int. al. SULPIT. SEVER. Hist. lib. xi. c. 2. Drus. not. p. 279.

‡ Itiner. p. 78, &amp; seq.

\* 2 Kings xxv. 27, &amp; seq.

\* See be-

† Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 820. (T).

\* Hist. des Juifs, lib. vii. c. 3. §. 10.

(Z) This is evident not only from two of their greatest rabbies, viz. *D. Kimchi* and *Abraham*, who acknowledge the regal authority and judicial power had been abolished, but much more from the learned *Maimonides*, who hath fully proved the unlawfulness of inflicting any capital punishment in any other country but in *Judea*; so that these chiefs of the captivity must have looked upon it as a violence, should the khalifs, or any other monarchs to whom they were subject, have obliged them to exert any such power, seeing there can be no sovereign tribunal, nor power of inflicting death, out of the land of *Judea*, as was hinted in a former note.

(A) This edifice, which he tells us is so situate as to have a full view of the *Chebar* on one side, and of the *Euphrates* on the other, retains still the figures of that *Jewish* monarch, and of his retinue, at the end of which is the prophet *Ezekiel*, carved on the roof. But the tomb of that prophet was still more resorted to as a place of devotion, to which even the princes of the captivity repaired every year, attended with a numerous retinue. It was likewise frequented and highly revered

by the *Persians* and *Mohammedans*; so that during all their wars, no conqueror ever dared lay hands on it. Here hung over that prophet's tomb a lamp, which burned night and day, and was maintained by the chief, and his head counsellors. There is likewise a rich library in it, to which all the *Jews* who died without children used to bequeath and send all their books; and, among the rest, they shewed the prototype of *Ezekiel's* prophecies, written, as they pretend, with his own hands (14).

We omit several other antiquities and ruins which that author describes, and saw in these parts; such as the palace of the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, turned into a den of wild beasts; the furnace into which the three companions of *Daniel* were thrown, &c. which he says were there still to be seen; though those who have been there since give us a quite different notion of the place, as the reader may see by what we have said of it in a former part †. He tells us likewise of the magnificent tomb of *Jechoniah* at *Cusa*, which is more likely to have been that of some of the khalifs or *Moslem* princes.

(14) Itinerar. ubi sup. &amp; seq.

† Vide Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 597, &amp; seq.



Two learned  
rabbies omit-  
ted.

Maimonides's  
character,

and works.

*Alexandria*, and but a few at *Damiata*<sup>v</sup>. The rest he represents as dispersed in all the other provinces and towns of *Egypt*, in great numbers, though vastly short of what they once were, when the single city of *Alexandria* was reckoned to have 100,000 of them<sup>(B)</sup>. But what is most surprising is, that he makes no mention of any of their learned doctors, tho' there were then two celebrated ones that flourished there at the very time that he pretends to have travelled through it; viz. *Abi*, a learned rabbi of *Alexandria*, who wrote a treatise on the intelligences which move the heavens, and on the influence of the planets, and flourished about the year 1150; and the great *Maimonides*, who lived about the same time at *Cairo*, and was in such repute there, that he was, and still is, reckoned the greatest man of that age and nation. We have had occasion to make frequent mention of him both in this chapter, and formerly in the *Jewish* history. The reader may see an account of his learned works in the next note (C). It must be owned, however, that, except these two, *Egypt* hath not produced during these

<sup>v</sup> Itinerar. p. 83, & seq.

(B) Our author hath not only mentioned here a city (that of *Chouts*) which is not to be found in any other, and placed that of *Goshen*, capital of the canton, near that of *Alexandria*, contrary to the situation which the sacred writings give it, but speaks of *Joseph's* granaries as still to be seen at *Cairo*, and of *Aristotle's* celebrated academy, that was resorted to by the learned from all parts of the world (15); though the former have long ago been destroyed, and the latter was built not at *Alexandria*, nor in *Egypt*, but at *Athens*.

He hath likewise made a sad blunder in the account he gives of the then reigning khalif in *Egypt* when he came thither; and hath added some other circumstances which cannot be reconciled either with each other, or with the history of that time: but as that is foreign to our present design, and would carry us beyond our bounds, we shall refer the curious to the author often quoted for the farther confutation of it (16).

(C) 1. *Pirush Hamishnah*, or a comment on that book, begun in *Spain* in the 23d year of his age, and finished in the 30th in *Egypt*, and written originally in *Arabic*, in which language several copies are still found in the *Vatican* and other public libraries; and since translated at different times, and by several hands, into *Hebrew* (17). 2dly, *Jud Chazakah, il Mishnah Hathora*, or the repetition of the law, and divided into four parts, and these into 14 books, which are still subdivided into various other titles.

The 1st part, Book I. contains the five following books, under the title of *Sepher Hamadah*, or book of knowledge. 1. *Jessode Hathorah*, or fundamentals of the law. 2. *Hadekoth*, or moral rules. 3. *Thalmud Hathorah*, or the study of the law. 4. *Havodab Zarab*, or of idolatry. 5. *Hatheshubab*, or of repentance.

Book II. intituled, *Sepher Ahavah*, book of love, contains the six following; viz. 1. Of the reading of the sacred text of *Moses*. 2. Of prayers and the sacerdotal blessing. 3. Of phylacteries on the hands, forehead, &c. 4. Of the sacred peniculaments. 5. Of blessing and consecration of all things by prayer. 6. Of circumcision.

Book III. intituled, *Zemanim*, of times, contains the 10 following; 1. Of the Sabbath. 2. Of mixtures on the Sabbath. 3. Of expiation-day. 4. Of common feasts, or intermediate days between the first and the last of the festivals. 5. Of laying aside all ferment. 6. Of the blowing of the horn or trumpet on stated days. 7. Of the annual payment of the tithes. 8. The consecration of the new moons. 9. Of fasts. 10. Of the feast of *Purim* or *Lots*, prescribed in the book of *Esther*.

Part II. Book IV. intituled, *Of women*, treats, 1. Of marriages. 2. Of divorce. 3. Of the *Jibum Achim*, or brethren marrying the deceased brother's widow. 4. Of virgins deflowered by fraud or force. 5. Of adulteresses.

Book V. intituled, *Of Holiness*, treats, 1. Of unlaw-

ful coition, incest, &c. 2. Of forbidden meats. 3. Of the due method of killing of beasts, &c.

Part III. Book VI. intituled, *Of separation*, treats, 1. Of oaths. 2. Of vows. 3. Of that of *Nazareal*. 4. Of the devoting of things and persons to sacred uses, and the estimate of their redemption.

Book VII. 1. Against mixtures of heterogeneous things. 2. Of the poor's gifts, or portion to be set aside for them. 3. Of oblations. 4. Of first tythes. 5. Of second tythes. 6. Of first fruits and other offerings for the priests. 7. Of the 7th or jubilee year.

Book VIII. intituled, *Of the sacred ministry*, treats, 1. Of the temple or sanctuary. 2. Of the vessels used in it for the divine worship. 3. Of the going of the priests into the sanctuary. 4. Of things that were not to be offered. 5. Of the offering of sacrifices. 6. Of the daily and other sacrifices. 7. Of defective sacrifices. 8. Of those to be offered on the expiation-day. 9. Of transgressions in the eating of the sacrifices.

Book IX. intituled, *Of sacrifices, or things offered*, treats, 1. Of that of the Passover. 2. Of the appearing before the Lord three times in the year. 3. Of the first-born. 4. Of transgression thro' ignorance. 5. Of those that needed not be expiated by sacrifice. 6. Of the expiation sacrifice.

Book X. intituled, *Of purifications*, treats, 1. Of defilement received from dead bodies. 2. Of the red heifer. 3. Of the leprosy. 4. Of those defilements that pollute the beds, houses, &c. 5. Of the fathers or general heads of defilements. 6. Of defilement in eating. 7. Of the pollution or cleansing of vessels. 8. Of baths and washings.

Part IV. Book XI. intituled, *Of damages*, treats, 1. Of sundry kinds of damages to another's property. 2. Of theft. 3. Of restoring that which is stolen or lost. 4. Of pledges. 5. Of manslaughter, and the preserving of the innocent manslayer.

Book XII. intituled, *Of possessions and acquisitions*, treats, 1. Of buying and selling. 2. Of public acquisitions by hunting, fishing, &c. 3. Of neighbours, and the rights of neighbourhood. 4. Of the duty of messengers sent, and of their punishment for neglect, fraud, &c. and of the rights of society and commerce. 5. Of servants.

Book XIII. intituled, *Of judgments, or sentences to be passed by the judges*, treats, 1. Of hiring and hire. 2. Of lending, pledging, and restoring. 3. Of mutual lending and borrowing. 4. Of the doer or guilty person. 5. Of inheritance.

Book XIV. intituled, *Of the judges*, treats, 1. Of the *Sanhedrin*, or grand council. 2. Of witnesses and their depositions. 3. Of recusants or rebellions. 4. Of mourning and mourners. 5. Of kings and war. These are the chief heads of that celebrated treatise *Jad Chazakah*, or *Strong Hand*, of which we thought proper to give this short scantling, that our *English* readers might frame an idea of his clear and exact method of treating

(15) *Itinerar. ubi sup. p. 115, & seq.*

(16) *Ibid. p. 124, & seq. Vide Bafnag. ubi sup. l. ix. c. 8. §. 16, & seq.*

(17) *Vide Pocock, post. Mos. Bartoloc. ubi sup. Wolf. Biblioth. Hebræa. p. 837, & seq.*



a these latter ages many men of note, we shall therefore leave it, and pass thence into *Palestine*, where we shall hardly find them in greater plenty.

Our author tells us, that he found at *Tyre*, in his way thither, about 500 of his nation, some few of whom were well versed in the thalmud. Most of the rest were employed in the glass manufacture, the *Tyrian* glass being then in great esteem. The *Samaritans*, having abandoned their ancient capital, were retired some to *Cæsarea*, where he found about 200, and about 100 more at *Sichem*, which last was become the seat of their religion. The priests there boasted themselves lineally descended from *Aaron*, and never married out of their own family, that their succession might be preserved unmixed and untainted. They are very strict in solemnizing their festivals, and offer up their sacrifices on *Mount Garizzim*, where they pretend the altar was made of those very 12 stones which *Joshua* caused to be reared into a heap in the midst of *Jordan*, upon his miraculously passing that river†. They are scrupulously strict in their washings, and the choice of their cloaths, and never wear those anywhere else, in which they go to the synagogue.

*JERUSALEM*, though once the seat of the *Jewish* religion, and so much sighed after by the *Jews*, had scarcely 200 of that nation in it, who were all woollen-dyers, and paid a certain tribute for being the only ones employed in that business. They were settled in one of the quarters of the city, under *David's Tower*, and made but a mean figure in it; and, from a false notion which prevails among them, that there is still one of the walls of the sanctuary left standing, they commonly chose to go and offer up their prayers before it (D). Other cities of *Judea* were still more destitute of them, of whom he tells us he found two in one, twenty in another, most of them dyers. That of *Shunam* had the most, that is, about 300. *Ascalon*, once one of the capitals of the *Philistines*, had 553, the greater part of whom were of the *Samaritan* sect, a few of them *Caraites*, and the rest thalmudists.

*UPPER Galilee*, or, as it was commonly called, *Galilee of the Gentiles*, had a much greater number of them, and it was into that province most of them retired after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and where they afterwards founded the famed academy of *Tiberias*, often mentioned in this chapter; and yet our author found but 50 of them who had a synagogue, and

† De hoc vid. Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 553, 554.

and ranging each subject; all which he treats with such perspicuity and strong reasoning, as is far above all that have gone before him, or indeed since. The reader may see a further account of this author and his books in *Wolf's* and *Bartolucci's Bibliotheca's*, whilst we content ourselves with just mentioning the titles of the rest of his works.

3. His third treatise is intituled, *Moreh Newokim*, or the director or expounder of perplexed texts or places of Scripture.

4. His fourth is the *Sepher Hamitzvot*, the book of commandments, or an exposition of the precepts of the *Mosaic* law, both positive and negative.

5. His epistle or discourse on the resurrection of the dead.

6. His southern epistle or letter to the *Jews* inhabiting the southern parts of the world, exhorting them to continue stedfast in the *Jewish* faith.

7. His letter to the doctors of *Marseilles* in *Provence*, which is a kind of answer or confutation of the common *Jewish* notion about the infallible influence of the stars, and of a *Jewish* impostor who called himself the *Messiah*.

8. The epistles to the great light, that is, to *Maimonides* himself, and written to him by the learned *Jewish* doctors of *France* and *Spain*, with his answers to them.

9. A set of sermons written by him, and mentioned in his treatise on the sanhedrin, and by the author of the *Shalsheleth Hakkabalab*, p. 43.

10. His logic, divided into 14 chapters, the MS. of which is in the *Vatican* library.

11. His treatise on the preservation of health, dedicated to the king of *Egypt*, the MS. in the *Bodleian* library.

12. His physical aphorisms, and other small treatises on diseases and their cures.

13. His garden of health, treating of animals, plants, stones, and other products of the earth.

14. Some other physical treatises in *Arabic*, and mentioned by *Dr. Pocock*, senior.

15. His book of the knowledge of God, by the help of his creatures.

16. His treatise on the soul.

17. Comment on *Hippocrates*.

18. — on the law.

19. — on *Avicen*.

20. — on the *Gemarrab*.

21. *Pirke Moshe*, or physical extracts out of *Galen*.

22. Questions and answers concerning various customs.

23. Questions and answers on other subjects.

24. On the thirteen articles of faith.

25. His manuscript copy of the pentateuch, written with his own hand.

These are the most noted of his works. We omit some others of less moment, besides those which himself mentions in some of his treatises, but which are not now to be found. Those who desire to know more of him and his works, may consult, among others, the authors quoted in the margin (18).

(D) Our author hath embellished his relation of this ruined metropolis with a description of several noble antiquities still to be seen there, though with as little truth as what is pretended of the wall; it being plain, that the *Romans* demolished all before them, and, according to *Christ's* prediction, left not one stone upon another of that sacred building. However, he tells of the stables of king *Solomon*, the tomb of *David*, and other antiquities of the same nature, not worth repeating after him; the reader may see all that is remaining of that ancient city and sepulchral monuments, in the description we have given of its ruined state in a former part †.

(18) *Bartoloc. & Wolf Biblioth. Rabb. vid. & Sepher Shalsheleth Hakkabalab*, p. 44. *Juchasin*, p. 131. *J. Buxtorf prefat. in Maim. Moreh Newocim*. *R. Claverius Dissert. de Maimon. & ejus operibus*. *Hotting. Thesaur. Morin. Exercit. Bibl. Bagnage Hist. ubi sup.* † See *Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 582, & seq.*



the rest of the town hath nothing left worth notice, but its salubrious, or, as the *Jews* always styled them, miraculous waters, of which we have formerly spoken<sup>1</sup>. However, another *Jewish* traveller<sup>2</sup>, who was there about 25 or 30 years after, gives a quite different account of that academy and its doctors, whom he went thither to consult; and as it is hardly to be imagined either that it could have recovered itself in so short a time from the abject condition in which our author represents it; or that this latter, who strives every-where else to raise the glory of his nation, should have any private motive to eclipse that of this city; so there can be no other way to reconcile those two travellers, but by supposing that it had undergone some severe change just before our *Benjamin* came to it, occasioned by the incursions of the *Arabs*, who actually plundered and ravaged it several times, till *Soliman* caused its walls, which had been formerly demolished, to be built up again; upon which it began to be better inhabited both by *Jews* and *Turks* (E). However, as there was a synagogue then extant, and must be supposed to have had some doctors even in *Benjamin's* time, there may have been some more come thither since, enough to verify what *Aben Ezra* says of them.

Jews in  
Greece.

Some Samari-  
tans.

Jews at Con-  
stantinople.

Stripped of  
their privi-  
leges.

Hardly used.

FROM *Palestine* our author passed into *Greece*, where he found about 200 *Jews*, who dwelt on and about *Mount Parnassus*, and lived on the product of it, which was chiefly pulse. They had some rabbies over them; but, whatever be the reason, they have been since forbidden to settle within some leagues of it. He found 300 of them at *Corinth*, and 2000 at *Thebes*, who were either dyers or silk-weavers. The rabbies in this last were so learned, that those only of *Constantinople* could equal them, though we can hear nothing of their productions in that kind. The two most learned of them were of the *Samaritan* sect. There were some more scattered here and there, some at *Lepanto*, others at *Patras*, and other parts of the *Turkish* empire, but were neither numerous nor wealthy, and, as for learning, not to be compared to those that flourished in the west, of whom we shall speak by-and-by. From *Greece* he took in his way to *Constantinople* the famed city of *Agripou*, where he found 200 *Jews* (F), and near the same number in two other cities mentioned in the last note, and still more unknown to us.

WHEN he came to *Constantinople*, he found about 2000 *Jews* settled in the quarter or suburb called *Galata*, or *Pera*, where we formerly took notice they had been settled by the emperor *Theodosius*, and where they lived still, and carried on the silk manufacture, and several of them were merchants. Besides these, there were about 500 *Caraites*, who nevertheless lived peaceably enough with the rest, though their quarter was divided from that of the others by a wall, to prevent any communication between them. *Theodosius* had granted them the privilege of having a peculiar magistrate over them, viz. the governor of the suburb; but they were afterwards stripped of it by *Manuel Comnenus*, and made subject to the common magistrates. It is likely that he had already done so when our traveller came thither, since he tells us, that they were hated and insulted both by *Turks* and *Greeks*, though that emperor had a physician of their nation, who made use of all his interest with him in their favour. He adds, that they were forbidden to ride on horses through the streets of the city, and were commonly insulted and pelted by the populace, who came also and broke forcibly into their houses, and committed such outrages among them, that they might be said to live under the hardest and most shameful slavery; notwithstanding which, they have still kept their settlement there, and the quarter in which they live is by the *Franks* called from them the *Jewry*.

FROM *Constantinople* our author passed into *Italy*, where the first thing he takes notice of is the feuds and hostilities which reigned between the inhabitants of *Genoa*, *Pisa*, and other cities of that republic, on which account the *Jews* were but few in these parts; for whenever

<sup>1</sup> Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 194 (A).

<sup>2</sup> ABEN EZRA, ap. Basnag. ubi sup. lib. ix. c. 8. §. 25.

(E) Accordingly the author of a book, intituled, *The genealogies of the just in the land of Israel* (19), who is much more modern than either of the former, assures us, that in his time this city had two kinds of academies situate without its gates, the one small and the other larger. And *R. Judah Jonah*, who embraced Christianity, and died at *Rome* about the middle of the 16th century, tells us, that he had studied in one of them. We read of another at *Saphelab*, much more famous than either of the others, but which in all likelihood was not yet in being when *Benjamin* was there, since he takes no notice of it (20).

(F) This city, which he says is situate on the sea, and frequented by merchants from all parts of the world, is supposed to be the ancient *Chalcis*, near the *Negropont*; but he mentions some others which he pretends to

be of equal splendor and greatness, such as those which he calls *Jabasteriza* and *Rabenica*, in which he says he found a good number of his own nation, but which are not to be found in any maps, or in any other author. He likewise mentions that of *Seleucia*, where the *Jews* lived very quietly under the emperor *Manuel Comnenus*, who permitted them to have a chief of their own, who should immediately depend on him; which invited great numbers of that nation to come and settle there, and carry on several trades and manufactures. This is somewhat different from the account he gives of that prince's treating those of *Constantinople*, as we shall see under the next paragraph: so that it is likely they must have been guilty of some misdemeanour in that metropolis, which occasioned their being more hardly used there.

(19) Vide Basnag. ubi sup. l. ix. c. 8. §. 25.

(20) Id. ibid. & seq.



a any such quarrels happened, let which ever side get the uppermost, they were sure to be oppressed. He went thence to *Rome*, where he found them in greater numbers, and several learned rabbies among them, particularly *R. Jeckiel*, who was superintendant of the pope's finances. *Capua* was no less famed for the number and learning of her doctors, tho' it had but 300 Jews in it; the chief of whom they styled the prince of the nation, though his authority did not extend even over all the Jews in *Italy*, if it did over any, except the *Capuans*. He found 500 at *Naples*, 200 at *Salerno*, and particularly in this last the learned *Solomon*, a priest, the *Grecian Eliab*, and *R. Abraham*, a native of *Narbonne*, who held the first rank. There were some others settled at *Maïsi*, *Benevento*, *Ascoli*, and *Trani*, which last was the rendezvous for those who embarked for the pilgrimage of the *Holy Land*. The islands of *Sicily* and *Corfica* had likewise a good number of them, especially the former, where he found about 200 at *Messina*, and 500 at *Palermo*.

He passed thence into *Germany*, where he found them not only more numerous, quiet, and peaceable, but likewise more zealous, devout, and hospitable to strangers, bewailing the desolation of their city and temple, and in longing expectation of hearing the *Voice of the turtle-dove*, as they term it, by which they mean their glorious recall into that once happy land (G). He penetrated as far as *Bohemia*, which he tells us was then called the *New Canaan*, because the *Bohemians* sold their children to all the neighbouring nations. Thence passing over into *France*, by the way of *Barcelona* and *Girona*, where he says the Jews were but thin, he came to *Narbonne*, where he found 300, and at their head the famed *R. Calonymo*, said to be lineally descended from *David*, who was very powerful and wealthy, especially in lands, which had been bestowed on him and his ancestors on account of the signal services they had done to the lords of that country; that city was looked upon as the centre of the *Jewish* religion and nation. *Montpelier* was then full of *Turks*, *Greeks*, *Christians*, and *Jews*, who resorted thither from foreign parts. In the neighbourhood of it was *Lunel*, where was kept the *Holy Assembly*, which applied itself to the study of the divine law night and day. *Mesbullam*, who then presided over it, had five sons equally learned, one especially, in the *thalmud*, and who fasted often; and here the strangers, who came to learn, were maintained and supplied with every thing at the public charge, that nothing might divert their attention from their studies. Our author found likewise *Jewish* synagogues at *Marseilles*, *Arles*, and other places, and not only in great cities, but in borough towns; and concludes his account with that of the city of *Paris*, where he found an assembly much given to the study of the law, and to hospitality, and received all the Jews who came thither as so many brethren (H). Before we conclude this 12th century, it will be necessary to give our readers a short account of some other Jews dispersed into other parts, according to the relation which another rabbi of theirs, named *Petachiah*, hath left us of them (I).

(G) That exposition is taken from the book of the *Canticles* (21), and the Jews, especially in the northern parts, expect their recall to be sudden, and as it were in the twinkling of an eye, and therefore endeavoured to keep themselves in a proper mood for it: for they think that those who are either too impatient for, or mistrustful or careless about it, shall have no share either in that great blessing, or in the more glorious one of the resurrection.

(H) By this account of our author, it is plain the Jews were very much dwindled in the east and west, both in number and wealth; especially along the *Euphrates*, where they had been formerly so populous as to have been reckoned to amount to 900,000. They were still fewer and worse treated in *Judea* by the crusaders; and though we have observed that they then refuged and spread themselves all over the west, yet by the small numbers which our author found in every place he came to, it is plain they could not amount to a very great bulk; and yet one may safely say, that, by the tenor of his whole relation, he has spared no pains to make them appear as considerable as he could in number, wealth, learning, and figure. And it is no less a wonder that so many learned men as they had then amongst them, who applied themselves so closely to the study of the Scriptures, and prophecies, should reap so little fruit from all their pains and study, and confirm themselves and their disciples in their unbelief, instead of

finding out their fatal mistake, and acknowledging the Messiah to have been come, according to the time prefixed by Providence.

(I) This rabbi was born at *Ratisbon*, and travelled not only through most parts where *Benjamin* had been; but doth so exactly agree with him, as if they had copied each other; so that we shall forbear repeating from this what hath been said by the other, but take notice only of such facts or curious particulars as are not mentioned by him.

He tells us he was at *Jerusalem* when the crusaders were masters of it. It was in the year 1181 that *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* took it; so that he seems to have been on his travels much about the same time with the other. He did not however write the relation we are speaking of (which is intitled, *Peregrinatio Rabbi Petachia, R. Isaaci Albi, & R. Nachmanis, Ratisbona ortorum, fratres; circuevit vero Rabbi Petachia universas regiones ad fluvium usque Sambation, atque res omnes novas mirasque a Deo editas, quas intuitus est audiuitque, memoria causâ consignavit literis, ut populo suo Israelitico notæ fierent & in lucem protraherentur occulta*); but the two brothers there mentioned are supposed to have compiled it from his memoirs, and what he told them by word of mouth. Some name likewise a third author, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, who had also a hand in it; whereas *Benjamin* died an. 1173.



R. Petachiah's  
account of  
them in Tar-  
tary,

THE account he gives of those which he saw in *Tartary*, is, that they were heretics, that is, -a that they did not observe the *traditions of the fathers*, and upon his asking them the reason why they did not, they answered, that they had never heard of any : they were, however, such strict observers of the Sabbath, that they cut the bread on *Friday* evening which they were to eat on that day : they hardly stirred from their seats all that day, eat their victuals in the dark, and knew of no other prayers but those which were contained in the book of *Psalms*.

Nineveh.

WHEN he arrived at the *New Nineveh*, he found about 6000 *Jews* there, whose chiefs were called *David* and *Samuel*, two near relations, descended from *David*. All the *Jews* of that country were obliged to pay them a certain capitation, one half of which was to be conveyed to the lieutenant of the king of *Babylon*, the other belonged to them. They had lands of their own, fields, gardens, and vineyards, well cultivated. It was, it seems, here, as well as in *Persia*, b *Damascus*, &c. the custom among them not to maintain any fingers, but the chiefs, who kept at their table a number of doctors, obliged them, sometimes one, sometimes another, to perform that office. Their authority was so great, that they could punish strangers, as well as those of their nation, when, upon their pleading before them, they were found in the wrong; and kept a prison for all such delinquents (K).

In Bagdad.

UPON his coming to *Bagdad* he found about 1000 *Jews* settled there; but speaks of 2000 disciples under the chief of the synagogue, and all learned men. These sit on the ground whilst he teaches them from a high desk covered with a gold tissue; and every one hath a copy containing the twenty-four books of the sacred writ. The *Jewish* women go out veiled, and avoid speaking to strangers, either in the streets, or even at their homes. We shall c

His account of  
the chiefs.

only add, with respect to the chief here, to what we mentioned out of *Benjamin*, that, upon the death of *Daniel*, who left no male successor, the *Jews*, who had preserved the right of choosing their chief, divided themselves, one party nominating *David*, and the other *Samuel*, to that dignity, both lineally descended from *David*; which division still subsisted when our author left *Bagdad*; where, he adds, the *Jews* were treated with great mildness, and were exempt from any tribute to the king, and only paid a piece of gold to the chief of the synagogue (L). But they were used with greater severity in *Persia* (where nevertheless they were computed to amount to 600,000); for which reason he only ventured through one of the *Persian* cities. He went thence into *Judea*, of which he gives much the same account as his brother *Benjamin*; but adds, that he sought in vain for *Lot's* wife turned into a statue of salt, d and believed that it was no longer in being. It is however affirmed, that they had since found out a stump of it, which, if it hath not already, may in time grow up to its pristine shape and bulk. What he tells us about the sepulchre of *Abraham*, and of their having substituted another with three bodies in it, to deceive passengers, is rather too fabulous to deserve a place here; so that having now gone through the most material account of our two *Jewish* travellers, we shall supply the rest from other authors, with respect to some other countries and facts which they have passed by.

Number of  
Jews in Persia.

(K) Our rabbi tells us, that he fell sick during his stay at *Nineveh*, and was given over; and, to his greater grief, was informed, that the custom was, to confiscate one half of the effects of those strangers that died there to the use of the governor. To avoid which, as he had very rich cloaths, and other wares, he caused himself to be carried over the *Tigris* in the night, on a hurdle made of reeds; and not only baulked the governor, but recovered his health, by breathing a purer air. As he sailed down that river, he saw synagogues in every city and town; and entered into the garden of one of the chiefs of one of them, which he found stored with all manner of fruits, not excepting the mandrake mentioned by *Moses* (22), and of which we have given an account in a former volume †.

(L) To shew that our author is not behind-hand with *Benjamin*, or any of his brethren, in relating of miracles, we shall mention a remarkable one that happened here. The king, who had a great kindness for the *Jewish* chief, took it into his head to see the body of the prophet *Ezekiel*, which lies there buried in the stately tomb lately mentioned. *Samuel* as stiffly refused it, thinking it impious to expose sacred things to the view of the profane. The king still insisting upon it, he told him, that it would be better to begin with the tomb of *Baruch*, the son of *Neriah*, who was the prophet's secretary, and lay buried near his master; whereupon the *Ishmaelites*, who were employed in opening his tomb, were all

struck dead; for which reason that task was turned over to the *Jews*. These, being obliged to obey, kept a three days fast before they ventured to open his tomb; and, upon having done so, discovered his coffin and some of the cloaths; whereupon the king, thinking it wrong that two such saints should enrich one and the same place, ordered his corpse to be transplanted elsewhere; but upon having carried his coffin, which was of marble, about a mile from thence, it fixed itself in such a miraculous manner, that it could never be moved farther; and, the saint having moreover declared that to be the place where he designed to lie, they were obliged to let his bones rest there, since their miraculous heaviness would not permit them to move them farther. He is no less eloquent in describing the marvels of the tomb of *Ezekiel*; but, instead of following him, we shall close this note with the order which is there observed in their synagogues.

It is not, it seems, allowed there to any-body to tune or sing the psalms and prayers, but to the persons appointed by the chief; to which the people only answer *Amen*. And of these, one of them begins the prayer, another the praises, &c.; and if any of them sings out of tune, the chief beckons to him with his hand, and makes him get into the right note. They are all obliged to pull off their shoes at their going into the synagogue, and to continue there barefoot during all the service.

(22) *Genesis xxx. 14.* † *See Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 441 (Y).*



- a We have already taken notice, that St. *Bernard*, who was a great enemy to the *Albigenses*, Jews protected by the popes, A. C. 1145, & seq. was as great a favourer of the *Jews*, and inclined the then pope *Innocent II.* on their side. What still more contributed to it was their approaching him with uncommon respect as he was making his grand entrance into *Paris*, and presenting him with the roll or volume of their law (a ceremony which was used long before at *Rome* on the pope's installation), who, upon receiving it at their hands, returned them this answer, *I reverence the law given by God to Moses, but condemn your exposition of it, because you still expect the Messiah, whom the catholic church believes to be Christ, who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost.* His successor *Alexander III.* became likewise a great protector of them, and forbade the people to affront them on their Sabbath and other festivals, or on any other occasions, as they had been wont to do; and under his protection they flourished to such a degree, that the little town of *Cozzi* in the *Milanese*, the cities of *Monza*, *Ricca Nova*, and others in the march of *Ancona*, produced great numbers of learned rabbies<sup>a</sup>.

- THEY were no less powerful in *Spain*, where one of them, named *Joseph*, was prime minister to *Alphonso VIII.* and had a coach of state and guards attending him. He was however undermined by one of his own creatures, named *Gonzales*, who, under pretence of filling that monarch's coffers, prevailed upon him to grant him eight of the principal *Jews*, such as he should pitch upon, whom he accordingly caused to be beheaded, and confiscated their estates, part of which he gave to the king, and the rest he kept. He afterwards offered a much larger sum for the grant of twenty more; but *Alphonso* rather chose to confiscate their estates, in order to defray the charges of the war, without shedding their blood; and they were so glad to save their lives and liberty at any rate, that they poured immense sums into his treasury<sup>b</sup>. But what farther ingratiated them to him, was, his falling deeply in love with a beautiful young *Jewess*, to whom he sacrificed his honour and interest, and, for her sake, to her nation<sup>c</sup>; for the *Jews*, taking that advantage, were become so powerful and insolent, that the court and clergy became quite scandalized at it; and at length dissolved the charm by the death of the beloved object (M). The *Jews*, however, went on thrivingly till the dissension between their doctors, mentioned in the last note, disturbed the union which had till then reigned among them. It was during this quiet interval, or perhaps a little before this time, that, according to the *Jewish* chronologers<sup>d</sup>, copies came to be dispersed of the sacred *Hebrew* according to the manuscript of the celebrated *Hillel*, which had appeared some time before, at what year cannot be guessed, nor what became of it; but in which two verses were found wanting in the xxist chapter of the book of *Joshua* (N). A. C. 1140.

THE *Jews* did not fare so well in *France*, where they were accused of the murder of St. *William*, and were condemned to the flames for it<sup>e</sup>, as they justly deserved, provided those only had suffered punishment who shared in the guilt. But that was seldom the case; at least the odium it brought upon the rest exposed them to the insults of the populace (O). At *In France, by Philip.*

<sup>a</sup> BARTOLOC. ubi sup. & 19.

<sup>b</sup> SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 98.

<sup>c</sup> MARIANA de reb. Hisp. lib. xi. c. 18,

<sup>d</sup> GANTZ TZEMACH, sub an.

<sup>e</sup> ROB. DE MONTE, append. ad chron. Sigeb. an. 1177.

(M) They not only made away with the young charmer, but caused some spectre to appear to the king, and to preach chastity and repentance to him; and the defeat which the *Moors* gave him at that time was cried up as a just punishment for his crime. However, the *Jews* flourished so well under him, that R. *Eliakim*, who was then in great esteem there, and composed his ritual of all the ceremonies used in every synagogue, commonly stiled the *ritual of the universe*, reckons no less than twelve thousand *Jews* in the city of *Toledo*.

They were no less considerable in *Andalusia*, where great numbers applied themselves closely to the study of divinity and other sciences, till they came at length to divide themselves into three different sects, which *Maimon*, who then flourished, hath given an account of, and looked upon this rupture as one of the sad consequences of the abolition of their sanhedrin (23). We refer our curious readers to the book, for the farther particulars of it, and the sad effects which he ascribes to it.

(N) These were the 36th and 37th verses, which mention the four cities of refuge appointed in the tribe of *Reuben*: but which, being found in the book, made *Grotius* imagine they had been since transplanted from thence into the text of *Joshua* above-mentioned, tho' without any foundation, seeing they are not only found there in the Septuagint, or *Greek* version, which is allowed to be more ancient than *Hillel's* manuscript; but likewise ex-

plain that text, by telling us, that those towns were on this side *Jordan*, and on one side of *Jericho*. Is it not therefore more likely that they were either overlooked by *Hillel*, or by his transcribers, than that they were brought thither from the book of *Chronicles*? And if the tribe of *Reuben* was, like the rest, to have its cities of refuge, is it not more probable that *Joshua* should mention them, as he hath done the others, than that he should have omitted them? Since therefore all the *Hebrew* copies, Septuagint, and other versions, have those two verses, why should the single manuscript of *Hillel's*, or rather the copies of it, which are not of above 500 years standing, be deemed of more authority than them all?

(O) Those of *Languedoc*, in particular, were obliged to redeem themselves from the most barbarous insults, which they were commonly exposed to, but more particularly on the *Easter* festival, by obtaining a treaty with the bishop of *Beziers*, by which he engaged to protect them night and day, from *Palm Sunday* to *Easter Day*, and to shut the church gate to any Christian that should break into their houses; and they to pay him a certain tribute yearly. This treaty, which was dated A. C. 1160, procured them some respite, till *Philip Augustus* banished them out of his dominions, as we are going to relate.

(23) *More Nuch. par. i. c. 71. p. 133, & seq.*



Recalled by  
him.

Crucify a  
Christian  
youth,  
A. C. 1193.

Jews in Eng-  
land obtain  
new burying-  
grounds,  
A. C. 1179.

Persecuted all  
over England.

length king *Philip*, surnamed *the August*, under pretence of devotion, not only banished them a out of the kingdom, but confiscated all their wealth, and only permitted them to sell their household goods, which yet they could get none to buy, insomuch that they were thereby reduced to the lowest misery, and great numbers forced to sink under it<sup>f</sup>. This happened, according to some, A. C. 1170, according to others, 1182 or 1186 (P). His zeal, however, soon gave way to policy; and, whatever his private motive might be, he ordered them to be recalled; for which he was as highly blamed by the zealots as they had before applauded him, and for which he found no better excuse to silence their outcries, than by pretending he did it to extort more money from them to carry on the crusade.

THEY returned accordingly in great numbers, though their stay proved but short; for, being become numerous and insolent, as well as incorrigible, to use our author's words, in the matter of crucifying Christian children, they assembled themselves, by the queen mother's permission, in a castle on the river *Seine*, where they crucified a youth, after having cruelly scourged, and crowned him with thorns; which obliged the king to come thither in person, and to cause eighty of them to be burnt alive<sup>g</sup>. But this did not save him from being blamed for recalling them, or the success which our king *Richard* had afterwards over him, from being considered as a just punishment upon him.

THOSE in *England*, who had been banished out of it ever since the year 1020, and had made loud complaints against the hardships they suffered by it, had since found means to settle themselves again in it; and were become so numerous in the reign of *Henry II.* that, having then but one burying-ground in *London*, they petitioned that monarch to have some new ones, which were readily granted to them<sup>h</sup> (Q). But they underwent a most terrible punishment under his successor *Richard I.* when having ventured, contrary to the express prohibitions against it, to assist at his coronation, they were discovered, and overwhelmed with blows, and dragged out of the church half-dead; which so exasperated the populace, that they forced themselves into their houses, and killed all they met. From that metropolis the flame spread into the country; and, though the government published a proclamation by the very next day after the coronation to suppress the fury of the people, yet the persecution lasted near that whole year (R), which was, according to most chronologists, the year 1189 or 1190<sup>i</sup>, and with it we shall close this twelfth century.

BUT,

<sup>f</sup> GANTZ, ubi sup.      <sup>g</sup> ALBERIC. Trium Font. chronic. sub A. C. 1182. F. DANIEL. Hist. de Franc. tom. i. p. 1269, & seq. BASNAG. ubi sup. c. 12. §. 23, & seq.      <sup>h</sup> POLYD. VIRG. l. xiii. p. 239.      <sup>i</sup> MAT. PARIS, p. 108. TRIVEL. Chronic. gener. sub an. 1190.

(P) This persecution did not go without an excuse; for the author of that prince's life tells us (24), it was occasioned by their crucifying a youth at *Paris*, named *Richard*, which, he adds, was commonly done by that hated nation once a year. This is no new thing alleged against them; and most of the persecutions they have undergone in this and the subsequent centuries, have been ascribed either to some crucifixion, to their stealing some consecrated wafer, and offering the vilest indignities to it, or to some such abominable crime, out of hatred to Christianity; which seldom failed of being discovered in such a miraculous manner, as seemed to authorize the most cruel punishments they inflicted on them.

Thus the *Richard* above-mentioned, being buried in a common church-yard, became so famed for his miracles, that they have made a martyr of him, and removed his body into the church of the *Innocents*, whence, we are told, the *English*, in the reign of *Charles V.* stole it away, and left nothing behind but his head. However, it was on account of this pretended crucifixion that they were condemned to that cruel banishment (25), from which, those only saved themselves who embraced Christianity; after which their synagogues were turned into churches. *French* authors, however, differ much about the true motives of this banishment and recall, which we have no room to enter into a detail of; the reader therefore may consult the authors quoted in the margin (26).

(Q) They represented to him, that they were forced to bring their dead from distant places, stinking and nau-

seous, to *London*, or leave them exposed without burial; which allegations were found so just, that they were allowed burying grounds in most towns where they were settled.

(R) The occasion of this prohibition was a superstitious notion then reigning, that the *Jews*, being most of them conjurers, might by some means bewitch the new king; to prevent which, they were forbidden, under the severest penalties, to assist either at his entry or coronation. But as several of them were come from far, and had put themselves to great charge, they were unwilling to lose their trouble and cost; and, being unknown at court, thought they might easily disguise themselves so as to escape being discovered. It proving otherwise, not only the court and city, but most towns where any *Jews* were found, took fire against, and massacred, great numbers of them.

They underwent a more severe persecution when the king lifted himself among the crusaders. They had indeed made sure of his favour by the vast sums they furnished him towards that expedition; but the people, not satisfied with it, resolved to make a clearer riddance of them. They began their bloody work at *Norwich*, *Stamford*, *Edgemont*, and other places, where they made a horrid slaughter among them. But the most dreadful was at *York*, where about 1500 of them had seized on the city, and, being overpowered, offered to capitulate, and to buy their lives by dint of money. Their proposal being rejected, one of the most desperate among them cried out, that it was better to die bravely for

(24) Rigord. de gest. Phil. August. hist. Franc. tom. iv. p. 61. (25) Rob. de Monte appen. ad chron. Sigeb. A. 1180. Pistor. hist. German. tom. xi. Fascicul. tempor. ibid. tom. iii. p. 78. Basnag. ubi sup. l. ix. c. 12. §. 16. (26) Conf. auct. sup. citat. & Naucler. chron. gener. 40. tom. ii. sub A. C. 1182. Spond. sub A. C. 1198. N. 9. Alberic. Trium Font. chronic. sub A. C. 1179 & 1182.



a BUT, before we pass into the next, we shall, according to our promise a little higher, give a short account of the most celebrated rabbies who flourished during that interval, it having, as we there hinted, produced a greater number of them than any before or since, especially as most of them have been often quoted through the course of the *Jewish* history. We begin with the learned rabbi *Nathan Ben Jechiel*, chief of the *Jewish* academy at *Rome* about the beginning of this century, and author of the book called *ערוך*, *Haruk*, wherein he explains all the terms of the *thalmud* in so copious a manner, that he hath in some measure exhausted that matter; inasmuch that those who have come after have rather plundered than improved him, particularly the great *Buxtorf*, who made frequent use of his remarks without quoting him (S). Learned men in the 12th century. R. Nachman.

b THE next in time, though superior in learning and merit, was the great *Aben Ezra*, or, as his name written at length imports, *Abraham Ben Meir Aben Ezra*, and surnamed, by way of excellence, *the Wise*, as he really was one of the most learned men of his age and nation. He had been a great traveller, and a diligent searcher after learning, was a good astronomer, philosopher, physician, poet, and critic, in which last he hath excelled all that went before him<sup>k</sup>; and is chiefly admired by the Christians for his judicious explications of the sacred books (T). He died, as he himself insinuated a little before his death, in the 75th year of his age, A. C. 1174 (V). The reader will find a list of his works under the last note.

WE have in this century three famed rabbies of the name of *Levi*, or *Hallevi*. One born at *Cologne*, who, after many conferences with the Christians, was baptized, and taught Three learned Levi's. *Latin* under the name of *Herman*. 2. *Judah Hallevi*, a good poet, and author of the dialogue intitled *Chozar*, which we have had occasion to mention before. And, 3. *Abraham Hallevi*, a learned rabbinist and cabbalist, whom some make father-in-law, and others first cousin, to *Aben Ezra*, and who was a most zealous antagonist against the *Caraites*, tho' far inferior to them in point of reasoning and judgment; so that, not being able to cope with

<sup>k</sup> F. SIMON, Hist. crit. V. Test. lib. iii. c. 5. WOLF, Bibl. Hebr. N. 110. BASNAG. ubi sup. c. x. §. 3, & seq. SCHIKARD. Bechinath Happerushim, p. 172, & al. mult.

their law, than to fall into the hands of the Christians; upon which every one of them drew out his knife, and fell to butchering their wives and children. They then retired into the palace, which they set on fire, and were consumed in the flames; whilst the people entered the city, and enriched themselves with the remainder of the plunder; the king beholding the bloody effects of their fury, without being able to put a stop to it (27).

(S) It is not agreed what family he was descended from, nor at what time he flourished, tho' it is commonly allowed as certain that he died at *Rome* about the year 1106 (28).

(T) He took a contrary way to the other rabbies, and, instead of hunting after traditional expositions and mystic interpretations, gave himself wholly to the grammatical and literal sense; which he hath investigated with such success and penetration, that the Christians justly prefer him to all the other *Jewish* expositors; though he hath in some instances given himself a liberty which hath been justly blamed by both. It was he that first shewed the way to such of our critics who maintain the notion, that the *Israelites* did not cross the *Red Sea*; but made a turn round part of it at low water, that *Pharaoh* following them might be caught and drowned by the succeeding tide. He had some smart disputes with the *Caraites*, whom he treats as *Sadducees* for not receiving the traditions of the fathers; though he himself, by his method of expounding the Scriptures, shews he was no scrupulous follower of the cabbala, and perhaps had not a much better opinion of it than they, though he dared not own so much, for fear of bringing upon him the partisans for it, who were then very numerous and hot in its behalf: so that it is not unlikely that he fell foul on the *Caraites*, merely to wipe off the imputation of being an anticabbalist.

(V) Upon finding his death approaching, he wrote, that as *Abraham* was come out of *Ur*, or fire of *Haran*,

in the 75th year of his age, so he at that age came out of the *העולם הזה*, from the fire, or the anger of the world, changing only, by the addition of a vowel, the word *Charan* into *Charon*, (29). This shews, however, that he was not born before the year 1099, tho' several chronologers have placed his birth ten or more years sooner.

His works are, 1. A learned comment on all the books of the Old Testament, a work very much esteemed by all the learned for its usefulness, clearness, succinctness, and elegance, and for being free from the puerile dreams and fables of the *Jewish* writers. 2. *Sepher Sodoth Hathorah*, a treatise of the hidden secrets of the law. 3. *Jessed Thora*, the foundation of the law. 4. A comment on the decalogue, since translated into *Latin* by S. Munster, with notes. 5. A new comment on *Isaiah* and the minor prophets, revised and corrected by him. 6. Ditto, on *Proverbs*, the *Canticles*, *Ester*, and the *Lamentations*. 7. His epistle on the Sabbath, in rhiming verse. 8. Another poem, intitled, *חי בן מן*, Let the wakeful son live; and treats of rewards and punishments. To which *Bartolucci* joins another, Of the kingdom of heaven. 9. *יסוד מורא*, The foundation of fear. 10. *סוד השם*, *Sepher Hashem*, On the *Tetragrammaton*, or name *Jehovah*. 11. Eight treatises on the *Hebrew* grammar. 12. One on ethics. 13. One on logic. 14. A poem on the soul. 15. His Beginning of wisdom; an astrological tract, divided into eight parts, and treating on the influence of the stars and planets, their motions, aspects, lucky and unlucky days; of algebra and geometry, arithmetic and astronomy, of the world, of embolimal years, of chances, and judicial astrology. 16. His excellent poem on the game of chess, translated by Dr. Hyde; and some others of lesser note. Those who want to know more of this excellent rabbi, may consult the authors quoted in the margin (30).

(27) Polyd. Virg. l. xiv. p. 248. Matth. Paris, p. 111, & al. mach. in A. M. 4866. Wolf, Bibl. Hebr. N. 1727. Basnag. &c. (28) Juchasin, p. 131. Gantz Tzemach. & al. (29) Shalsheleth Hakkabalah, p. 41, & seq. Gantz Tzemach. & al. (30) Id. ibid. Juchasin, p. 130, & 163. Schikard, Simon Bartoloc. & al. &c. citat.

them,



them, he had recourse to king *Alphonso VII.* to whom he had done some signal services, and easily obtained an order from him to have all his adversaries silenced (W).

Maimonides's  
defenders and  
opposers.

Synagogues  
excommunicate  
each other  
about him.

WE have already given an account of the great *Maimonides*, who flourished in this century, in speaking of the *Jews in Egypt*. His works, of which we have there given a short account, particularly his *Moreh Nevochim*, soon raised him many admirers, but a much greater number of opponents; insomuch that the synagogues, who took part for and against him, made no scruple to excommunicate each other. *Judah Alcharisi*, who then flourished, and was a great poet, undertook to translate his comments on the *Mishnah*, at the request of the *Marfilian* doctors, who did not understand *Arabic*, and gave that work the noblest encomiums. He likewise translated his *Moreh Nevochim*, or resolution of doubtful questions; but though he likewise cried it up to the skies, *Maimonides* was not satisfied with it, but disapproved of the version. On the other hand, *R. Solomon*, then chief of the synagogue of *Montpelier*, finding that he spoke still plainer against the thalmudic decisions in his *Moreh Nevochim*, than he had done in the comment, lost all patience, and engaged all the doctors there, particularly *R. R. Jonah* and *David* who studied under him, to stand up in the defence of the thalmud against him, even to the burning of his books, and excommunicating all that should read them, or apply themselves to the study of philosophy.

THE war, thus declared against him and his followers, was however so far from deterring others from entering the lists in his behalf, that the doctors of *Narbonne*, with the great *Joseph Kimchi* at their head, not only stood up in his defence, but engaged all their brethren in *Spain* to do the same (X). This war between the doctors of both nations lasted about forty years, and employed the most learned heads and pens on both sides; neither can it be said to have been effectually ended, seeing his works have been attacked and censured, from time to time, in the subsequent centuries, by fresh doctors of all nations. However, the schism which they had caused was abolished *an. 1232*. But it is time to speak of the other learned *Jews* that flourished in this 12th century<sup>1</sup>.

The three  
Kimchi's.

*R. KIMCHI* was the son of *Joseph Kimchi*, and, though a hot zealot for *Maimonides*, was inferior to his father in point of learning and reputation. This last was a bitter enemy to the Christians; and suffered his zeal to transport him beyond all bounds, as one may see by his book of the wars of the Lord, and his treatise on faith and alliance with heretics, meaning the Christians (Y). His son *David*, or, as his name is commonly abridged, *Radak*, for *Rabbi David Kimchi*, was more learned than either of them (Z), and much more moderate towards

<sup>1</sup> CATEL. hist. de Languedoc, lib. iv. BARTOL. WOLF, & BASNAG. ubi sup.

(W) This rabbi was born *An. 1140*. An author of his nation (31) tells us, that he some way or other so exasperated that monarch against him, that he threatened to hang him if he did not turn Christian; and that he, still persisting in his religion, was really hanged. *Barzoloci* hath endeavoured to confute that story, by pretending, that the *Spanish* monarchs never carried their persecution so far against recusants, but only against such as relapsed (32). But without examining how far that is true, *Hallewi* might have committed some other crime, which *Alphonso* might refuse to forgive him unless he turned Christian, and caused him to be hanged upon his stiff refusal.

(X) *Narbonne* was then in the hands of the *Spaniards*, which therefore engaged all the rest of the *Spanish Jews* to take part with it, and to excommunicate the synagogues of *Languedoc*, as those had done to theirs. They could not however bring them all over to their side; for that of *Pescairo*, a little town in *Old Castile*, had two learned doctors, both of the name of *Abraham*, who wrote strenuously against him; the one, in contempt, treating him as a young fellow; and the other so effectually confuting him, that *Maimonides* was forced to own that he was the only man that had defeated him; though at the same time he forewarned him, in a kind of prophetic triumph, that he would not live to finish his work: which came to pass accordingly, for *Maimon* died in that very year.

Another learned antagonist was *R. Judah*, a physician and chief of the synagogue of *Toledo*, whose zeal for the thalmud engaged him to join with the *French* against him, and against *R. Kimchi*, his most strenuous champion. He wrote accordingly with such force and fury

against them, that *Kimchi* had no other way to silence him than by prevailing, by dint of caballing and interest, on the synagogues of *Catalonia* to excommunicate those of *France* and their partisans; which obliged them at last to submit, to revoke all their decrees against those of *Spain*; and even to consent to erase what they had written upon *Maimonides's* monument of his being an excommunicate\*.

(Y) There is some dispute whether he was of *French* or *Spanish* origin, which is occasioned by his son *R. David* being styled provençal, dwelling at *Narbonne*; which city belongs now to the *French*, but did then to the *Spaniards*, as we observed in the last note. And this at once decides the controversy.

(Z) The *Jews*, alluding to his surname, affirm, that there can be no *Kemach*, meal, without a *Kimchi*, or miller; meaning, that there can be no true learning without him; and indeed there is hardly a better help to the *Hebrew* tongue than his grammar; which, though he took the greater part of it from an *Arabic* one printed by *Abul Valid Marom*, yet he so much improved and enlarged it, that it appears quite a new work. It is intituled, *Miklol*, perfection (differing from *Miklol Jophi*, or perfection of beauty, of *R. Solomon Ben Melek*), and consists of two parts, one of which is the grammar, and the second a lexicon of all the *Hebrew* roots. His עת סופר, or pen of a writer, is of the *Mafforetic* kind, and commended by the learned *Elias Levita*. Some other treatises are likewise ascribed to him in the same way; but what he has been most famed for, is, his comments upon most books of the Old Testament. He is likewise said to have written a version of them all in *Spanish* (33).

(31) *Solom. Ben. Virg. p. 7.*  
(33) *Vide Wolf, & al. sup. citat.*

(32) *Bibl. Rab. tom. i. p. 21.*

\* *Vide Bartol. Wolf, & al. ubi sup.*



a the Christians. His works, which the reader may see an account of in the last note, are still very useful and esteemed, particularly his grammar and comment upon the Psalms, which have been translated into *Latin*, as well as some others of his commentaries, and inserted into the *Latin* bibles of *Venice* and *Basil*. He had a brother named *Moses*, who was likewise a man of learning, and the author of a treatise, intituled, *The Garden of Delight*, which treated of the state of the soul, but hath never been printed. The manuscript of it is in the *Vatican* library <sup>m</sup>.

ANOTHER famed rabbi of this century was the learned *Solomon Jarchi*, styled by some <sup>Solomon Jar-</sup> the son of *Isaac*, and by others *Rashi*, which is only an abbreviation of his name, a native of <sup>chi.</sup> *Troyes* in *Champagne*, who left it to travel into *Judea* and *Persia*, and, upon his return, applied himself wholly to the study and teaching of the thalmud (A). His comment on the *Gemarrab* hath been so highly esteemed, that it hath gained him the title of *Prince of Commentators*; tho' his notes on the sacred books are so fraught with fables and thalmudic visions, that he is as much despised for it, as he is admired for the other. He died at *Treves*, in the 75th <sup>His death,</sup> year of his age (B), and his corpse was carried to *Prague*, where his tomb is still to be seen <sup>A. C. 1180.</sup>. The *Jews* in general had many famed men in most sciences; such as *Kimchi* for grammar; *Judah Alcharisi*, *R. Hallevi*, *Joseph Hadajian*, of *Cordona*, and *Aben Ezra* for poetry; the last named, and *Abraham Nassi*, for astronomy. It were endless to go through the names of their celebrated professors; we shall only mention one, viz. *Isaac Hazaken*, or the elder, who <sup>Jews famed</sup> had sixty disciples, so skilled in the *Gemarrab*, that they could *extempore* dispute on any point <sup>on other ac-</sup> that was proposed to them out of it, and deduce arguments *pro* and *con* from it. One of <sup>counts.</sup> these disciples was the famed *Judah* of *Paris*, who became very famous in the following century <sup>o</sup>.

THOSE of *Germany* made themselves remarkable rather for their piety, miracles, and prophecies, than for their learning; and, if we may believe their authors, *R. Samuel*, who lived <sup>In Germany</sup> at *Vienna*, gained the title of prophet, on account of the many oracles which he there deli- <sup>great prophets</sup> vered. His son *Judah*, surnamed *the Pious*, was no less famous for the miracles attributed to <sup>and miracle-</sup> him, and fit only for a *Jewish* creed (C). This century likewise produced some learned wo- <sup>Judah the</sup> men: and one of the *Jewish* travellers, mentioned a little higher, extols a daughter of the <sup>Pious, his mi-</sup> chief of the captivity in the east, who was so learned both in the law and in the thalmud, that <sup>raculous deli-</sup> she read lectures through the lattice of her window to a great number of disciples, so that <sup>verance.</sup> they only heard without seeing her, being free from danger of becoming enamoured with her, or she with them <sup>p</sup>. We have likewise seen in this chapter some *Jews* in the highest posts in the courts of several princes; others at the head of armies; and exercising their several functions with great applause. *Portugal*, amongst others, produced a most celebrated one, who not only raised himself, by dint of merit, to the command of the army, but, by his singular modesty, as well as his valour and success, eluded all the cabals and intrigues of

<sup>m</sup> BARTOL. ubi sup. tom. iv. WOLF, ubi sup. N. 495, & ali. sub nom. GANTZ, ubi sup. sub an. 4950. Shalsheth, sub A. C. 1192. <sup>n</sup> Id. ibid. <sup>o</sup> GANTZ, & al. ubi sup. <sup>p</sup> Itinerar. R. PETACH. ap. WAGENSEIL, in Sottah, p. 220.

(A) His surname, *Jarchi*, which we have elsewhere observed, signifies *Lunatic*, hath been variously canvassed, some deriving it from the city of *Lunel* in *Languedoc*, where was an academy, which hath been rendered famous by his professorship; others from that of *Luna* in *Italy*. We have likewise seen that name given to the celebrated *R. Samuel*, on account of his great skill in astronomy <sup>†</sup>. It were therefore vain to hunt after uncertain etymologies, even tho' the subject were of greater moment than this. To come therefore to something better worth knowing:

His method of teaching and disputing was somewhat singular. He had made, during his travels, a collection of the most difficult points he had met with, together with their decisions by the learned. Upon his return, he went and visited all the academies and schools, and disputed about them; and, upon his going away, threw down a quire, in which those decisions were written, without the name of any author; and those quires were carefully collected every-where, and amounted to a prodigious number; and it was by the help of those that the gloss on the thalmud is said to have been compiled.

(B) He left three daughters, whom he married to as

many learned doctors; the most famed of whom was *R. Meir*, who helped to collect the scattered quires of his father-in-law, and to compile the gloss above-mentioned from them. *Jarchi* had some grandsons likewise, who assisted him in it; viz. *Jaacob* of *Orleans*, commonly called *Rath*, and *R. Thom*, likewise surnamed *Rath*. The former died in *Champagne*, and the other was murdered anno 1190, and his writings were destroyed with him (34).

(C) To give a sketch of it, *R. Gedaliab*, in his *Shalsheth* (35), tells us, that being taken in a narrow lane, at *Worms*, by a waggon, which must unavoidably have crushed him to death against the wall, the brutish waggoner driving on with all speed, in spite of his cries to stop; the wall gave way just in the place where he stood, and left room for the carriage to go on without hurting him. Others say it was *Judah's* mother who was thus miraculously preserved, being then big with him. And the learned *Wagenseil* prefers this last relation, which he had from the mouths of some credible *Jews*, who shewed him the very spot; which hollow they pretend is still to be seen in the wall. *Worms* was then full of them, and no less pregnant with their miracles.

<sup>†</sup> See before, p. 494.

(34) Gantz, *Shalsheth*, &c.

(35) *Shalsheth*, p. 55.



Converts and  
apostates.

the Portuguese ministry against him (D). We might here mention likewise some of their learned, who forsook the synagogue in this century, to turn either *Mohammedans* or Christians; but as that would carry us too far, we shall only give an instance of each in the following note (E), and proceed to some more momentous transactions in it, viz. the several false Messiahs that appeared both in the east and west during this interval.

False Messiahs.  
First in  
France.

OF these, authors reckon no less than nine or ten; so that the great number of their learned could neither hinder their impostures, nor the people's credulity. The first of these appeared in *France*, an. 1137. The place of his birth or manifestation is not mentioned by any author; only they tell us, that *Lewis*, who was then on the throne, caused their synagogues to be pulled down, and the *Jewish* nation to be severely treated: from which we may conclude that he had imposed on a great part of his nation (F). In the following year another appeared in *Persia*, and drew such multitudes after him, that the king thought fit to oblige the rest of the *Jews* to summon him, and order him to lay down his arms; which they tried at first in vain, till he seemed moved at the sight of the multitudes of children, which the sorrowful mothers brought before him to excite his pity. He then proposed to that monarch, that he should pay him the charges of the war, and let him lead his troops away unmolested; which, to the wonder of the *Jews*, was agreed to, and the sum stipulated by the Messiah paid down, and the troops disbanded. But the king, finding himself out of danger, obliged the disarmed *Jews* to reimburse him the money; and, as some add, caused the impostor's head to be struck off<sup>1</sup>.

A second in  
Persia.  
A. C. 1138.

A third in  
France,  
A. C. 1157.

MAIMONIDES mentions a third, which appeared in *Spain* about 10 years before he wrote, who brought a severe persecution on their nation. He was a native of *Cordoua*, and was supported in his imposture by one of the greatest rabbies in that city, who wrote a book beforehand to prove the nearness of his appearing by the stars. Our author adds, that the better and wiser sort looked upon the fellow as a madman; but as those were few, in comparison of the rest, they could not hinder his gaining credit among them, till his disappointment undeceived them<sup>2</sup>. Ten years after that, another cheat proclaimed the coming of the Messiah within a year; and his prediction proving false, occasioned new troubles and persecutions against that credulous people. This was in the kingdom of *Fez*, where we are told<sup>3</sup> there was another person who proclaimed himself the Messiah, lately foretold (G). In the same year an *Arabian* set up there for the Messiah, and pretended to work miracles; though our author rather looked upon him as an enthusiast, who had more sincerity than judgment<sup>4</sup>; and, being consulted about him by the rest of the *Jews*, foretold to them the fatal consequence which his and their delusion would bring upon them. His advice, however, did not hinder

At Fez,  
A. C. 1167.  
A new one  
there.

<sup>1</sup> SOLOM. BEN VIRG. ubi sup. p. 169. LENT de Pseudo Mess. Judæor. p. 36. <sup>2</sup> MAIMON. Epist. de Reg. Aust. ap. Wurft. p. 293. <sup>3</sup> SOLOM. BEN VIRG. ubi sup. p. 169. <sup>4</sup> MAIMON. Epist. ad Jud. in Massilia, ap. Wurft. ubi sup. p. 292.

(D) This was the great *Dom. Solomon*, the son of *Jechaiab*, who was as great a philosopher as general. His merit raised him to the dignity of field-master general, A. C. 1190, which was then the highest post in the militia; in which he behaved so well, that he obtained the command of the whole army. His valour and success raised him very powerful enemies among the grandees, whom he overcame by his singular modesty; and, not content with practising it himself, he inspired his nation with it; and having observed that their riding on horseback along the streets was displeasing to the Portuguese, he prevailed upon them to leave it off, as well as the wearing of silk garments.

(E) Of the first sort was the famous apostate *Samuel Ben Jehudah*, or, as he is commonly called, *Asmouil*, a Spaniard by birth, and by profession a physician, who, to convince the *Moslems* of the sincerity of his conversion, wrote a book against the *Jews*, an. 1174, in which he charges them with having altered the law of *Moses*. This accusation was greedily swallowed by them, and is still to this day; inasmuch that they forbid the quoting or translating any part of the Pentateuch according to the *Jewish* or Christian copies. They allege against them, that there is not a word in them about the resurrection of the dead, the life to come, prayers, alms, &c. But whether he furnished them with those objections out of hatred to them, or whether he did not rather mean, by

those alterations he charges the *Jews* with, the false interpretations of the thalmudists, we cannot affirm (36).

Of the latter or Christian converts, we shall only mention *Peter Alphonso*; which names were given him, the former, because he was baptized on St. *Peter's* festival, and the other by the king of that name, who was his godfather (37). He was a native of *Osea*, and professed *Judaism* till the 40th year of his age; and, after his conversion, was made physician to *Alphonso VII.* who was king of *Castile* and *Leon*, and died an. 1108. *Pedro* wrote some dialogues against the *Jews*, which are still preserved (38), and from which one may conclude he had more zeal than skill in that controversy, if he was not rather more influenced by worldly views than solid arguments; for from this instance one may see that there were no encouragements wanting to bring them over.

(F) *Maimonides*, who lived 30 years after, tells us, that the *French*, into whose hands he fell, put him to death, and with him the holy assembly (39). And another *Jewish* writer (40) complains, that on account of that impostor they had pulled down a great number of synagogues in *France*.

(G) According to this last author, one would be apt to think that those two cheats acted in concert. However, as *Maimonides*, who flourished at that time, mentions but one impostor, it is likely *Solomon* was either misinformed, or hath ill expressed his meaning.

(36) D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. sub voc. *Alphonse*. Dialog. titul. 2 & 3. ap. Biblioth. Patr. tom. xxi. p. 184, & seq. Wurft. not. in Gantz Tzemach, p. 293.

(37) D'Aguirra, Bibliot. Hisp. tom. iii. l. i. c. 3.

(38) Al-

(39) Epist. de Austrat. Reg. ap.

(40) Solom. Ben Virg. ubi sup. p. 169.



a vast multitudes from following that impostor, who was apprehended at the end of a year, and brought before the king; where being asked what had induced him to that imposture, he boldly replied, that he was sent by God; and as a proof of it, told that monarch, that if he would order his head to be cut off, he should see him rise immediately after. The king took him at his word, and ordered him to be beheaded (H); upon which the cheat was sufficiently discovered, and those who had been deluded by him were grievously punished, and the nation condemned to very heavy fines<sup>u</sup>. *Beheaded by his own desire.*

SOME time after a leper, who found himself cured in one night of his stubborn disease, took it into his head, from that supposed miracle, that he was the Messiah; upon which he went and proclaimed himself such beyond the *Euphrates*, and drew vast multitudes after him. *A leper sets up for one.*

b The *Jewish* doctors, however, soon persuaded him and his followers, that this cure, miraculous as it seemed to be, was not a sufficient proof of his being the Messiah, and made them and him ashamed of their folly. But their appearing in arms on his account had so exasperated the people, that they raised a fresh persecution against them; and one of their writers assures us<sup>x</sup>, ten thousand of them, being quite tired with their sufferings on that account, forsook the *Jewish* religion, which hath rendered the memory of that impostor odious to the whole nation. A new and severe persecution was raised in *Persia*, an. 1174, on account of a seventh false Messiah, who had seduced some of the common people by such strange tricks, that they looked upon him afterwards as a conjurer or a devil<sup>y</sup>. *Jews persecuted on his account. A seventh in Persia.*

AN eighth impostor set up for the Messiah in *Moravia*, viz. *David Almusser*, who boasted that he had the power of rendering himself invisible whenever he pleased; and drew vast multitudes after him. To prevent the ill consequences of such concourses, the king sent to promise him his life, on condition that he surrendered himself into his hands. He did so; but that prince, instead of keeping his word with him, caused him to be flung into prison; from which, however, he soon escaped by the help of his art. They tried in vain to pursue him: he disappeared when he pleased; and the king, who went after him in person, had the mortification to see him one while, without being able to reach him. Tired at length with following him, he summoned the *Jews*, who were then very numerous, to seize and deliver him up; which they at length, out of fear of a new persecution, performed, and he was again imprisoned. But, whether his art was now exhausted, or some counter-charm was used against it, he could neither escape out of prison, nor out of the hands of the hang- *An eighth in Moravia. Caught and executed.*

d man<sup>z</sup> (I). BUT the most famous of all, during this century, was *David Alroi*, or *Eldavid*, whom others commonly place in the year 1199 or 1200; but *Benjamin de Tudela*, who travelled an. 1173, speaks of him as having appeared 10 years before. He was a native of *Amaria*, which city contained about 1000 *Jews*, who paid tribute to the king of *Persia*; and was well versed not only in the thalmudic learning, but likewise in the *Chaldean* magic, where he had picked out some strange secrets to delude the people by. He applied himself at first to the chief of the captivity, and to that of the synagogue of *Bagdad*, but chiefly prevailed on the *Jews* settled on the mountain called *Haphtan* to take up arms, after he had deluded them with some pretended miracles. The *Persian* king, alarmed at this armament, and the progress it had made, sent him express orders to come immediately to court; promising him at the same time, that if he proved himself the Messiah, he would acknowledge him as a king sent from heaven. *Eldavid*, contrary to expectation, obeyed the summons, and assured the king, that he was really the Messiah: upon which he was immediately clapt into prison, and was not to be acknowledged till he had by some miracle extricated himself out of it. But whilst the king was deliberating what death to put him to, word was brought to him that the prisoner was fled. He dispatched several couriers after him; who, upon their return, assured him that they had heard his voice, but had neither been able to see him or to lay hold on him. The king, suspecting them to have been corrupted, marched in person after him as far as the banks of the river *Gozan*, where he heard him call them fools, without seeing him. Soon after that, they perceived him dividing the waters of that river with his mantle, and crossing it. The king began to think indeed that he might be the Messiah; but was dissuaded from it by his *A ninth, named Eldavid. His character, and success. Answer to the king of Persia. Disappears, and pursued in vain.*

<sup>u</sup> MAIMON. Epist. ad Jud. in Massilia, ap. Wurft. ubi supra, p. 292.  
Wurft. p. 293. SOLOM. ubi sup. p. 169.

<sup>y</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>x</sup> Id. Epist. de Austr. Region. ap.

<sup>z</sup> Id. ibid.

(H) It is very probable that he made use of that stratagem only to free himself from a more cruel death: but that did not hinder a great number of his infatuated followers from hoping, that though he did not immediately rise from the dead, yet he would in some time after, when, to their no small disappointment, they found themselves deceived, and punished for their credulity.

(I) *Maimonides* and *Solomon* above quoted tell us of a ninth impostor, who, they say, lived in this 12th century, and in the time of *Solomon* the son of *Addreti*; but take no notice either of his name, country, or good or ill success.



officers, who assured him, that it was mere illusion ; and so the army passed the river without a seeing him.

Betrayed by his father-in-law. THE king wrote immediately upon it to the chiefs of the *Jewish* nation, to deliver up *Eldavid* to him, under the penalty of being all massacred without mercy. This obliged the chief of the captivity to send a submissive letter to him, desiring him to deliver himself up, and save his nation from destruction : but the impostor only made a jest of it, and absolutely refused it. He continued his hostilities, till his father-in-law, being tempted with a promise of 10,000 crowns, invited him to a supper ; and, having plied him with wine, cut off his head, and sent it to the king (K). But *Zaid Aladin*, instead of keeping his word, insisted upon having all those *Jews* delivered up who had served with him : which they endeavouring to excuse themselves from, he caused a vast number of their nation to be butchered in his dominions<sup>a</sup>. And thus much may serve for the false Messiahs of this century : from which the reader may see the great propensity of the *Jews* to run after every impostor that sets up for a deliverer, and to join with him in taking up arms, and committing all kinds of outrages and disorders against those whom they called their enemies, because held in subjection to them, whether Christians, *Turks*, or heathens ; and the necessity there was for every government under which they lived to keep a watchful eye over them, and to enact wholesome laws to keep them within due bounds ; especially as they betrayed no less surprising readiness, for the most part, when under persecution or disgrace, to abandon their religion for any other offered to them, in order to save themselves from a present danger ; but which forced conversions made them only more inveterate and revengeful against those who imposed them upon them, whenever any opportunity offered itself to throw off the disguise. So that nothing could be more impolitic and unnatural than to oblige such men to redeem their lives and liberties at the expence of their religion. But it is time to pass on to the next century.

Decay of the Jews during the 13th and 14th centuries. WE shall here again be obliged to join the 13th and 14th together, to avoid being frequently forced to break off the thread of their history ; and begin, as we have hitherto done, with those of the east, where we shall find them strangely dwindled, both in number and figure, especially with respect either to their chiefs, their academies, or learned men, of whom we hardly find any mention. With respect to the former, *R. Petachiah*, who travelled thither about the latter end of the last century, tells us, that they were still in being and authority<sup>b</sup> ; but it is most likely that the persecution lately mentioned, and which was not ended at the beginning of this, had put an effectual end to them ; since which time their affairs have still gone from bad to worse. For soon after that *Nesser Ledinillah*, khalif of *Bagdad*, and a very zealous *Mohammedan*, as well as a person of consummate avarice, grew jealous of the too great wealth of the *Jews*, as well as of their too eager zeal after every impostor that set up for a Messiah, raised an open persecution against them, and obliged all that would not turn *Mohammedans* to leave the *Babylonish* dominions<sup>c</sup> ; upon which one part marched away, and the rest chose to stay upon his terms (L). The wars that happened there since, under *Melek*

<sup>a</sup> BEN VIRG. Hist. Jud. p. 162. sub voc. ABULPHARAG. Dynast. ix. p. 532.

<sup>b</sup> Itinerar. MS. ap. Wagenf. in Sotah.

<sup>c</sup> D'HERBEL. Bibl. Orient.

(K) It is not unlikely that this *Eldavid* was the same with a *David Ben David* mentioned by an ancient chronicle (41), who was likewise a *Persian*, and appeared about the beginning of the 13th century. He is said to have been looked upon by the *Jews* as their king, and to have gathered a vast army of them under him. The chronicle adds, that he had formed a design of coming from *Persia* to *Cologne*, to meet three magicians who were to be there ; and had already gone through some provinces, when he was forced to lead his army homewards again. What is there added about these three magicians, that they were to be of a gigantic stature, gives, indeed, the story the air of a rabbinic fable ; but if we consider how credulous the *Germans* were of such prodigies, and how eager and desirous they were to embrace every rumour of a Messiah, it is not improbable, that, having heard of the conquest and progress of *Eldavid* in *Persia*, they might give it out that he was coming full speed to their deliverance, in order to inspire their brethren with hopes of seeing an end of their slavery, if not with some design to do the same in *Germany* which the other had done in *Persia* (42). So that *Eldavid* and *David* the son of *David* may be probably enough the same person.

(L) Among those that staid was *Joseph* the son of *Jahiah*, a famed physician and mathematician, who chose to dissemble for a time, rather than expose himself to unavoidable misery. However, he took the first opportunity he could to turn his effects into money, and retired into *Egypt*, where *Maimonides* was still alive, and, by his assistance, corrected a system of astronomy which he had brought with him ; and, after his death, retired to *Aleppo*, where he bought an estate, and married.

He died soon after there ; and having, as we are told, made an engagement with an intimate friend, that he would come back from the other world to inform him of the state of it, made him wait two years, and at length appeared to him. His friend, finding him very backward to disclose the secret to him, took him by the hand, and challenged his promise ; but could get nothing more from him than this dark answer, " The universal hath reunited itself to the universal, and the particular to the particular (43)." This was in all likelihood only a dream of his friend, after having thought long and intensely upon their previous engagement ; otherwise one would think it hardly worth the other's while to take so long a journey to make so inconsiderable a discovery.

(41) *Fragm. Hist. an. Chr.* 1222, ap. *Wurst. Hist. Germ. tom. ii. p. 89.*  
(43) *Abulphar. Dynast. ix. p. 303, ap. Basnag. lib. ix. c. 16. §. 4.*

(42) *Basnag. lib. ix. c. 11. §. 14.*



a *Al Nassar* and his brother, against *Holagu*, alias *Hulaku*, emperor of the *Tartars*, his killing those two princes, after the taking of *Bagdad*, helped to complete their ruin there†.

JUDEA was no less infested with the wars which raged between the Christians and *Saracens*; but that did not hinder the *Jews* from having some synagogues and learned rabbies in Judea. it. Here it was that the famed *R. Moses Nachmanides*, or, as his name is commonly abbreviated, *Ramban*, retired, and built a synagogue (M), and became one of the most celebrated cabbalists that age produced. What made him leave his native country, where he was so esteemed and beloved, for *Judea*, then so torn with wars, is not easy to guess; unless he perhaps had made himself obnoxious to the *Spanish* clergy by the conferences he had had with some friars, particularly that which was held before the king of *Arragon* and his court, anno 1263. The time of his death is likewise variously placed; by some, anno 1300, at which rate he must have lived 106 years; and by others 40 years sooner, though that is eight years before the author of *Juchasin* makes him to have finished his exposition of the cabbalistical law. His other most considerable works may be seen in the next note (N). However, the *Jews* made no great figure in *Palestine* during this interval; and contented themselves with having the free use of their schools and synagogues; and *Nachmanides* was the only considerable doctor they had among them<sup>d</sup>.

THEY did not fare much better in *Egypt*, where the invasion which *St. Lewis* made upon that kingdom, and the revolution that happened soon after under the *Mamlukes*, did not permit them to thrive either in wealth or learning; they being on the one hand excluded from having any share in public affairs, and, on the other, had been obliged to set aside all thoughts of learning of any kind, insomuch that we read not of one rabbi of any note among them. There was indeed one *Simeon Duran*, in some city of *Afric*, who published some works, which the reader may see in the margin (O); but he was neither *Egyptian* nor *African*, but a native of *Spain*, whence he had brought with him the comment of rabbi *Alphez*, which he translated there; and he did not flourish till the latter end of the 14th century<sup>e</sup>.

THE *Jews* about *Babylon*, as well as the dispersed of the ten tribes eastward, had suffered much, as we hinted a little higher, from the invasion of the *Tartars*; but at length gained a considerable respite under khan *Argun*\*, by means of a *Jewish* physician named *Saaddodowlah*, a learned man, and agreeable companion, whom that prince made his prime minister. The Christian historians do him that justice to own, that he left them in quiet possession of what they had in that empire; but he made use of all the interest he had with his prince to promote the welfare of his own nation, and procured them some considerable privileges. They did not enjoy them long before *Argun* was taken dangerously ill, and died soon after; and *Saaddodowlah*, who was hated by the *Moslems* and *Arabs* for his kindness to the *Jews*, was accused by them of having poisoned him, and massacred for it; and, after him, a vast number of his

† De his, vide sup. vol. ii. p. 471, & seq. N. 1612. p. 876, & seq. p. 483.

<sup>d</sup> De hoc, vide BARToloc. ubi sup. WOLF, Bibl. Hæbr. D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. sub voc. <sup>e</sup> De hoc, vid. sup. vol. ii.

(M) He was born at *Girona*, an. 1194, and at first studied chiefly physic, but made afterwards such progress in the study of the law, that he was styled *the father of wisdom, the luminary and glory of the crown of holiness*; and a sermon which he preached before the king of *Castile*, made him be looked upon as the father of eloquence. He at first seemed to have no opinion of the cabbalah; but after he came to take a relish to it, he became so expert in it, that he could find every thing he wanted in the sacred books, particularly in the *Song of Moses*, and passed from the speculative to the *Hammahafith*, or active or operative part of it (44).

(N) 1. A prayer on the ruin of the temple. 2. An epistle on the holiness of marriage, giving some rules how parents may beget honest children. 3. His garden of desire, another epistle, in the cabbalistical strain. 4. A third to his son, on moral subjects. 5. A fourth in defence of *Maimonides*. 6. The treasure of life, a cabbalistical treatise. 7. On faith and trust, likewise cabbalistical. 8. His exposition of the law, in the same strain, and more subtil than the rest. 9. On redemption or deliverance from banishment. 10. His sermon before the king of *Castile*, on the excellence of the divine law.

11. A treatise on purity. 12. New exposition on the treatise of *Bava Batra*. 13. On that of *Jatzirah*, or the creation. 14. On that of the wars of the Lord. 15. On that of *Maimonides*, called *Jad Chazakah*. 16. Orders of salvation, cabbalistical. 17. *Eden* the garden of the Lord, ditto. 18. *Jaaleb's* spring, ditto. 19. A comment on *Job*. 20. On some treatises of the thalmud. 21. A treatise on the end or coming of the Messiah. 22. On the pomgranate, cabbalistical. 23. Questions and answers. 24. The lily of secrets, a cabbalistical exposition by numbers. 25. The square table. 26. The law of man, or directions how he ought to behave in sickness, death, mourning, and expectation of a future life. 27. His conference with a *Dominican* friar, mentioned above (45).

(O) Besides the version mentioned above, he compiled a chronological catalogue of all the antient rabbies, intitled, *Maghen Aboth*, the *Shield of the fathers*, another called *Ohef Mishpath*, the *Lover of judgment*, and a third called *Mishpath Tzedek*, the *Judgment of righteousness*, or *just judgment* (46); which two last *Buxtorf* has blended into one, because they are commonly found bound together.

(44) Bartoloc. ubi sup. tom. iv. Wolf, Bibl. Hæbr. N. 1612. p. 876, & seq. Gantz Tzemach, Shalshleth, Juchasin, &c. (45) Id. ibid. (46) Bartoloc. ubi sup. tom. iv. p. 411.



nation<sup>f</sup>. Notwithstanding which, they found means to settle themselves in the territories, and even in the court, of the *Moguls*, after *Argun's* death (P), by the next century. But as we read of neither academies nor learned men amongst them, we may conclude that they were more intent on their worldly interest.

Jews peaceable  
under the  
Greeks.

It is probable likewise that they enjoyed the same tranquillity in the *Grecian* empire, during these two centuries; at least we meet with nothing to the contrary. And what confirms us, that they enjoyed there a full liberty of their religion, is, that the *Greek* writers of those times condemned the violence which the *Latins* exercised against them, in forcing them to be baptized, though themselves were the most forward to judaize<sup>g</sup>. These reproaches were but too well founded, considering the cruel usage which the *Jews* met with from the crusaders, both in the west before they set out, and through every place in the east where they came to; and that the pope and his clergy had revived several *Jewish* customs in the church; such as the eating of the paschal lamb, unleavened bread, and some others, which the reader may see in the author quoted in the margin<sup>h</sup>.

Sad state in  
the west.

It is now time to take a view of the *Jewish* state in the western parts, where we shall find them no less oppressed than they were numerous and wealthy; for the latter seldom failed of exciting the jealousy of the clergy, and of producing the former. We begin with *Spain*, where they began to be persecuted from the very entrance of the 13th century, by the bishop of *Toledo*<sup>i</sup>, who beheld their increase in number and wealth with a jealous eye, and stirred up the populace against them; and, putting himself at their head, went and broke into their houses and synagogues, and plundered them (Q). The crusaders, who were then preparing for their expedition into the *Holy Land*<sup>k</sup>, and were soon after to have their rendezvous near that city, completed what the prelate had begun, from a notion they took, that the destruction of those enemies of Christ would undoubtedly obtain a blessing on their enterprise; and accordingly made such havock amongst them, that *Abravenel* looks upon this persecution as one of the four severest ones that nation had ever suffered<sup>l</sup>; insomuch that he reckons that a greater number of them went out of *Spain* than that which *Moses* brought out of *Egypt*. The *Spanish* nobility, indeed, interposed their authority to suppress the cruelties exercised against them; but king *Ferdinand*, who was then endeavouring to ingratiate himself with the zealots by the persecution of the *Albigenses*, and other heretics, encouraged the same against the *Jews*, as the worst of them all. It is, however, certain, that if the *Jews* will deal sincerely, they must attribute all these disasters to their shameful remissness, and open transgression of their law in several instances, which they acknowledge to be of the highest moment, and which the reader may see in the margin (R).

A. C. 1209.

1212.

The main cause  
of it.

THEY

<sup>f</sup> D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. sub voc.

<sup>g</sup> Græci in Latinos, ap. COTELER. Mon. Eccles. Græc. tom. iii.

p. 99—501—504—506—515.

<sup>h</sup> BASNAG. ubi sup. lib. ix. c. 17. §. 15.

<sup>i</sup> MARIANA, ubi

sup. tom. v. p. 487. CARDOSO las excellentias, p. 373.

<sup>k</sup> MARIANA, tom. xi. c. 22. p. 490.

<sup>l</sup> In

Isaiam, cap. xlv.

(P) At least we read in the life of *Abu Zaid*, who reigned at the beginning of that century, of a *Jew* who appeared at his court in great state and grandeur, and attended by a number of young pages, upon one of whom he leaned. A merry poet came and kneeled before him, and told him, that he saw the remains of the house of *Moses* carried by angels, and he was come to pay homage to it (47). But how they fared when the mogul's monarchy came to be divided into so many principalities, and torn with cruel wars, can only be guessed; they never being wanting to promote their own interest by money, and other kind offices, among the contenders; and we do not hear of any persecutions raised against them.

(Q) His pretence for this persecution, which reached, however, no farther than their goods and liberty of conscience, was raised by that prelate on account of their having formerly betrayed the city of *Toledo* to the *Moor*s. But that this was a false accusation, appears both from the silence of all historians of that time, and much more so from the capitulation of its inhabitants, by which they were permitted either to leave the country, and take all their effects with them, or to stay and have the free use of their religion, on paying the same taxes they had paid to the *Goths*.

(R) It is plain, that, in order to render themselves

less odious to the Christians, on account of their scrupulous observance of their *Mishnah* (which, as we formerly have had occasion to shew, is with them of more than equal authority with the sacred books\*) they had dispensed with many things which are strictly commanded; particularly with respect to the tephilim, or phylacteries, which they are bound to wear on their heads and hands; and concerning the wearing, shape, and materials, of them, there were no less than eight decisions given to them, as they word it, from *Mount Sinai*, among which that of their being of a square form, and sown with dried nerves, was esteemed very considerable. And yet they had been so remiss in this and other particulars, both in *Spain* and *Portugal*, that their *German* brethren, always more scrupulous about these matters, were highly offended at it; insomuch that *R. Baruc* came on purpose from *Germany*, about the beginning of the 13th century, to upbraid them with their shameful remissness and novelties. The small success he met with there made him soon leave them, and pass from *Spain* into *Candia*, and from thence into *Judea* (48).

But another and more scandalous abuse had by that time been introduced among them, viz. their intermarriage with strangers; and as those with Christians were so severely forbidden, many of them made no scruple to marry *Moorish* and *Saracen* women; insomuch that the

(47) D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient.

1236. Bartoloc. ubi sup. tom. i. p. 695. V. p. 75. N. 1210.

\* See before, p. 483, sub not.

(48) R. Isaac de Garmisa, an.



- a THEY were since accused of an enormous crime, viz. of having stolen a young chorister of the cathedral of *Saragossa*, named *Dominick*, and having crucified him. The discovery is, by the legendaries of those times, ascribed to a miraculous light observed on the grave in which they had laid him, by the sea side; upon which he was taken up and fainted, and placed in that cathedral church<sup>m</sup>. The fact is backed with several other circumstances almost as surprising<sup>n</sup>; but yet justly rejected as fabulous, by all but credulous bigots. However, we do not find that it produced any persecution; which is strange, if they really had been guilty of it; though it served to render them odious, and exposed them to the insults of the populace; which so intimidated them, that it helped to forward their conversion, which was then carrying on with great zeal and success, if those authors may be credited. Among
- b those that were zealous for this blessed work, was the learned *Raymond Pennaforte*, general of the *Dominicans*, who was then in high esteem with *James I.* king of *Arragon*, and his confessor, as well as minister with the pope. He had already, by his credit and address, suppressed the violence of the populace against them; and persuaded that prince, that the most gentle were the most effectual means of converting them<sup>o</sup>. Upon which several persons were pitched upon to learn the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues, in order to fit themselves to dispute with and convince them of their errors by solid arguments (S). These accordingly pursued their study of those tongues, and of the sacred books, so closely, that they easily discovered the errors and fables of the rabbies, and were able to beat them at their own weapons. Among other productions brought forth against them, one was the *Pugio Fidei*, attributed by some to our *Dominican* above-mentioned, though it did not appear till three years after his death, and was written by another monk of that order, named *Raymond Martini*, and only encouraged and promoted by *Pennaforte* (T).

Accused of crucifying a youth,  
A. D. 1250.

Pennaforte  
strives to convert them,

A. C. 1255.

R. Martino's  
Pugio Fidei.

<sup>m</sup> BEZOVIVS annal. ad an. 1250. <sup>n</sup> VINCENT BLASCO peristephan. Arragon. lib. iv. fol. 72. TAMAIO Salazar Martyr Hisp. p. 625, & seq. Fascicul. temp. in Hist. Germ. tom. iii. fol. 18. WILLELM. MONACH. veter. ævi Analect. & al. <sup>o</sup> Anonym. in vit. R. Pennaforte.

famed *Moses Cozzi*, so named from the town of *Cozzo* in the *Milanese*, tho' a native of *Spain*, and one of the most learned and zealous rabbies of that age, thundered out his anathema's against that practice with so much vehemence, that he persuaded many of them to put away their strange wives. At that time the city of *Toledo* had no less than 12,000 *Jews* settled in it.

(S) We are told, however, that he succeeded better against the *Moors*, of whom he is said to have converted above 10,000; whilst the *Jews* contented themselves with expressing a great regard for him, on account of his singular moderation, without betraying any inclination to turn Christians, though the king had published some edicts against them, which, if not quite so bloody and severe as others have been, yet deprived the recusants of their ancient liberty.

*Pennaforte* hath not only been highly cried up for his zeal, but hath been likewise canonized for his miracles, one of which their legend tells us was, that not being longer able to bear the corruption of the *Spanish* court, he crossed the sea upon his clock, whilst his staff served him for a rudder†.

(T) Some have affirmed that he was originally a *Jew*, and, after his conversion, entered into that order, wherein he made so great a figure for his learning, that he was chosen to hold that famed conference with *R. Nachmanides*, before king *Ferdinand*, which we mentioned under his name, and wherein they add he had so much the superiority, that he not only silenced that learned *Jew*, but obliged him, through shame of his defeat, to retire into *Judea*, as we there hinted. But in this they have done *Martini* more honour than he deserved, seeing he was not the person who held the dispute, in which he said but little, but another of his order named *Paul*; and this is the only person mentioned in that king's edict, and was accordingly cited as such at another dispute held before pope *Benedict III.*

However, with respect to the conference above-mentioned, each side sung *victoria*. *Paul* obtained an edict from that monarch, enjoining the *Jews* to open the gates of their houses and synagogues to him, and to furnish him with all their *Hebrew* books whenever he came

to dispute with them (49). On the other hand, our *Jewish* doctor (50), who published an account of that conference, pretends that the king was so well satisfied with their rabbi's conduct, that he gave him 300 crowns to defray his charges. He hath been since cried up and quoted, by those of his nation, as a learned defender of the *Jewish* religion, and affirmed to have lived in great esteem at *Jerusalem*, and to have retired thither merely on a religious account; though it appears plainly enough, even from their very account, that he made but a poor answer to his antagonist, about the time of the *Messiah's* coming, and that the only advantage he had against him was owing to the absurd manner which that monk took to prove the Trinity of persons against him.

There is indeed some reason to suspect this relation, from several circumstances, to have been written, not by that rabbi, but by some *German Jew* some time after, there being several *German* idioms in it, which shew it could not be written by a native of *Gironna*. And even this conference made so little noise, that the pope above-mentioned, who was a native of *Arragon*, had heard nothing of it, tho' the *Jews* represented it as so much in their favour, that he blamed the king for having permitted, and friar *Paul* for having held it. As to the *Pugio Fidei*, it hath been much cried up since it first appeared, as the best thing written against the *Jews*; but that was not till the last century, it having lain dormant till then (1). We shall not take upon us to pass a judgment upon that work, from which *Porcheto*, *Galatino*, *N. de Lyra*, *Finus Ricci*, *Jerom de St. Fido*, and others among the *Roman Catholics*, and *Du Pleffis de Mornay* among the *Protestants*, have drawn most of their *Jewish* learning, but in which there are several arguments against the *Jews* very jejune and inconclusive. As for the author, he was so well versed in the *Hebrew* and the *Jewish* books, that it hath given occasion to several learned men to think that he was a convert from the synagogue; tho' if he had been so, it is not likely that his *Jewish* antagonist *Nachmanides*, above-mentioned, would have forbore upbraiding him with it, in the relation he gave of their conference.

† Anonym. in Pennafort. apud Basn. l. ix. c. 17. §. 7.

(50) Disp. Nachm. ap. Wagenf. tela ignea Satanæ, tom. ii. p. 24. & seq.

(49) Codex leg. antiq. ap. Lindembrok, fol. 235.

(1) Basnag. ubi sup. c. 17. §. 9. & seq.



Alphonso X.  
encourages the  
Jews.  
A. C. 1255.

Some of them  
great astrono-  
mers.

Massacred at  
Orsana.

At Palma.

Acquitted by  
the king.

Loved by king

ABOUT the same time *Alphonso* X. king of *Castile*, and a celebrated astronomer, being then a about compiling those tables which have since gone by his name, gave no small encouragement to the *Jewish* rabbies ; many of whom he found well versed in that science, and who by that means easily insinuated themselves into his favour. Among them, *Judab de Toledo* translated by his order the astronomical works of *Avicenna*, and improved them by a new division of the stars, which he divided into forty-eight constellations<sup>p</sup>. The most considerable of the *Jews*, who assisted that prince in the compiling of his tables, were *Abel Ragbel*, and *Alquibitz de Toledo*, whom he styled his masters, *Aben Musio*, and *Mahomad de Sevilla*, *Joseph Ben Hali*, and *Jacob Abvena* of *Cordoua* (U). He likewise made use of them in some other cases, which the reader will see in the last note ; and proved so generous a patron to them, that it excited the jealousy of the zealots, and put them upon hatching new plots and accusations against them. For it was probably about this time that three villains, of the city of *Orsana* in *Andalusia*, threw a dead corpse into the house of a *Jew*, and accused him of having murdered him : upon which the populace rose up and massacred a great number of them, whilst others went and took sanctuary in the houses of some Christians of their acquaintance. It was then the Passover, and they finding nothing there but leavened bread, which is forbidden them during that whole solemnity<sup>†</sup>, many of them were like to have been starved, they chusing rather to fast than to break the law<sup>q</sup>. The inhabitants of *Palma* likewise fell upon and killed many of them ; upon which they sent to desire their brethren to send a deputation to court, to obtain the suppression of a massacre which was like to prove a general one. But the deputies were so closely pursued by their enemies, that they were forced to quit the highway, and shelter themselves in a wood, to avoid being murdered by the way ; by which means these last were got to the court, and had laid their accusation, before they could reach it. *Joseph*, who was at the head of the deputation, and chief of the *Jewish* council, however, pleaded his cause so well, that he was admired by all the court, and the *Jewish* nation absolved from the pretended murder. But the king took occasion from thence to charge them with several other abuses, by which they made themselves justly odious to the Christians (W). Their accusers still insisted that the *Jew* should be put to the torture, to know whether he had committed the murder ; but he escaped that punishment, by causing the tomb to be opened, out of which the body had been taken, and flung into that house.

AMONG those learned *Jews* that flourished in the reign of king *Alphonso*, was the famed *Mithridos*, as he is called by *Gantz*, though he was the son of *Theodore*, prince of the *Levites* at *Burgos*. There was at the same time another *Meir* at *Narbonna*, with whom he is often confounded, who was likewise a great doctor, and had, like him, a great number of disciples (X). The king of *Arragon*, *James* I. though a devout man, was so far from following

<sup>p</sup> HIGUERA, *Histor. Toletan.* lib. xxi. c. 8. MS. & lib. xxii. c. 12. p. 605.

<sup>q</sup> SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 78 ad 92.

<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>†</sup> De hoc, vid. *Anc. Hist.* vol. i.

(U) Besides those above-mentioned, *Alphonso* sent for about 50 more learned men from *Gascony*, *Paris*, and other places, to translate the tables of *Ptolemy*, and to compile a more correct set of them. All these great men were lodged in a palace near *Toledo*, which they made their observatory. The king himself presided over them ; and, in his absence, *Aben Ragbel* and *Alquibitz*. They continued making their observations from an. 1258 to 1262 (2), and when their work was finished they were dismissed with the greatest tokens of his royal munificence.

He caused likewise a treatise to be published by them, intituled, *Libro de las armillas*, or a treatise on circles, the manuscript of which is still preserved at *Seville*. He made use likewise of some of the most famed astronomers, among which were some *Jewish* rabbies of the first class. It was finished in the 25th year of his reign, an. 1276.

About the same time flourished, in the kingdom of *Granada*, *Moses Ben Tibbon*, who translated *Euclid's Elements*. A *Jewish* writer (3) makes him to have been a professor at *Montpelier* when he wrote it ; that is, according to him, an. 1330 ; though it is plain he lived in *Spain* in the reign of king *Alphonso*, that great encourager of learned men of all religions, about A. C. 1270 (4).

(W) These were their grievous extortions, and excessive usury, the richness and finery of their dress, the state and grandeur with which they appeared in the streets. He asked them likewise, why they learned to sing, when they should rather mourn ? why they taught their children to fence and fight, since they did not go to the wars ? “ If you will needs follow some of the ill customs of my subjects, said he to them, why do ye not also imitate their good ones, their peaceableness, modesty, &c. I do not speak these things out of any hatred to you : for why should I hate a people whom God loves ? Neither do I pretend to dispute with you, I know that you have always some vain excuses and pretences ready at hand ; only make a right use of what I have said to you.”

(X) This of *Toledo* was a great cabbalist, and wrote a treatise which he intituled, *לפני ולפני*, *Liphne ulphanim*, which may be properly rendered *within and without, on this and that side, or before and behind*, to shew that he was master of every branch of the most subtle cabbalah, and had studied and turned it over on every side. He likewise wrote a volume of letters against *R. R. Nachmanides* and *Maimonides* ; and had a number of disciples who became the glory of the *Jewish* nation (5).

(2) *Basnag. ubi sup.* c. 17. §. 9, & seq. mach, *An. sext. milliar.* 30. seu *Christi* 1270. p. 748.

(3) *R. Gedal. Shalshel. Hakkabal.*

(5) *Bartoloc. tom. iv. p. 18. Wolf, Bibl. Habr. N. 1380.*

(4) *Gantz Tzic-*



a the reigning zeal against the *Jews*, that he is affirmed to have called them to his assistance, to have learned moral lessons from them, and even to have borrowed some of their prayer-books, and used them in his private devotions (Y). So that though they were hated by the populace, and the ignorant among the clergy, the great and the learned not only protected, but admired and encouraged them. However, this happiness was clouded again by several accidents and misfortunes which befel them some time before the close of the 13th, and the beginning of the 14th century.

James of Aragon,  
A. C. 1264.

THE first was occasioned by two impostors, who went hand in hand in a design to impose upon all the synagogues of *Spain*. The principal of them, named *Zacharia*, did not indeed set up for the Messiah, but pretended he had found out, by his skill in the prophets (Z), the time of his appearing, which he told them was just at hand. He named the very day; and the *Jews*, who had prepared themselves by fasting and alms, went on that day to the synagogues cloathed in white, and in high expectation of him. A *Jew*, who since turned monk, and wrote against his nation, *an.* 1458, adds, that they were greatly surprised to find not only their garments all covered with red crosses, but likewise the linen they had in their houses\*. It is indeed more likely, that the only cross was the shame of being deceived, and exposed to the laughter and insults of the Christians. They were deceived in a different way, about thirty years after, by a poor rabbi, named *Moses de Leon*; who, not being able to maintain his numerous family by the small income of his synagogue, took it into his head to sell complete copies of the book *Zohar*, which till then could only be had by piece-meal; and which he supplied out of his own head. At length the learned found a sufficient difference between the old and the new, to convince them of the cheat; and this was a new subject of shame and insult, not only on the rabbi, but on the nation.

Jews in Spain  
deceived by an  
impostor.  
A. C. 1258.

By a rabbi,  
A. C. 1290.

BUT the most dreadful of all their disasters was that which happened to them about the beginning of the fourteenth century, and was occasioned by the irruption of a band of enthusiastic shepherds, who pretended to work miracles; and, being swelled into a numerous army, carried fire and sword into many provinces, and were not suppressed till after a dreadful effusion of blood (A). The *Jews* in particular bore their share of the cruelties which those enthusiasts

Irruption of  
the shepherds,  
A. C. 1320.

\* ALPHONSO DE SPIÑA, Fortalit. Fidei, titul. iii.

† BARTOLOC. ubi sup. tom. iv. p. 82.

(Y) Rabbi *Jonah*, who flourished under that prince, wrote a letter to another of the same name, at *Gironna*, to desire his advice in what manner he should best comply with his majesty's desire, who had enjoined him to compile a treatise on piety, and the duties of religion: and it is to him, and not to his correspondent, that the treatise on the fear of God, which hath been translated into several languages, ought in all likelihood to be ascribed.

It must be owned, that some of the *Jewish* offices are inimitably fine and seraphic, and the prayers conceived in the most elevated and ecstatic strains. That in particular which they use on expiation day, is a master-piece of the most affecting devotion, and such as the most pious Christians might use to advantage. No wonder, then, if, in an age in which the clergy rather applied themselves to controversy than devotion, such a pious monarch should express a desire after the *Jewish* prayer-books.

(Z) We have formerly taken notice of a superstitious belief of the *Jews*, that if any man could attain to the true pronunciation of the *Hebrew* name of God, he would be able to work the greatest miracles, and dive into the deepest counsels of God†. This fellow not only pretended to have found it out, but, instead of concealing it, as had been done till then, published and dispersed it among all the *Jewish* synagogues of *Spain*; and it was by that means that he so easily gained credit with them.

(A) The origin of these shepherds is variously related (6). The *French* historians affirm, that it began in *France* under the reign of *Philip the Long*; and that the pretence for their rising was the conquest of the *Holy Land*. They had a degraded priest, and a runaway monk at their head, who, by their pretended sanctity and miracles, so imposed on the credulity of the common people, that they left their flocks, farms, &c. to

follow them; whilst the noblemen, being hurried away by the stream, protected them, till they found themselves obliged to destroy them, to avoid being plundered by them. They ravaged several of the southern provinces, broke open the prison doors, and listed all the malefactors they found into their society; by which means they made themselves masters of several cities, and committed the vilest outrages and cruelties, but more particularly against the *Jews*. To avoid which, a considerable number of them retired into a castle, under the protection of the *French* king; in which they were soon after closely besieged by the shepherds, with a design to destroy them all. After a stout and desperate defence, the besieged, finding their arms to fail, began to fling their children over the walls, in hopes to move their compassion, but in vain; for the besiegers set fire to the gates, and entered the place, where, to their great disappointment, they found nothing but the carcases of the besieged, and some children that had been left alive: for they had butchered one another, to prevent falling into the hands of those merciless barbarians.

The *Jews* indeed give us a different account of them, which they pretend to have taken out of some *Spanish* chronicle which they translated into *Hebrew*, and is as follows: A young *Spanish* shepherd, named *Roar*, was often visited by a dove, which, as soon as he went to catch it, turned itself into a young man; and at length ordered him to put himself at the head of the populace, and raise an army of them to drive the *Saracens* out of *Spain*; and, to gain him the greater credit, had imprinted the figure of the cross on one of his arms; on which some of the most expert or credulous could read a promise of success. *Roar* soon saw himself at the head of an army of 300,000 men, which was designed against the *Saracens*; but the fear he conceived of being defeated by a nation so well inured in war, made him alter his resolution, and turn his whole force against the *Jews*.

† See *Anc. Hist.* vol. i. p. 484, sub not. (T).

(6) Vide *Basnag. lib. ix. c. 18.* Et auctor. ab eo citat.



Jews doubly  
persecuted,  
A. C. 1321.

enthusiasts committed where-ever they came; which laid the foundation for a long train of a misfortunes which attended them during the remainder of this century. Happy were they that could save their lives at the expence of their religion and wealth; but those that refused to do so were inhumanly butchered every-where, as we have seen in the last note. The pestilence, which spread itself from the shepherds army to the neighbouring countries, proved also the source of new disasters to the *Jews*, who were accused of having bribed the peasants of *Mesura* to poison the waters of the river, and having furnished them with the poison; upon which vast numbers were clapt in prison, and informations were lodged against them. They did indeed clear themselves of that imputation after a long imprisonment; but the king, who had no mind to condemn the injustice which he had done to them in detaining such great numbers so long a time in gaol, pretended that he had only done it with a b view of converting them; and, upon their refusal of baptism, caused 15,000 to be burnt alive<sup>a</sup>.

Alphonso's  
edict against  
them,  
A. C. 1333.

ALPHONSO XI. their friend and protector, who was wholly guided by one *Joseph*, a *Jew* of *Astigi*, then intendant of his finances, was nevertheless prevailed upon by his mutinous subjects to issue out an edict against them, on account of an indignity pretended to have been committed by a *Jewish* boy to the sacrament, as it was carried through the streets. And the complaints of the zealots against them were grown to such a height, that a council was called on that very night, to deliberate whether they should be massacred or banished; and, the latter being preferred, they were ordered to depart the kingdom in three months. Happily for them, the prince royal obtained a revising of the process; by which it was found that it c was a young Christian, whose curiosity had brought him to the window to see the procession, and had by chance overturned a pot of water upon the chalice; upon which the king recalled his edict (B), to the great mortification of the zealots, who gave out that the young Christian had been bribed to make that friendly deposition in favour of the *Jews*<sup>w</sup>. This did not hinder them, however, from carrying on their resentment against them in another town, where they massacred some of them under the same pretence; and might, in all likelihood, have gone a much greater length, had not the king caused ten of the mutinous ringleaders to be hanged.

Recalled.

Jews massacred at Toledo,  
A. C. 1349.

THEY had scarcely escaped this danger before they found themselves involved in a more dreadful one, from a fresh insurrection made against them at *Toledo*; in which they be- d haved in such a desperate manner, as can hardly be read without horror. *R. Asber* had some time before fled thither from his own native place of *Nottingham*, with eight sons, one of

<sup>a</sup> SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 181, & seq. Vid. & BASNAG. l. ix. c. 13. §. 8. sup. MARIANA, Hist. Hisp. tom. ii. lib. xv. p. 38.

<sup>w</sup> SOLOM. BEN VIRG. ubi

A fierce quarrel which happened soon after, between a *Jew* and one of his shepherds, determined him wholly to it; and his whole army having taken fire at the pretended insult, fell a plundering of their synagogues. The *Jew* was not only killed upon the spot, but his death was followed by the massacre of all of that nation who were found in that neighbourhood. They passed thence into *Navarre*, where they found them more numerous, and where they committed the greatest cruelties against them. Six thousand of them were butchered in the single town of *Estella*; none escaped but such as could retreat into some of the fortified castles belonging to the nobility. Only *R. Menabem*, then a youth, but since a learned chief of the synagogue of *Toledo*, found means to save his life by the help of a young soldier, who, being moved with the groans which he uttered for the loss of his father, mother, and four brothers, who had all been butchered just before, and were left naked and covered with wounds on the floor, carried him into his own house, and got him cured of his hurts.

The shepherds passed thence, some into *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and other parts of *France*; whilst others spread themselves farther through *Spain*, and ravaged and plundered where-ever they came, Christians as well as *Jews*; but the latter were every-where more cruelly used. The pope, then at *Avignon*, thundered in vain his excommunication against them; and the princes in both kingdoms tried in vain to suppress them. The kings of *Aragon* and *France*, with the nobility and choicest of their troops,

marched at length against them; and so closely beset them, that one part of them perished by the sword, and the other by a pestilence which raged among them. Thus ended that dreadful inundation, after having caused a prodigious effusion of blood, and an infinite variety of other disasters (7).

(B) The king had, we are told, dreamt that he saw some wolves assembled to demand of a shepherd to murder his flock, to make them reparation for the damages they had sustained from it; and that the frightened shepherd was just on the point of doing it, but was happily diverted from it by a young lion; upon which the wolves came some days after, destroyed a number of his sheep, and fled. The dream seemed too singular and uniform not to have some momentous meaning; and the interpretation, which a favourite of that prince gave him, was, that his mutinous subjects would one day demand of him to banish the *Jews* out of his kingdom; but that his son, pointed out by the young lion, would dissuade him from such an unjust proceeding; which was actually verified by the event (8). Whether the dream and interpretation were real, or a fiction in favour of the *Jews*, the whole story plainly shews how powerful they were then at that court. And it is not unlikely that the evidence of the young Christian's spilling of the water upon the chalice was trumped up by their friends to save them. For the *Jews*, whether young or old, were always forward enough to affront the Christians, whenever they thought they might do it with impunity.

(7) Vide Basnag. ubi sup. r. 18, & seq. Solom. Ben Virg. p. 181, & seq. p. 38. Solom. Ben Virg. p. 184, & seq.

(8) Mariana, Hist. Hisp. lib. xv.



- a whom, perceiving the zealots breaking into the house with an intent to massacre them all, *Their despair,* was seized with such fury and despair, that he killed all his relations who had taken shelter *A. C. 1349-* in his house, together with his own wife, and that of his brother *Jaacob* (C); and last of all dispatched himself, to prevent falling into the hands of those butchers. *Alphonso XI.* who was still alive, and a great friend to them, was forced to suffer that sedition, which he found impossible to suppress. His son and successor *Peter*, surnamed *the Cruel*, who mounted the throne the next year, being some time after killed, at the taking of *Toledo* by his natural brother *Henry de Tristemar*, this last went and besieged *Burgos*, where the *Jews* had fortified themselves in their quarter, and refused to surrender to him; alleging, that *Peter* was their *Fidelity to king* lawful king (not knowing of his death), and vowing, that they would sooner sacrifice their *Patr.* lives than receive any other master than the true heir to the crown. This singular instance of loyalty so affected *Henry*, that he granted them much better terms when they came over to his side <sup>x</sup>.

ACCORDINGLY *Tristemar*, being come to the crown, made *Don Meir* his physician; but *Meir* tortured dying some time after, not without suspicion of having been poisoned, *Meir* was put to the *for poisoning* torture, and confessed that he had killed the king <sup>y</sup>. But other *Spanish* authors, such as *Gus-* *man* and *Mariana*, think that he was rather poisoned by a *Moor*, whom the king of *Granada* had sent thither for that purpose. But as his death was occasioned by a weakness in his nerves, there is no great probability that he was poisoned, especially by his physician, to whom he *the king.* had been so good a friend, as well as to his nation <sup>z</sup>. However, that did not hinder the *Jews* from being hated and insulted on that account. They complain accordingly, that, towards the latter end of the fourteenth century, the monks, from a principle of zeal, declared themselves their irreconcilable enemies; and had obtained, by the queen's means, an edict for expelling them the kingdom; but that princess, being told that it was not right to root up a vine that bore good fruit, suffered herself to be bought off by a sum of fifty thousand crowns.

THEY suffered much more under the reign of *Henry III.* of *Castile*, when *Martin*, arch- *Jews persecuted* deacon of *Astigi*, went preaching through the streets of *Seville* and *Cordoua*, and so exasper- *by Hen. III.* ated the people, that they massacred the *Jews* in both places. The fire spread itself to *To-* *A. C. 1394.* *ledo*, *Valencia*, and *Barcelona*, where they plundered some, and murdered others; whilst the more artful ones changed their religion, to escape their violence. The great and populous synagogues of *Seville* and *Cordoua* became in some measure desert; the young king still pursuing them. Those that retired into *Andalusia*, and other provinces, were murdered by the inhabitants <sup>a</sup> (D). His son *John* proved no less cruel to them; insomuch that those who had concealed themselves under his father's reign perished under his, being deprived even of the necessaries of life, and obliged to wear a red mark of distinction, by which they were easily known. Those of *Arragon* did not fare much better than these of *Castile*, that kingdom being *In Arragon.* torn by intestine wars, which could not be maintained without heavy taxes; with which the *Jews* were not only the heaviest loaded, but exposed to continual vexations and prosecutions, *Learned men.* which reduced them to the lowest degree of misery <sup>b</sup>. All this did not prevent their having several learned men during this century, the most eminent of whom the reader will find in the margin (E). But it is now time to see how they fared in other parts of *Europe* during these two centuries.

## FRANCE

<sup>x</sup> CARDOSO, Las Excellentias, p. 371.  
<sup>a</sup> SOLOM. BEN VIRG. MARIANA, BZOV. & al.

<sup>y</sup> Fortalit. Fid. <sup>z</sup> CARDOSO, ubi supra, p. 373.  
<sup>b</sup> MARIANA, ubi sup. tom. i. p. 134.

(C) This last was not only a very learned, but a very generous doctor, who commonly taught his disciples *gratis*. He was the author of a famed treatise, intituled, *אַרְבַּע טוּרִים*, *Arbah Turim*, or the four orders or rows, alluding to those mentioned *Exod. xxviii. 17, & seq.*; and of some other works which the reader may see in the authors quoted below (9).

Some place this persecution in the year 1340, but others, more rightly, nine years after; seeing, according to *Gantz* and the *Shalsheleth*, *Jaacob* was still in *Germany*, *an. 1340*, and was then writing the book above-mentioned; which is a kind of collection of civil and ecclesiastical laws, out of the *Gemarrab*, and other *Jewish* writings.

(D) *Solomon Ben Virga* places this persecution in the

year of the world 5130, answering to that of Christ 1390; *Spondanus* in 1391; and *Mariana*, *an. 1392*. But as *Henry III.* did not come to the crown till the year 1393, *Bzovius* hath rightly placed it in the year 1394 (10).

(E) We may place at their head the famed *Isaac Sci-* *prut*, or rather *Sprott*, one of the bitterest enemies and violent writers against the Christians. Authors are not indeed agreed about the time in which he flourished, tho' they all place him in the 14th century; some *an. 1374*, and others 1390. But *Bartolucci* tells us, he had seen a manuscript of his work against the Christian religion; at the beginning and end of which it was said to have been compiled at *Turiasso*, a city of ancient *Castile*, *an. 1340*, which was the very year wherein, as we lately

(9) *Bartoloc. ubi sup. Wolf, ubi sup. N. 1023. p. 582.*  
*c. 18. §. 13.*

(10) *Bzov. Ann. sub an. 1391. Basnag. l. ix.*



Jews persecuted in France.  
A. C. 1218.

In Brittany,  
A. C. 1239.

FRANCE was not more favourable to them. We saw them in the twelfth century banished<sup>a</sup> and recalled by king *Philip*; and they were no sooner settled in it, than they resumed their old usury and extortions; by which they not only grew powerful and wealthy, but bought lands and estates, and grew so insolent and tyrannical, whilst the *French* nation became daily more and more impoverished, that the government was again obliged to make new laws to suppress the monstrous abuses which were daily committed by them (F). But as those laws did not prove sufficient to put a stop to that evil, St. *Lewis*, in the beginning of his reign, called a council at *Melun*; in which a new law was made, expressly forbidding all his subjects to borrow any money from the *Jews*<sup>c</sup>. But the most remarkable of all was that which *John le Roux*, duke of *Brittany*, published against them, in the year 1239. They were then very numerous, and dispersed through that province, and every where such great usurers, that the people were almost ruined by them; upon which the nobility and merchants joined in a complaint to the duke, who immediately summoned all the states of that duchy; and in that assembly was passed that law, the substance of which the reader will find in the margin, and which was prefaced, among other things, with these words; “At the request of the bishops, abbots, barons, and vassals of *Brittany*, all the *Jews* shall be for ever banished from it (G).”<sup>b</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Vid. DECRET. PHILIP AUGUST. de Judeis, an. 1218. SPICILEG. DACHERII, tom. vi. p. 471. Stabiliment. ap. Melend. Ibid. p. 473. BASNAG. lib. ix. c. 20. § 2.

took notice, R. *Jaacob Ben Asher* was writing his *Arbah Thurim* (11).

His son *Shem Tob*, or good name, inherited all his father's hatred against the Christians. He flourished, an. 1375, and translated St. *Matthew's* gospel into *Hebrew*, and gave it the title of *אֵבֶן בֹּחֵן*, *Eben Bochen*, or the touchstone, probably to render it more contemptible to his nation; the gospels being esteemed by Christians the touchstone or rule of their faith. He wrote afterwards his disputes against the Christian mysteries; to which he added, the contradictions of his antagonist, master *Alphonso* the apostate. Who he means by him is somewhat doubtful; for *Alphonso de Spina*, who wrote against the *Jews* after he had turned Christian (12), did not live till an. 1458; by which time *Shem Tob* must in all likelihood have been dead. *Bartolucci* mentions another *Alphonso* (13), who confuted all the objections against the Christian religion; and which *Kimchi* collected in his book of the *Wars of the Lord*; but it is uncertain whether he lived in this century. However that be, *Shem Tob* published another treatise on *Paradise*, in which he endeavours to shew, that most of the stories in the thalmud ought to be understood allegorically (14).

We must here take notice, that there have been several rabbies of his name; particularly *Shem Tob* of *Leon*, who wrote a treatise against the Eucharist, in order to reduce a young *Jew*, who was retired to *Avignon*, where the pope then resided. He wrote likewise his *Derek Gadol Emunah*, or highway to truth, in which he pretended to prove the truth of the *Jewish* religion by philosophical demonstrations. There was a third of that name, the son of *Joseph Palkera*, who lived in the sixteenth century; he was not only a celebrated preacher, and printed his sermons on the Pentateuch, and the great festivals of the year, but was the author of a letter, or dispute, whether piety is to be preferred to the study of the law, or this to that; which letter is held in great esteem.

Another learned rabbi of this century, was *Solomon Ben Chanok* (15), who came from *Constantinople* to *Burgos*, that he might display the depths of the divine law. For that was the title of a book which he wrote; and in which he explained the most difficult texts of the Pentateuch, and the *Rabbinic* glosses, which were either too metaphorical or hyperbolical. *Zerachiah* the younger flourished about the same time with *Shem Tob* (16), and is therefore different from one of the same name, who lived in the twelfth century,

and was a native of *Lunel* in *Languedoc*, and hath been mentioned in his proper place. To these we may add, the two physicians of the *Castilian* king, both men of note, especially *Meir Alguades*, who was also chief of all the synagogues in *Spain*. He translated *Aristotle's* Ethics, and flourished till an. 1405 (17). At this time, *Aristotle's* works were in such esteem among the rabbies, that *Shem Tob*, another learned *Jew*, inserted them in his treatise on the excellence of the law; which is the more remarkable, because, as we have frequently hinted in the *Jewish* history, they commonly expressed a singular contempt for all foreign learning.

(F) That the reader may guess at the one by the other, we have here subjoined some of those ordinances of the council: as, 1st. That it should not be lawful for them to lend money to monks or priests, unless the latter had a permission in writing from the monastery or chapter they belonged to; nor to take in pledge any of the utensils or ornaments of the church; nor the tools of any tradesman. A trooper had liberty to pledge his horse; but the artist, husbandman, and labourer, were not allowed to borrow any money from them; if they did, it was to be lost to the *Jew*. In *Normandy*, the laws were still more severe against them; where the lender was bound to summon the borrower before the magistrates, and those debts to be declared null that were not registered before them (18).

(G) It was farther enacted by it, 1st. That all the debts due to the *Jews* should be discharged; and that those who had received any pledges from them, should keep them. 2d. That all that should kill a *Jew*, should be deemed guiltless; and a prohibition was made to the judges to take cognizance of any such facts. 3d. That the king of *France* should be desired to do the same in his dominions; that is, to banish them, to strip them of their property, and to permit his subjects to butcher them. 4th. The duke did then engage for himself, and his successors, for the time present and to come, to maintain the same law against them inviolate; in default of which the bishops were not only impowered to excommunicate him, but to confiscate all the lands he had in their respective dioceses, without regard to any privileges then annexed, or hereafter to be annexed to them. 5th. Lastly, he declared, that no vassals of *Brittany* should be admitted to pay homage, till they had sworn before two bishops or barons to conform to this law, and not to suffer any *Jews* to live in their territories (19).

(11) *Bartol.* tom. iii. p. 927. *Conf. Wolf. Bibl. Rabbin.* N. 1282. p. 695, & N. 1023. p. 582. (12) *Fortalit. fid.* (13) *Bartoloc. ub. sup. tom. iii. p. 927. Wolf. ub. sup.* (14) *Bartol. ub. sup. tom. i. p. 366. & tom. iv. p. 508. Wolf. Bibl. Rabbin.* N. 2157, & seq. p. 1127, & seq. (15) *Id. ibid.* N. 1976. p. 1054. *Bartoloc. ub. sup. tom. iv. p. 376.* (16) *Wolf. ub. sup.* N. 581, & seq. p. 361. (17) *Id. ibid.* N. 1368. p. 744. (18) *Phil. Aug. Decret. de Judeis, an. 1218. Spicil. Dacherii, tom. vi. p. 471.* (19) *D'Argentre, Hist. de Bretagn. lib. iv. c. 23. p. 207. Vid. & Basnag. ub. sup. lib. ix. c. 20. §. 10.*



<sup>a</sup> THE famed council of *Lions*, which excommunicated the emperor, passed a decree, enjoining, under pain of excommunication, all the Christian princes who had any *Jews* in their dominions, to oblige them to refund to the crusaders all the usury they had got by lending to their subjects, under penalty of being deprived of all the privileges of civil society. The *Jews* were likewise forbidden by it to demand any debts due from the crusaders till their return, or till an authentic certificate was received of their death <sup>d</sup>. The council of *Vienna*, held in the same century, found itself obliged likewise to defend the Christians against the vexatious suits, as well as extortions of the *Jews*. Notwithstanding all which decrees and precautions, the *Jews* still found means to maintain themselves; insomuch that in some provinces of *France*, particularly in *Languedoc*, they had the privilege of being raised to the magistracy (H), and in most places of the kingdom, to have Christian slaves; which was attended with very great inconveniencies, and often with enormous abuses (I).

Council of  
Lions,  
A. C. 1240.

Of Vienna,  
A. C. 1267.

Their privi-  
leges in Lan-  
guedoc sup-  
pressed.

Persecuted  
under St.  
Lewis.  
A. C. 1236.

BUT the greatest persecution that befel them during this interval, was that which was raised against them by the *Parisians*, in the reign of St. *Lewis*, on account, as was pretended, of their sacrificing some Christian children on *Good Friday*, and using their blood on their Passover-solemnity; and for which many of them were cruelly butchered at that metropolis. It did not stop there, but spread itself into the provinces of *Brie*, *Tauraine*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, and *Maine*, where above 2500, who refused to turn Christians, were put to the most torturing deaths; and would, in all likelihood, have gone much farther, had not the pope interposed, and sent a letter to desire that monarch to let them have liberty of conscience <sup>e</sup>. But though this put a stop to their misery at present, it did not prevent their suffering greatly under the crusade of shepherds, which was raised during his imprisonment in the *Holy Land*, in order to go thither to release him; and which was carried on with the same enthusiastic fury as that which we have mentioned in speaking of *Spain*, and which happened in the subsequent century. The head of that mobbish army was an *Hungarian*, named *James*, first a *Mohammedan*, then a *Cistercian* monk, and now a deserter from that order. He led them first to *Orleans*, where he massacred all the priests and friars he could find; thence marched to *Bourges*, where he caused all the *Jewish* books to be seized, in order to burn them; and so went on, committing the vilest disorders, till they were at length overpowered, and a great many of them put to death <sup>f</sup>. We are told of a conference which was held on the year following, between *R. Jechiel*, a learned cabbalistical *Jew*, and *Nicholas Donim*, a famed convert from *Judaism*, before queen *Blanche*, then regent of the kingdom, and a private encourager of this new crusade. The Christians and *Jews* give us different accounts of the success of it (K): but that St. *Lewis* was no friend to the *Jews*, plainly appears from the edict which he sent, whilst under his confinement, to have them banished out of *France*, which his queen regent punctually executed, and died on the year following <sup>g</sup>. The *Jews* however pretend, that it was the king himself that banished them after his return.

Banished out  
of France,  
A. C. 1253.

THEY were recalled in the next reign by *Philip the Bold*, a prince of a sweet disposition, who was moreover induced to it from their known usefulness in promoting trade, making money circulate, and thereby improving his finances which were almost exhausted. This

Recalled,  
A. C. 1275.

<sup>d</sup> Conc. Lugd. can. xvii. tom. ii. p. 656.

<sup>e</sup> INNOCENT III. epist. 155. <sup>f</sup> Vid. gest. S. Ludovic. per GUILLELM. DE NANGIACO, Hist. Franc. script. tom. v. p. 359. MATTH. PARIS, Hist. Angl. Henr. III. p. 530. SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 417.

<sup>g</sup> M. PARIS, ibid. p. 576. SOLOM. BEN VIRG. ibid. & seq.

(H) The city of *Montpelier*, in particular, had been frequently in danger of seeing a *Jew* at the head of the magistracy: upon which account, *William IV.* lord of it, found himself obliged to forbid it by his last will, as his grandfather had done about fifty years before. Nevertheless, to discharge his conscience, he bequeathed a considerable sum to one *Bonet a Jew*, from whom he had received singular favours (20). This shews in what credit they were still in these southern parts.

(I) The continuators of *Baronius* give an instance of a young Christian woman, who had been by her *Jewish* master inspired with such contempt of the Christian mysteries, that, having communicated on *Easter-day* as usual, she conveyed the consecrated wafer to her master in a handkerchief; and adds, that upon clapping it into his purse, in which were seven pieces of silver, he found them all turned into wafers. It was well that his avarice did not provoke him to offer some great indignity to those miraculous symbols; but he was struck with such a reverence for them, that he acknowledged his crime, and desired to become a Christian (21).

(K) The *Jews*, who make him a great favourite of St. *Lewis*, and his prime minister, give him by far the victory in this conference. But whatever may have been the success of it, it is absurd to suppose him to have been raised to that height of power by a prince that was so great an enemy to his nation. The *French* authors, on the contrary, pretend, that he was so overpowered by his antagonist, that he had not a word more to say; and, through shame of his defeat, left that kingdom, and retired into the *Holy Land*; though it may as well be that devotion, such as reigned at this time among Christians as well as *Jews*, for pilgrimages thither, and not his defeat, was the motive that sent him thither.

However, one may guess how numerous the *Jews* were then in *France*, since their banishment did so depopulate the country, that they were obliged to send for artists, workmen, &c. to supply their place; and at length, to permit such *Jews* as would turn merchants or tradesmen to stay. And we read moreover, of a city near *Paris* which was called the *Jewish* city (22).

(20) Testament Guillelm. Monspel. Spicil. tom. ix. p. 145, & 161. (21) Bzov. An. sub A. C. 1213. N. 19. Sponian. sub cod. an. N. 25. p. 53. (22) De hac, vid. Basnag. ubi sup. c. xx. §. 10.



Levi Ben  
Geršhom,  
A. C. 1290.  
Jews in  
Gascony  
banished by  
Edward I.  
A. C. 1288.

Great abuses  
among them.

Banished by  
Philip.

recall admits of no contradiction, nor their becoming powerful and wealthy under his reign; a since they were afterwards wholly banished in great numbers by *Philip the Fair*, as will be seen in its proper place. Towards the latter end of this thirteenth century flourished the famed rabbi *Levi Ben Geršhom*, and grandson by a daughter of *R. Nachmanides*. He was born in *Provence*<sup>h</sup>, which being then subject to *Spain*, both *French* and *Spaniards* claim him as their countryman (L). *Gascony* had likewise a great number of *Jews*, who had gained such an ascendant there, that complaint was made to *Edward I.* then in possession of it, by an *English* knight, who, having mortgaged some lands to one of them, and summoned him before a judge, refused to appear or release the mortgage. The king gave him such an answer, as gave the *Jew* to understand that he must comply; and that, though he had suffered them to enjoy all the privileges which his father had granted to them, yet, if he found they had b abused them, he would himself be judge, and shew, that he did not design to give them the preference over the Christians; upon which the *Jew* submitted to the law. But the king having soon after escaped being killed by a clap of thunder which passed over his bed, and killed two of his officers in the same chamber, thereupon banished them out of *Gascony*, and all his other dominions in *France*<sup>i</sup>. There had, by this time, crept such abominable abuses among the Christians, as well as the *Jews*, in all those *Gallic* parts (M), that pope *Nicholas IV.* was obliged to send orders to all his inquisitors there to be more watchful over them both, and to suppress all those scandalous practices; which they did accordingly with great exactness as well as severity. However, it is not unlikely, that our king *Edward*, being then on the point of going to the holy war, had, like the rest of the crusaders, given into the notion, that the c persecution of those enemies to Christ was the most effectual means of obtaining a blessing on that enterprize.

His example was not long after followed by *Philip the Fair*, who wholly banished them out of his dominions (N); and though several causes are assigned for their expulsion, yet it is commonly allowed that he did that good deed from a bad principle, that is, in order to enrich himself by their plunder; and sacrificed the whole nation to his extreme avarice<sup>k</sup>. For he seized on all their wealth and effects, and suffered them to take only their cloaths, and as much money as would conduct them out of the kingdom: by which means great numbers perished in the way, and the rest happily reached *Germany*. And hence it is, that the generality of the *German Jews* look upon themselves of *French* extract. Those only saved themselves from banishment who embraced Christianity; among whom was the famous *Nicholas* d

<sup>h</sup> GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 145. BARTOLOC. ub. sup. WOLF, ubi sup. N. 348. p. 726. <sup>i</sup> WALSHING-  
HAM, vit. Reg. Angl. p. 53. <sup>k</sup> Contin. Chron. GUIL. NANGIS, sub A. C. 1310. DACHER. Spicil.  
tom. xi. p. 637. ap. Basnag. ub. sup. §. 6.

(L) He wrote a comment on the Pentateuch, which he finished in the year 1330, wherein he affirmed that the angels there mentioned to have appeared to *Abraham*, *Balaam*, &c. were only visions and dreams; and would never be prevailed on to admit of the different interpretations of the thalmud concerning them. Eight years after, he published his comment on *Samuel*, and some other works, which the reader may see in *Bartolocci* and *Wolf* above quoted; and lived to see the ruin of his own nation in *France*.

(M) Among the former, there were many that had turned to the *Jewish* religion; and these were circumcised in some peculiar manner, by which they might be known from the original *Jews*. Others judaized only in part, observing the Sabbath, going to their synagogues, lighting of candles, and offering their prayers and oblations there; though, in other cases, they conformed to the established religion. The *Jews*, on the other hand, not only had from these instances been industrious in unhinging and perverting the Christians, but in reclaiming the converts which those had made upon them; insomuch, that there was a new order of *Rejudaizers*, as they were called by them, or Relapsed, as the Christians stiled them, who were readmitted into the synagogue by washings and other ceremonies; and these commonly went with their crowns shaved like the monks (23).

We are told of another kind of abuse under that pontif (24): a woman, who had pledged her best cloaths

to a *Jew*, went to desire the use of them for the *Easter* holidays; which he refused, unless she brought him a consecrated wafer: this she did; and he having pierced it in several places, and perceiving it bleed abundantly, he flung it into boiling water. Some Christians coming in at that instant to borrow money of him, perceived it, and went and indicted him for it. He was accordingly condemned; all his effects were confiscated, his house demolished, and the church of *St. Saviour* built upon that spot. The reader is at liberty to believe or reject this story; but we shall find in the sequel, that very many of their persecutions and sufferings in these late centuries were founded upon such abuses and miraculous discoveries.

(N) The *Jews* have greatly exaggerated their sufferings, as well as the number of the banished, which they make to exceed that of the *Israelites* that took possession of *Canaan*, under *Joshua* (25); tho' it is scarcely credible that ever they amounted to half that number in all *France*. Some authors attribute this persecution to much such a miraculous discovery of a wafer pierced by a *Jew*, as we mentioned in the last note; and add, that he was condemned to be burnt alive for it, but saved himself from the flames, by holding the thalmud in his hands (26). One of the continuators of *Baronius* owns the miracle of the wafer, but says, it happened sixteen years earlier, and so could not be the cause of their present banishment; which *Platina* attributes to their exercising of the magic art (27).

(23) Vid. Basnag. ub. sup. c. xx. §. 10. Wolf. Bartol. ub. sup. Chron. gener. xlv. tom. ii. p. 875. Basnag. ub. sup. §. 15.  
A. C. 1306, p. 83. (26) Spontan. Ann. Eccl. sub A. C. 1305.

(24) Id. ibid. Walshingb. ub. sup. Naueter.  
(25) Gantz, ub. sup. p. 143. Bzovius, sub  
(27) In vit. Clement.



a *de Lyra*, who wrote more learnedly and strongly against the *Jews* than any did either before or since (O). But of those that were baptized, few were sincere, and many of them relapsed, and shewed their<sup>a</sup> resentment by spitting upon the images of the saints, and other such indignities; and one of them was burnt alive four years after this edict<sup>1</sup>; and yet the *Jews* pretend, that *Philip* died suddenly by a fall in hunting, as a punishment for this injustice to them<sup>m</sup>; which is manifestly false.

THEY were, however, recalled eight years after, by his successor *Lewis*, surnamed *the Hutin Recalled*, or *Mutin*, in order to replenish his empty coffers, recover his finances, and make trade flourish. He exacted also great sums of them for their liberty, which they readily granted; and, in consequence of it, lived very peaceably during his reign; but that proving short, they were again exposed to new troubles<sup>n</sup>. We have already taken notice of what they suffered in *Spain* and *France*, under the second invasion of the enthusiastic shepherds. This misfortune was soon followed by another, pretended to have been occasioned by their suffering themselves to be bribed by the *Saracen* king of *Granada* to poison all the rivers, wells, and reservoirs of water; which they not daring to do, as being too much suspected, committed the execution of it to a number of lepers, whom they hired by dint of money, and the prospect of the rich spoils of the dead (P). The waters were accordingly found poisoned in *France* and *Germany*; and a leper having deposed, that a certain rich *Jew* had hired him to it, the information was sent to court, and the lepers were all either imprisoned, or confined to their lazarettos; and the people in several provinces, especially in *Languedoc*, without staying for farther orders or proceedings, fell foul on the *Jews*, and massacred them in such a barbarous manner as cannot be read without horror; whilst the pretended criminals marched to the flames, and other cruel executions, with such intrepidity and joy, as if they had gone to a wedding. Those of *Paris* were used with more equity, where they only put the guilty to death. Others were banished, and the rich fort imprisoned till they had discovered all their treasures and effects; by which *Philip*, surnamed *the Long*, proved a very considerable gainer<sup>o</sup>. Great numbers of them were likewise massacred in *Dauphine*, and their effects confiscated, and yielded to the dauphin of *France*<sup>p</sup>.

d CHARLES, whilst dauphin of *Viennois* and duke of *Normandy*, was forced afterwards to recall them, during his father's imprisonment, and the disorders that reigned in his dominions; and, upon his mounting the throne, confirmed their former privileges, and only obliged them to wear some mark of distinction<sup>q</sup>. But being afterwards grown senseless, or, as some affirm, having been bewitched, the *Jews* began again to be accused of committing some murders, and other outrages<sup>r</sup>; for which some of them were hanged, others whipt, and the synagogues

<sup>1</sup> Continuat. Chronol. ub. sup. <sup>m</sup> SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 149. <sup>n</sup> Id. ibid. <sup>o</sup> Continuat. Chron. GUIL. DE NAUGIS. ub. sup. p. 691, & seq. <sup>p</sup> Memoires pour servir a l'histoire du Dauphine, ap. BASNAGE, ub. sup. §. 7, & seq. <sup>q</sup> Id. ibid. <sup>r</sup> DU HAILLON, Hist. de France, lib. xvii. sub an. 1395. JUVENAL DES URSINS, Hist. de Charl. VI. p. 129. BASNAGE, ub. sup. & seq.

(O) There is some controversy about his native country, as well as about his being a convert from *Judaism*; though with respect to the latter, his great skill in the *Hebrew* and rabbinic learning, will not suffer us to doubt of his having been of *Jewish* extract and education. However, after his conversion, he studied some time in the university of *Paris*; after which he entered into the *Franciscan* order, and wrote his treatise against the *Jews*; and applied his whole life in commenting and expounding the sacred books, which he divided, as the *Jews* and protestants do, into canonical and apocryphal. He seems indeed to have been too fond of *Aristotle's* philosophy, then in vogue; but in the main, he was justly esteemed one of the best and most judicious comentators of that age, as may appear by the monkish verse in praise of him;

*Si Lyranus non lyraffet,  
Totus mundus aberrasset.*

He died in his convent of *Verneuil*, an. 1340 (28).

(P) This accusation appears from many circumstances, with which it is transmitted to us, to be altogether false. Such as, that the lepers convened four general councils of the deputies from every lazaretto in Christendom, in which they disposed before-hand of all the dignities, estates, &c. of those that were to be poisoned by those waters; the deposition made by one of them, before the lord of *Pernay*, in which was contained the receipt for poisoning them, viz. human blood and urine, three sorts of weeds, and a conse-

crated wafer, which were to be tied in a bag, and flung into them; and some others equally ridiculous and incredible. Besides, if the *Saracen* king had hired any *Jews* for such a black deed against the Christians, he would doubtless have ordered it to be done in *Spain*, where they were most obnoxious to them, and not in *France* and *Germany*, where he had nothing to fear.

It must be owned, that there reigned then such a mortality in both these countries, as carried off more people than any pestilence had ever done. It began, we are told, at *Rheims*, and spread itself through *France* and *Germany*; and, as the physicians were unable to discover the cause of it, they had every-where recourse to the old superstitious notion of the waters, &c. being poisoned by magic, and of the *Jews* being the authors of it; which was easily credited by the rest, who were always fond of the notion of wizards and magicians being the authors of such public calamities. However, a late author of theirs hath undertaken to confirm the story of the waters being poisoned, and to justify the severities which were used against the *Jews*; though he hath done it in such a manner as will convince very few of his readers, unless they are as partial as he (29); as those that read him in the place above quoted will easily own. He likewise there affirms, that the *Jewish* nation were for ever banished that kingdom, and never settled there more by authority; though we shall see presently that they were recalled in the next reign.

(28) Vid. Wolf, ub. sup. N. 1697, p. 912. Basnag. ub. sup. c. 21. §. 5, &c. (29) P. Daniel Hist. de France sub Philip le Long, an. 1321. p. 414, & seq. ap. Basnag. ub. sup. § 13.



Banished for  
ever out of  
France.  
Obtain their  
privileges at  
Metz.

finer; which obliged many of them to turn Christians. At length came out, two years after, a that edict which for ever banished their whole nation from the *French* dominions; and it is from that sad epocha that they have since reckoned their years (Q). We must, however, except the city of *Metz* in *Lorraine*, in which they have preserved their ancient privileges and synagogue; that city being then an imperial one, where they had therefore the same liberty as in all others of the empire. This was afterwards confirmed to them by *Lewis XIII.* and an edict granted in their favour, by which all criminal causes relating to them were to be referred to the council; and their ancient privileges confirmed: which edict, given at *St. Germain*, bears date 1617.

Jews in Italy,  
during the  
13th and 14th  
centuries, fa-  
voured by the  
pope;

It is now time to pass into *Italy*, and other parts of *Europe*, during these two centuries. We begin with *Italy*, where we find the pope still very favourable and kind to them, both b in his own territories, and where-ever his authority reached (R). We have seen those pontiffs receive with open arms those whom *Ferdinand X.* and other zealous princes, had banished out of their dominions; though at the same time they seemed to commend their zeal against them. *Gregory IX.* now on the papal throne, followed the steps of his predecessors; and, tho' he was a zealous promoter of the holy war, yet observing that the crusaders began their pious work in divers places with the massacre of the *Jews*, took all the proper methods of preventing such butcheries. They were grown very numerous also in the kingdom of *Naples*, particularly in that capital, and the city of *Trani*, where they had very learned rabbis and c good poets, who were protected and caressed by the king on account of some signal services they had done him. He likewise recommended them at his death to his states; but these thought it a greater kindness to try to convert them, than to give them the full enjoyment of their religion; so that, to avoid the impending persecution, they promised to turn Christians, with a permission included to marry the daughters of the richest and noblest families in the kingdom. Every body was surprised at such a compromise (except the clergy, who were willing to convert them at any price): and much more still to see such marriages permitted in favour of conversions so little to be depended upon: for those who could not thus marry to advantage, made no scruple to relapse. It was therefore upon this last account that a monk of *Trani* took it into his head to punish them; and, having buried a cross in a dunghill, charged a *Jew* of that city with the fact. This was enough to raise the fury of the zealots, d who immediately butchered all the *Jews* they could lay hands on. The riot passed from thence to *Naples*, where they would likewise have been murdered, had not the chief of the nobility interposed, and concealed the most wealthy, and consequently the most obnoxious, in their houses, and thereby saved them from the fury of the populace. Pope *Alexander IV.* who then reigned at *Rome*, was so far from being suspected to encourage that persecution, that he endeavoured to suppress it; but his interposition proved fruitless, and he died soon after.

by the king of  
Naples;

Massacred at  
Trani.

(Q) But, for all this edict, they still kept a considerable interest in the nation, by means of the money which they lent to private persons; the management of which they committed to one *Nicholas Flamel*, a citizen of *Pontoise*, allowing him half the profit; by which he became so rich, that he was supposed to have found out the philosopher's stone; built several churches in *Paris*, particularly that called *St. Jaques de la Boucherie*, where he and his wife *Prenella* lie buried, and their tomb is still to be seen. He is said to have been a philosopher, painter, and poet.

We read moreover of some eminent *Jews* that were since then tolerated in *France*, tho' they had not the same full liberty as formerly; and among them *Profanus*, a celebrated astronomer, who taught at *Montpelier* about the middle of the 15th century. *Montallo*, another famed *Jew*, was sent for to *Paris* to be physician to *Mary de Medicis*, who obtained of *Henry IV.* full liberty of religion for himself and family; insomuch that being sent for by a certain great patient at some distance, they furnished him with fresh relays, that he might reach him before the Sabbath began (30).

They have been since in great numbers in *Gascony*, whence *Isaac Castro de Tartas*, being gone into *Brasil*, and taken by the *Portuguese*, was condemned to the flames. A *Jewish* writer adds, that it was upon his account that the law for burning them alive was abrogated in *Portugal*; for that all the time he continued alive in the flames, he was heard to say, *Hear, O Israel*,

*the Lord our God is one Lord!* which so surprised those that heard him, that they repeated the same words after him, and became *Jews*, without knowing how (31).

We could instance in many others; but it is sufficiently known, that they still live there, though in disguise, to avoid the severity of the laws against them; insomuch that they have got admittance into some of the highest places in church and state, as we shall have farther occasion to shew towards the end of this chapter.

(R) Thus we find pope *Nicholas* interposing with the emperor *Rodolphus* in favour of *R. Meir*, a *German*, whom he had caused to be imprisoned, in hopes of extorting a large sum from him; and told that prince, that if *Meir* had been guilty of no other crime than that of stiffly adhering to his religion, he deserved no punishment for it, and therefore expected that he should set him at liberty. We have seen a little higher, how *Gregory IX.* put a stop to the persecution raised against them in *France* and *Spain*. And though there was then a misunderstanding between him and the emperor *Frederic*, yet he made no hesitation to write a letter to him, in which he allowed the *Jews* indeed to be turned over to the secular power for crimes of state; but added, that such punishments ought to be confined within due bounds, and not extend to what was barely matter of religion and conscience. And we may add, that few popes were ever against giving them full liberty of conscience; and many of them have even raised them to dignities of authority and trust in the dominions under them.

(30) *De hoc, vid. Barrios. Relacion de los poetas. p. 55. Bassompierre, Memoirs of Montallo, an. 1615. Bagnag. ubi sup. lib. ix. c. 21. §. 20. & seq.*

(31) *Cardoso, Las Excellencias, p. 324.*

However,



a However, as the nobility had done it so effectually, there was the less need of his intervention.

THE marquissate of *Ancona*, though not then in the pope's possession, had likewise been very favourable to them, and allowed them full liberty of conscience (S). And here it was that the famed *R. Menahem*, a native of *Ricina Nova*, by some kind of miracle, from a stupid dunce, became one of the greatest cabbalists of that age (T). We have lately seen how *Clement V.* who had moved the papal seat to *Avignon*, strove to stop the persecution of the shepherds against them, as far as his anathemas could do it; he was no less industrious to promote their instruction; and ordered that every university should have professors to teach the *Hebrew* tongue, and to bring up men that should be able to dispute with and convince them by their own books'. His successor indeed, *John XXII.* took a contrary method, being induced thereto by a zealous sister, and much more so by some of his bishops, whom she had brought with her, and who had accused the *Jews* of having shewn some indignity to the cross, as it was carried in procession before them.

THIS produced an edict, by which they were to be banished from all the territories of the church; which caused so much the greater consternation among them, as they were grown very numerous and rich under the favour of his predecessors. They applied themselves to *Robert*, king of *Jerusalem*, a good friend of theirs, and a favourite of that pontif, who soon after prevailed upon him to revoke his edict; which he promised to do, provided his sister could be satisfied about it; and accordingly abrogated it, as soon as she had received 100,000 florins from them (U). It is plain, therefore, that this edict was issued out against his inclination, since he was so easily prevailed upon to recall it'. We have seen already how *Clement VI.* endeavoured to suppress the persecution which was raised against them in *Spain*, *France*, and *Germany*, on the absurd pretence of their poisoning the rivers there; and made no difficulty to give as many as could come a safe sanctuary in his dominions. Some historians have indeed accused him of doing it out of covetousness; but he easily retorted the charge against them, by shewing, that these persecutions were only raised against them with a view of plundering them of all their riches. His very inquisitors, who exercised such severities against the *Albigenses*, a kind of ancient Protestants, suffered the *Jews* to live in peace, and seldom gave them any disturbance, except when they found them guilty of some such enormous abuses as those we have lately taken notice of.

THEY were no less numerous and powerful at *Bologna*, where, besides their old synagogue, which was too small to contain them, they built a new one much larger and finer, and erected a kind of academy, in that city. This last owes its erection to one of the family of the *Hannabarim* (children) who was then going from *Rome* thither. This family, which deduces its original from those *Jews* whom *Titus* transplanted from *Jerusalem* to *Rome*, had continued there till the latter end of the fourteenth century, and was both numerous and considerable; but about this time went and settled at *Bologna*, where they grew so wealthy that they built stately houses, and the synagogue above-mentioned, which is the noblest in all *Italy*. They became still more famous for the many learned rabbies which came to teach in it; which is a fresh proof of what hath been said of the popes protecting and favouring them (W). But it is time to pass on to other countries of *Europe*.

WE

\* SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 123.

† BASNAC. ubi sup. lib. ix. c. 19. §. 8.

(S) The popes did not become masters of this territory till *an.* 1532, when *Clement VII.* sent his troops to seize on it, in order to protect it against the *Turks*.

(T) The *Jews* tell us, that he fell asleep one day in the synagogue, where he saw in a dream, or vision, a man who offered him a vessel full of water, of which he had scarcely drank a draught, before he found himself as learned as before he had been ignorant. He is commonly known by the name of *Recanati*, from the place of his birth; and wrote several learned treatises in the cabbalistical way (32). We do not vouch for his miraculous change; but mention it chiefly to shew, that the *Jews* flourished in this age in most parts of *Italy*.

(U) Our authors do not name the pope who issued and revoked this edict; but mention his sister *Sanguisa*, who is still more unknown. But since they affirm, that this transaction happened under *Robert* king of *Jerusalem*, and there was then a king of that name of *Jerusalem*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, whose chancellor *John XXII.* had

been, and lived ever after, in perfect friendship with him; he is most likely to be the pontif meant by them, especially as his successor *Benedict XII.* had no sister.

(W) This city then belonged to the ecclesiastical state; and pope *Boniface IX.* though so much dreaded by his subjects, permitted them nevertheless to erect the academy above-mentioned, and to build that grand synagogue, which, for its largeness and beauty, is justly admired by all travellers (33).

The *Jews* here likewise presented *Emeric*, the pope's inquisitor (who flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century, and compiled the directory of the inquisition), with a bible, said to have been written by *Ezra*; which is still carefully preserved in the library of the *Dominicans* there. It hath the following inscription in *Hebrew*, at the end of the Pentateuch;

*This is the book of the law of Moses, which Ezra had wrote, and which he read on a wooden desk to a numerous assembly both of men and women.*

(32) *Shalsbelith*, p. 61. *Bartoloc. ubi sup.* *Wolf*, N. 1457. p. 775. *Basnage*, & alib. *ubi sup.* c. xix. §. ult.

(33) *Basnage*.



Jews in Eng-  
land;  
invited by  
William the  
Conqueror.  
Accused of  
crucifying  
Christian  
children.

WE do not read of any thing worth mentioning concerning the *Jews* in *England*, till the time of king *John*; except that they were invited into this kingdom by *William the Conqueror*, and came from *Rouen* hither; and where, even so early as the reign of king *Stephen*, an. 1145, they were accused of crucifying a young Christian, in contempt of Christ and his religion, and were accordingly punished for it. They were again prosecuted for the same atrocious fact at *Gloucester*, in the reign of *Henry II.* an. 1160; and for a third committed at *St. Edmondsbury*, an. 1181. More of such persecutions there may have happened in other places, which *Matthew Paris* hath not mentioned; and these he hath accompanied with some circumstances which we shall pass by at present, because we shall have perhaps more frequent instances of them in the following centuries, than the generality of our readers will be inclined to believe; though we shall be obliged to mention the most remarkable of them, as they were always, if not the true cause, yet at least the pretence and forerunners, of the most severe punishments inflicted on that unhappy nation.

Banished by  
king John,  
A. C. 1210.

under Hen. III.  
1233.

WE pass on therefore to king *John*, whose reign was so troubled with intestine feuds, that he was forced to maintain himself by the hardest exactions; the heaviest of which fell of course on the *Jews* in his dominions, whom he caused to be imprisoned, and put to most violent tortures, when they refused to pay such taxes as he laid on them (X); and at length, we are told<sup>u</sup>, confiscated all their effects, and banished them by a public edict. They did not fare much better under the long reign of *Henry III.* during which many of them chose to turn Christians, to avoid the severity of his government; but, being afterwards detected, were justly punished for their dissimulation. This did not discourage that prince from endeavouring their conversion; to promote which the more effectually, he caused a seminary to be founded for the maintenance of *Jewish* converts, and where they might live without labour or usury; which soon induced great numbers of them to come into it: and that house, we are told, subsisted a considerable time<sup>w</sup>.

Jews at Nor-  
wich punished,  
A. C. 1235;

at London,  
1243.

THE *Jews* of *Norwich* were some time after accused of having stolen a Christian child, and of having kept him one year, in order to circumcise and crucify him on the ensuing Passover; but, the fact being timely detected, they underwent a due punishment (Y). Some years after, those of *London* were indicted for the same crime, but with some difference in the manner; the child having been sold to them by his parents, and crucified, and the fact discovered by some miraculous circumstances not worth relating; so that he was canonized for a martyr, and his relics wrought strange wonders. However, the murderers could not be found out; only some *Jews*, having left *London* about that time, were shrewdly suspected<sup>x</sup>. Their whole nation was still more alarmed on the following year, when the shepherds made such havock of them in *Spain*, *France*, and *Germany*; and they had reason to fear the storm would fall next upon them here; to prevent which, they purchased an edict from the king, for-

<sup>u</sup> TRIVET, MAT. PARIS, Chronic. an. 1210. p. 159.

<sup>w</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>x</sup> Id. sub an. 1244. p. 436.

But there is added another *Latin* one, which more fully explains it; and in which it is affirmed, that that roll of the law was written with *Esdra's* own hand, at his return from the *Babylonish* captivity: 2. That it is assuredly the original, from the testimony of the ancient *Jews*, who recived it in their synagogues, where it was kept: 3. That the *Jews* believed it such from one generation to another, and, as such, presented it to *Emeric*: 4. That the learned rabbies, who had examined it before witnesses, had acknowledged it as such, from some peculiar characters and strokes which are not to be met with in the modern manuscripts: 5. It is there affirmed to have been the manuscript which was shewn to the people on festival days; whence it is concluded, that it ought to be held in great veneration, and as a book dictated by the Holy Ghost, after all the other sacred ones had been burnt (34).

They likewise shew you there a *Megillath*, or roll of the book of *Esther*, still more ancient than that of *Exra*; and a bible written for the use of *R. Menachem*, the inscription of which was, that it was finished in the month of *Adar*, an. 953 (answering to A. C. 1187), to the end that *Menachem* and his posterity, and the posterity of his posterity, might be instructed out of that book.

(X) Our author (35) mentions one of them at *Bristol*, of whom the king demanded ten thousand marks; and

who suffered his flesh to be torn off his bones, and seven of his teeth to be drawn out, one on each day, till he complied; but paid the sum, rather than lose the eighth.

(Y) They are charged by the same author (36) with having repeated the same crime three times in that city, with very little variation of circumstances. On the first, they were brought to the king's court at *Wimminster*, and there confessed the fact; for which they were only confined, and their lives left at the king's disposal. The same accusation was laid against them on the following year; and four of the wealthiest of them were hanged, and their effects confiscated. Lastly, they were accused of the same fact before the bishop, an. 1239, at which time it was that the child's father found him in the *Jew's* house, after he had been lost a whole year. The accused in vain appealed to the king; the bishop maintained, that the crime, being of a religious nature, was cognizable only by the spiritual court; upon which four of them were dragged at the tails of so many horses to a gibbet, where they were put to death. So that they must have been very incorrigible to dare to commit the same crime so many times within the space of five years, and after having been so severely punished for it.

(34) *Montfaucon, Diar. Ital. c. xxviii. p. 400. Paris, an. 1235, p. 231. 280. & an. 1236. p. 359.*

(35) *M. Paris, sub an. 1210. p. 159.*

(36) *M.*



a bidding any one to hurt them in any of his dominions<sup>7</sup>. But, as that prince's minister was still craving for more money, and they refused to pay it, they were accused of some murder committed in *London*, where, after various vexations and sufferings, they were obliged to pay one third of all their wealth<sup>2</sup> (Z).

THE holy war, to which *Henry* was pressingly invited by the pope, proved another pre-*New taxes*, tence for squeezing money out of his subjects, and especially the *Jews*, whom he made no A. C. 1252. scruple to strip of all they had left. The next was the pretended *Spanish* war, to which the nobility and gentry refused to contribute till it was actually declared. The *Jews* were again 1254. called upon for new supplies: but, being quite exhausted, begged they might be permitted to leave the kingdom for some more propitious country (A); but that was refused to them, 1255. and they were forced to pay the sum, only with some alleviation. On the next year he demanded 8000 marks of them; and, upon their pleading insolvency, sold them to his brother *Richard*, who paid him that sum for them; and would in all likelihood have made them refund it double, had he not been convinced of their real poverty and misery.

THOSE of *Lincoln* were about the same time accused of having crucified a young Christian, *A child cruci-* with several circumstances of inhumanity, which the reader may see in the margin (B). One *fixed at Lin-* *Copin*, at whose house the fact was committed, not only confessed it before the lord *Lexing-* *ton*, upon promise of having his life spared, but owned it to be an usual custom among them to do so every year, if they could procure any such children. The king, upon his coming from the north of *England*, being informed of all, highly blamed that nobleman for pro- c mising to spare such a villain's life, and revoked his pardon; upon which *Copin* was dragged at a horse's tail to the place of execution, where he was hanged in chains, or, as our author words it, *his body and soul were made a present to the demons of the air*<sup>3</sup>. Their condition was still more desperate all the time of the league and civil wars which happened during that prince's reign; wherein, let which side soever get the better, they were sure to be crushed by it; at least we find that the leaguers seized on their synagogue at *Lincoln*, and from thence *Their syna-* passed into the *Isle of Ely*, and made dreadful havock among them. And it is likewise pre- *gogue seized,* tended that *Henry III.* at length banished them by a perpetual edict (C). A. C. 1267.

It

<sup>7</sup> MAT. PARIS, Chronic. sub an. 1244. p. 436. Vide BASNAG. ubi supra, c. 22. §. 9. <sup>2</sup> Id. sub A. C. 1243, & 1250. <sup>a</sup> TRIVET, Chron. A. C. 1267. Specil. tom. viii. BASNAG. ubi sup. §. 18.

(Z) Our author tells us of one single *Jew*, named *Aaron*, who paid at different times, to extricate himself out of prison, and other vexations, about 200 marks of gold, and 30,000 of silver. The rest fared no better, being prosecuted sometimes for coining false money, at others for counterfeiting the king's seal, and such-like; from which they found no other way to escape than by bleeding freely to that monarch, or bribing, as they did in several instances, their judges to be favourable to them. (37).

(A) *Elias*, one of their brethren, undertook to plead for them before the council; and in a pathetic speech, which was accompanied with a flood of tears, represented the impossibility of their paying such an exorbitant sum as was demanded of them; and begged they might be rather banished the kingdom than be thus inhumanly oppressed; professing, that if they were to be flayed alive, they were not able to raise the money. He swooned away, or pretended to do so, at the conclusion; but the council, who probably gave no credit to him, obliged them to produce the greatest part of the sum demanded (38).

(B) These are, that they fed him some time before with milk, to make him more susceptible of pain: that they convened an assembly of the most considerable *Jews* in *England*, to assist at his execution: that they appointed one of them to act the part of *Pontius Pilate*, and pronounce sentence of death against him: that they caused him to be whipt till the blood gushed out; to be crowned with thorns, buffeted, spit upon; that every one plunged his knife into him: that they made him drink vinegar, and crucified him by the name of *Jesus*: that they pierced his heart with a spear, and, after he

was dead, took out his entrails, to use in their magic operations, and flung the rest of his body into a well belonging to that house, where the sorrowful mother, after a long search, found it (39).

(C) This banishment is variously related by historians, as well as the motives of it. The *Jews* affirmed it to have happened A. M. 5020 (of Christ 1260); which our learned *Selden* (40) justly looked upon as a palpable mistake, and that the former date ought to be 5050; which would be more probable, if that error had not been in more authors than one; but as it is the same in most of them (41), it is more likely that they have either designedly or inadvertently antedated the disaster by 30 years.

Accordingly an inscription was found engraven, in *Hebrew* letters, on a stone in *Winchester* gaol, where probably the *Jews* of that county had been confined, to this purpose (42): "The commonalty of the *Jews* were arrested and imprisoned A. M. 5047." So that they could not have been banished either in the year 5020, or 1260. Besides, the leaguers, being defeated by king *Henry*, seized on the synagogue above named A. C. 1267. From which it is evident that they were still in the kingdom, and had their public meetings about the latter end of that monarch's reign. We may add, that none of our *English* annalists have made any mention of the perpetual edict, but, on the contrary, observe, that his son *Edward I.* caused the *Jews* to be imprisoned A. C. 1287, and to be all banished three years after. The annals of the *Dominicans* of *Colmar* affirm, that this happened an. 1291 (43); which is the more probable, because the council which was held in *London*, and occasioned their banishment, bears date 1291.

(37) M. Paris, *ibid.* A. C. 1250, & seq. (38) Id. sub an. 1254. p. 596. (39) Id. sub A. C. 1255. p. *ibid.* (40) De Jure Gent. lib. ii. c. 6. p. 190. (41) Shalsheleth Hakkabalah, fol. 112. So- lom. Ben Yrg. p. 139. Gantz Tzemach, p. 142. (42) Selden, ubi supra. (43) Apud Wurft. Hist. Germ. tom. ii. p. 25. Vide Basnag. ubi sup. l. ix. c. 22. §. 18.



*Their final ex-  
pulsion by  
K. Edward,  
A. C. 1291.*

IT is however agreed by most Christian authors, that this edict was published against them<sup>a</sup> about the latter end of the 13th century †, which is farther proved by public records found in some chanceries. *Trivet* affirms, moreover, that king *Edward*, who banished them out of his kingdom, granted them money to transport them into *France*, and afterwards confiscated their effects<sup>b</sup>. *Walsingham* says much the same thing<sup>c</sup>; and *Polydore Virgil* tells us, that this edict was enacted by a council which sat at *London* A. C. 1291, and, being desirous to sever the goats from the lambs, ordered the *Jews* to leave *England* in a few days, but with a permission to take their effects with them<sup>d</sup>. He adds, *that they obeyed; and that the nation, which was then very numerous in England, took their final leave of it, and still removed from place to place till they all perished; whose loss, says he, needs not be much regretted, provided they leave behind those sacred books, without which it would be difficult for us to preserve our religion for the future* (D). It is plain our author had no great belief in those prophecies which assure us that they will be actually recalled before the end of the world. However that be, it is plain they never more appeared in a body in this kingdom, from that time, till they were recalled to it, in the time of *Oliver Cromwell*, as will be seen in its proper place. It is therefore time to pass on to those of *Germany*, *Hungary*, and other northern regions.

*Jews in Ger-  
many, &c.  
A. C. 1222.*

WHETHER the *Jews* were really more wicked in *Germany* than in other countries, or the people more superstitiously zealous against them, there is hardly a kingdom where they have been accused of more enormous crimes, and of greater number and variety of them, during these two centuries. We have already taken notice of their having encouraged the invasion<sup>c</sup> of the *Persians* and *Tartars*, under a false Messiah, and of the joy with which they, especially those of *Cologne*, were ready to receive them, had not their project proved abortive. Notwithstanding which disappointment, and the bad effects it brought upon them, they seem to have been no less flushed at a fresh irruption of *Tartars*, who had already penetrated into *Hungary*, insomuch that the emperor *Frederic* himself was beyond measure alarmed at it. But what seems to justify them from the imputation, was, that even that monarch was suspected, as well as they, of having invited those barbarians; which scandalous surmise was, it seems, invented by the pope and his clergy, whom he had disobliged, and was soon after wiped off by the effectual repulse which he gave them. They were perhaps more justly accused, in the same year, of having obstructed the conversion of a young man of their nation<sup>d</sup>; for in such cases the *Jews* lost all patience, and the seeing of their children or relations taken from them, and abjure their religion, seldom failed of driving them into some extravagant violence. On the other hand, the zealots, who were extremely fond and proud of such conversions, could not brook the least opposition, without double retaliation. This is what happened at *Francfort* upon such an occasion, and where their fury on both sides ran to such a height, that they took up arms; several Christians lost their lives, and about 180 *Jews* perished in the flames they had kindled. Half of the city was consumed by them, and the *Jews* all in danger of being sacrificed to the resentment of the populace; to avoid which, some of the most politic, to the number of 24, turned Christians, and among them the chief of their synagogue, whom our author<sup>e</sup> absurdly calls their bishop: for the *Jews* had no dignity which answered to that.

1241.

*Accusations  
against them.*

*A sad fire and  
slaughter at  
Francfort,  
A. C. 1241.*

† Vide SELDEN, ubi sup. lib. ii. c. 6.

T. WALSHING.

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Ang. lib. xvii. p. 327.

man. PISTOR. tom. ii. p. 257. BASNAG. ubi sup. §. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Chronic. sub an. 1290.

<sup>c</sup> Hypodigm. Neutr. per

<sup>e</sup> Addition. ad LAMBERT SCHAFFSABURGH, Ger-

The occasion of the banishment is likewise variously related. One *Jewish* writer pretends, that they had been falsely accused to king *Henry* of counterfeiting his coin, and by those very rogues who had done it; and that the prosecution was carried on with such vehemence against them, that the king, who saw through it, ordered them to be banished, to save them from a more cruel punishment (44). Another tells us, that a priest, being fallen in love with a beautiful *Jewess*, and not being able to obtain her by any other means, submitted himself to be circumcised, and abjured Christianity; which being soon after known, the zealots insisted that all the *Jews* in *London* should be burnt alive; but that the king only caused those to be burnt who had a hand in that fact, and banished the rest (45). But in neither case is it credible that he would, for the crime of a few private persons, banish a whole nation which had so often filled his coffers.

A third pretends that his son *Edward*, seeing the country almost ruined by famine and pestilence, was ea-

sily persuaded that the incredulity and wickedness of the *Jews* had drawn down those two dreadful punishments on the whole nation; upon which they were all called upon to turn Christians. But that not having removed the famine, they began to ascribe the continuation of it to the violence they had offered to their consciences. Upon which the king ordered two pavilions to be reared near the sea-side, the one with a red cross over it, into which the sincere proselytes, and the other with the law of *Moses* in it, into which the dissatisfied converts, were bid to repair. But many of the latter, suspecting some private design against them, forbore to go to the *Mosaic* booth; and well it was for them, for those that did were immediately massacred, and their bodies flung into the sea. Thus far our *Spanish Jew* (46).

(D) The reader may remember that *Edward* had given the same decree against them in all his *French* dominions, on account of their corrupting the faith and practice of the Christians there\*.

(44) *Solom. Ben Virg. p. 140. Shalsheleth, fol. 113. p. 382.*

\* See before, p. 562.

(45) *Id. ibid.*

(46) *Cordoso Las Excellencias,*



a THEY were likewise often accused of murdering and crucifying the children of the Christians: the first time was at *Haguenau*, in *Lower Alsatia*, where three of them were found dead in a *Jewish* house. Complaint of it was made to the emperor, who, not being inclined to believe those idle stories, dismissed the plaintiffs with an illufory answer (E), which still more exasperated the people; but as the fact could not be proved, they obtained, by means of a considerable fum, a favourable judgment from him. They did not meet with fo kind a *Massacred in* judge at *Munich* in *Bavaria*, where an old woman having confessed that she had sold a child *Bavaria,* to the *Jews*, whose blood they had drawn for some sacrifice or forcery, the people, without *A. C. 1286.* staying for a farther trial, massacred all that came in their way. The town officers having in vain endeavoured to suppress the tumult, advised the rest of the *Jews* to retire into their synagogues, which was a stone building; which they did, but were all burnt and destroyed in it, notwithstanding all the efforts of the duke himself, and all his officers, to appease and disperse them<sup>f</sup>. Much such another accusation was brought against the *Jews* of *Wurtzburg* and *Bern*, where they were massacred in the same manner, and the two children killed by them *At Bern, &c.* canonized for martyrs and miraculous saints<sup>g</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these persecutions, and bitter zeal against them, *Germany* produced several great and learned rabbies, during these two centuries. The town of *Germer- Learned rab-* *sheim* gave birth to two of them, who took their surname from it, as it began about this time *bies in Ger-* to be the custom to do; viz. *Baruc* and *Eliezer de Germer-sheim* (F). That of *Vienna* pro- *many.* duced the famed *R. Isaac*, author of *The light sown*, and a great transcriber of *Jewish* books, which he dispersed among the synagogues of *Germany*, more exact and correct than the com- mon ones. He had several learned disciples, particularly *R. Meir de Rottemburgh*, who ex- ceeded him in learning, and became the judge and chief doctor of the *German Jews* (G). They likewise extol their *R. Annon* for his learning, riches, and handsomeness, as well as for his miraculous recovery of all his fingers and toes, which the bishop of *Mentz* had caused to be cut off, for declining a conference with him, which he had promised three days before; but this last may well pass for a *Jewish* legend.

THEY flourished no less in *Lithuania* during the 13th century; king *Borissas*, surnamed *the Chaste*, having granted them full liberty of conscience, and several other considerable privi- leges, which they have preserved ever since. This seems, indeed, to have been in a great measure their case thro' all those northern tracts, where the high ones favoured and protected them for their services, and the large fums they brought to them; whilst those of the inferior rank, especially the zealots among the clergy, beholding their prosperity with an envious eye, and being, as is most likely, often provoked at their insolence, and the contempt they shewed for their superstitions, were ever and anon raising some accusation to disturb their peace, and render them odious to the world. This doth but too plainly appear to have been the case, by what passed in the council of *Vienna*, which was held about this time. It was *Council of* there observed, that the *Jews* were grown so numerous and powerful, that the clergy's in- *Vienna held,* come was considerably lessened; for which reason it was decreed, that they should reimburse *A. C. 1267.* them in proportion to what they might have been intitled to, had their families been Chris-

<sup>f</sup> AFFENTIN, Ann. Bojor. lib. vii. p. 441. Ann. RENON, sub an. 1288. Hist. German. tom. vi. p. 396.  
<sup>g</sup> Id. ibid. vid. & Fascicul. Tempor. Aetas vi. Hist. Germ. PISTOR. tom. iii. fol. 83.

(E) He told them, it seems, that those children must be buried, since they were dead; for which our author, a zealous monk, makes no scruple to accuse that monarch of having been bribed by the *Jews*, and to damn him into hell for it (47). But another, of more candour and temper, tells us, that *Frederic* convened an assembly of learned divines, and inquired whether it were indeed true that the *Jews* thought themselves obliged to shed some Christian blood on *Good Friday*? But as they could produce nothing certain about it, he suffered the prosecution to go no farther (48).

(F) They were both great cabbalists; and the latter is affirmed (49) to have written a famed treatise in that strain, stiled, the *Mantle of the Lord*, an. 1240. But he should rather be of older date, since he is said to have taught the cabbalah to *Moses Nachmanides*; who, as hath been formerly mentioned, died an. 1260, aged sixty-six years.

(G) This rabbi was at length taxed by the emperor in

a large sum, and imprisoned for non-payment; whereupon one of his disciples became bound for him, but he died before he could get his liberty. On which account we must observe a gross mistake which some authors have made (50), who pretend that he died in a city called *Beith-Sahar*; whereas those two words mean only a prison-house; and such was that in which he died of grief.

Another thing we observe, is, that *Buxtorf* has mistaken him for another *Meir Cohen*, who wrote against *Maimonides*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere. And, 3dly, those are likewise mistaken who affirm, that *Rodolphus* was the emperor that imprisoned him, an. 1305; for that prince died an. 1292; so that it must have been either his successor *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, or perhaps rather *Robert* archduke of *Austria*, and the son of *Rodolphus*. There is likewise a book attributed to him called *Hatti Sbatz*, which he had begun, but was afterwards finished by his disciples, and is a collection of his decisions.

(47) *Richen. Chronic. Senon. lib. iv. c. 32, & 33. Specul. tom. iii. p. 401.*  
*Histor. ante Albert Argentines. Chron. ap. Wurft. tom. ii. p. 91.*

(48) *Auct. incert. Fragm.*

(49) *Gantz Tzemach, sub an.*

(50) *Bar-*



tian (H). They farther decreed, that they should be obliged to pull down their new and a  
stately synagogues which they had built, and be contented with their old ones <sup>a</sup>.

ALL these decrees, however, could not but prove abortive, whilst the princes and great  
ones publicly protected those that refused to obey them, and obliged their officers to shelter  
those who should implore their assistance. So that the evil grew up to such a height, that the  
clergy was obliged to take more violent measures, and to excommunicate all those that should  
protect the *Jews*, and refuse to execute those decrees which had been enacted against them.  
*At Augsb. A. C. 1285.* They were forced soon after to make fresh ones at *Augsburg*, on account of the improper  
oaths which were till then administered to them, and which they made no scruple to break (I);  
and to oblige them to swear by the name of God, and the law of *Moses*, holding their hand  
on the Pentateuch <sup>1</sup>. The misfortune is, that even this last kind of oaths is held by them to b  
be annulled on the grand expiation day; so that at the most they can be of force but one  
whole year. And we may add, that they have their casuists likewise, who allow them to equi-  
vocate, and to tell officious lies, according to that concession of the thalmud, that *it is lawful*  
*to dissemble for the sake of peace* <sup>k</sup>.

*Disputes with the Caraites.* ABOUT this time the dispute between the thalmudists and *Caraites* arose to such a height, that  
*R. Aaron*, head of the latter, and a man of great learning, wrote a treatise to expose the  
extravagances of the thalmud (K), in order to suppress a certain fondness which those of his sect  
began to betray for that book; insomuch that *R. Nissi*, the son of *Noah*, another *Caraites*, had  
been obliged to expound the *Mishnah*, at the earnest request of his disciples. *Aaron* in vain  
strove to oppose himself against the current, for a time; but he was at length obliged to follow c  
*Nissi's* steps, for fear of disgusting his disciples, and to give an allegorical sense to divers  
places of scripture. The thalmudists were not a little pleased to see their antagonists make  
such steps towards them, but that did not reconcile them the more to each other; on the con-  
trary, their hatred and animosity continued as fierce as ever <sup>†</sup>.

*Jews mas- sacred, A. C. 1264.* THEY underwent soon after a much greater misfortune during the contest between *Adolphus*  
of *Nassau*, and *Albert* of *Austria*, who had been both chosen emperor; when a peasant, named  
*Raind Fleish*, took the advantage of the war then raging to set up for a preacher in the high  
*Palatinate*, *Franconia*, and other provinces, and to pretend that God had sent him to exter-  
minate all the *Jews*. His pretence was, their having stolen a consecrated wafer; and the  
people taking him at his word without farther enquiry, fell upon them at *Nuremberg*, *Nieu-* d  
*mark*, *Rottemburgh*, *Amberg*, and other towns of *Franconia* and *Bavaria*, and burnt as many  
as fell into their hands; whilst many of the rest chose rather to burn themselves, with their  
wives, children, houses, &c. than to be dragged into the flames by the Christians. Duke  
*Albert* would fain have suppressed those butcheries, but was afraid lest *Raind Fleish*, who  
was looked upon as sent from God, should draw the people over to his competitor. The  
persecution was at length suppressed, probably by him, and the city of *Nuremberg* laid under  
a severe fine, besides having been above half burnt by the fire which the oppressed *Jews* had

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Vienn. ap. CANIS. lect. antiq. tom. i. p. 621.

<sup>k</sup> MANASS. Conciliator quest. in Gen. quest. 37. p. 48, & seq.

<sup>1</sup> CRUSIUS, Annal Suevor. c. viii. p. 3, & seq.

<sup>†</sup> De his vid. Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 597.

(H) It was farther objected that they prevented the  
conversion of their sons, daughters, wives, &c. and  
brought over many Christians to their religion, inso-  
much, that their synagogues multiplied, the new ones  
were made larger and more sumptuous, to the great  
decay of their churches and congregations.

(I) The custom, it seems, was, before that time, to  
make them swear by the saints, by the Blessed Virgin,  
and even by the Son of God; which oaths they made  
no difficulty either to take or break (1).

(K) This treatise, which he intitled *Morch Aharon*,  
or *Doctor Aharon*, is an explication of the articles of  
their faith, to which he gave the title of *Hetz Hacha-*  
*jim*, or *Tree of Life*, because he did not believe any  
man intitled to eternal life that did not believe them.  
And therefore, though he acknowledged a resurrection,  
yet he confined it only to the true believers of the house  
of *Israel*.

*Bartolucci* pretends that he rejected all the sacred  
books, except the Pentateuch (2); but that is a mis-  
take, since he wrote comments on the Psalms, and on  
the prophecies of *Ijaiab* and *Jeremiah*, which are still  
preserved in MS. in the library of *Leyden* (3).

We must here observe, that there were two famed  
*Caraites* rabbies of that name; viz. this who was the son  
of *Joseph*, and stiled himself *Aaron Cohen* (*Aaron* the  
priest), and flourished about the end of the 13th cen-  
tury; and *Aaron* the son of *Eliab*, who lived about  
fifty years after him. The former, whose commentary  
was found in the library of the fathers of the oratory  
at *Paris*, by *Morinus*, and brought thither from *Con-*  
*stantinople* by Mr. *Sanci*, hath made some learned men  
think that he had written it in the East. But as he op-  
poses in it the rites of the *German Jews*, he must be  
supposed at least to have lived some time amongst them,  
and to have designed his work for the synagogues of  
that country (4). He was likewise the author of ano-  
ther work, which he intitled *Miklol Joppi*, or *The Per-*  
*fection of Beauty*.

As for *Aaron* the son of *Eliab*, he lived in the East,  
an. 1362, and attacked the great *Aben Ezra*, and other  
traditionalists, with great zeal and reasoning, in a book  
which he intitled *The Crown of the Law*, which is a  
literal comment of the Pentateuch, after the method  
of the *Caraites*; and in another work, the MS. of  
which was brought from *Buda* into *Germany* (5).

(1) Crusius, Annal. Suev. c. viii. p. 3, & seq. Basnag. ubi sup. c. 23. §. 14. (2) Bibl. Rabb. tom. i. p. 29.  
(3) Fréji excerpt. Abaronis explan. in Pentateuch. Basn. ubi sup. (4) Id. ib. §. 16. (5) Id. ibid.



a set to their houses (L). This did not hinder it from resuming its hatred against them, ten or twelve years after, and hanging the famed *R. Mordecai*, who had written some learned comments on the thalmud, and on the works of *R. Isaac Aphez*, which are highly esteemed by the Jews (M). Mordecai hanged, A. C. 1310.

SOME years after, the council convened at *Vienna*, by pope *Clement*, against the *Templars*, likewise condemned the usury of the Jews, and those as heretics who approved of them; which was a fresh cause of vexatious law-suits and other mischiefs to them, especially in Germany<sup>1</sup>. They were, however, in some measure relieved, by *Menicho* bishop of *Spire*, who forbade them to be molested on that account in his dominions, alleging that law could not concern them, seeing *the church doth not judge those that are without*<sup>m</sup>. A few years after which they were quite banished by *Lewis I.* king of *Hungary*, who had lately subdued the *Moldavians*, out of all his dominions<sup>n</sup>. Protected by the bishop of Spire, A. C. 1339. Banished by the king of Hungary, A. C. 1344. Persecuted by the Flagellants, A. C. 1349. at Francfort.

ABOUT five years after, a great number of them were plundered and burnt, by the newly started up fraternity of *Flagellants* (N), at *Spire*, *Strasburgh*, and other places<sup>o</sup>, especially at *Thuringen*, where they exasperated the people against them; but the worst of all happened at *Francfort*, where, after some disorders committed against them, and their being at length come to some kind of accommodation, a Jew, named *Cicogne*, whose family was very numerous in that city, not satisfied with it, threw a piece of fire-work into the town-house, which consumed both it and all the records preserved in it. The flame spread itself to the cathedral, which was likewise reduced to ashes, and burnt quite as far as *Saxenhouse*. The crime did not go unpunished, for not only the incendiary, but all the Jews of that city, except some few that retired into *Bohemia* (O), were put to death<sup>p</sup>.

A NEW accusation was brought against them, which hath been already mentioned in speaking of those of *France* and *Spain*; viz. of poisoning the wells and spring-heads of rivers: though upon no other foundation than that they escaped from the common mortality which happened in most parts of *Europe*. This caused a fresh massacre in most provinces of Germany, the very year after that which had happened at *Francfort*. In some places they were burnt alive, in others most cruelly butchered. Those of *Mentz*, however, resolved to stand in their own defence; and having seized on about 200 unarmed Christians, massacred them in a most barbarous manner; upon which the incensed populace came in shoals, and fell furiously upon them, that they murdered about 12,000 of them on that single occasion. After Revenge on the Christians severely retaliated.

<sup>1</sup> CLEMENT lib. v. p. 510. NAUCLER. Chronol. p. 3003. <sup>m</sup> SZENTIVANY Soc. Jesu Dissertat. Paralipomenic. rer. memorabil. Hungar. Catalog. p. 236. ap. BASNAG. lib. ix. c. 23. §. 22. <sup>n</sup> Id. ibid. <sup>o</sup> Hist. Landgr. Thuring. c. 105. p. 941. <sup>p</sup> BASNAG. ubi sup.

(L) Some place this transaction after the death of *Adolphus*, and add two circumstances to it; viz. 1st. That this tumult was raised on account of the blood which came out of the consecrated wafer, whilst the Jews were braying it in a mortar. And, 2dly. That a great number of Christians joined themselves with the oppressed, and made so stout a defence, that the populace was forced to besiege and pursue them into their retreat (6). But these two facts explode each other; for it is by no means credible that such numbers of Christians would have sided with the Jews, if they had been convinced of the miracle of the bloody host; and much less that the archduke would have put himself at their head. So that this was no other than a popular uproar, which the better sort condemned; for there was no man put to death at *Francfort* on that accusation, after the magistrates had taken full cognizance of the affair, and proceeded on it according to their laws.

(M) He was hanged soon after his return into *Nuremberg*, after having retired some years to *Triers*, where he taught in company with *Isaac of Dijon*. The Jews have made a martyr of him (7). But the mischief did not stop there; for soon after, A. C. 1338, one *Armleder* put himself at the head of a troop of peasants, and made a sad havock and slaughter among them; but being taken, was beheaded by the order of the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; upon which the rest dispersed themselves (8). *Bzovius* adds, that the Jews were then accused of having stolen an host, and that upon piercing it, they were so alarmed to see rivulets of

blood issuing from it, that they fled out of the house. Information being made of it to the duke of *Austria*, he refused to act in it without consulting the then pope, *Benedict XII.* who only sent him word that the host ought to be revered, and those who had pierced it to be punished (9).

(N) So called from their assembling and stripping themselves stark naked, twice a day, and whipping themselves with cords, armed with barbed iron, and accompanying that ceremony with psalms sung to mournful tunes, and some prayers which they repeated aloud. This sect, which had been almost suppressed, took fresh vigour about this time, under some new chiefs, and pretended to have received a letter from heaven, by an angel, by which they were ordered to inflict those macerations on themselves, to relieve the souls which languished in purgatory, and to put a stop to the sins which then reigned in Germany; which letter was read aloud every time they met.

(O) And even these met but with a short respite; the citizens of *Prague*, displeased to see them celebrate their passover, chose that time to burn their synagogue; and those that were then at their devotions in it, which they did without any opposition, so that not one of them escaped. This misfortune proved so much the more grievous, as it was unexpected, as well as undeserved; and the Jews of *Prague* have preserved a regretful sense of it in a prayer which was composed some time after, in memory of that event.

(6) *Stenon, Annal. Hist. Germ. tom. v. p. 402. Histor. Austral. ap. Reub. Hist. Germ. tom. v. p. 341. vid. Basnag. lib. ix. c. 23. (7) De hoc, vid. Bartoloc. ubi sup. tom. iv. p. 47. Gantz Tezmach, p. 147. (8) Spond. sub an. 1338. p. 453. (9) Ann. lib. ix. 1338. N. 20.*



this, they set fire to their houses, which spread and burnt with such vehemence, that the great bell, glass and grate of the cathedral were melted down †. Their rage spread itself all over *Germany*; the imperial cities demolished all their houses, and built castles and towers with the materials, and the populace was the more eager to pull them down, because they found money and other rich things among the rubbish. The then count *Palatine*, and his ministers, strove in vain to suppress their violence, and to give shelter to them: they were opposed by some of the nobility, as well as by the common people, and accused of having been bribed by large sums to take their part. All the inhabitants of *Ulm* were burnt alive<sup>a</sup>, with their wives, children, and effects; and in a word, the whole *Jewish* nation saw themselves without friends or place of retreat, the princes not daring to interpose in their favour, at so critical a juncture. *Lithuania* was the only country where they enjoyed any tranquility; which was chiefly owing to a beautiful *Jewess*, named *Esther*, with whom *Casimir the Great* was enamoured, and at whose request he had granted them several considerable privileges.

Massacred in  
Bohemia,  
A. C. 1391.

THOSE who had taken refuge in *Bohemia*, did not fare much better than those in *Germany*, as appears by what we said in the last note. Two years after which catastrophe, *Vincenzlas*, emperor, and king of *Bohemia*, desirous to ingratiate himself with his subjects, to whom his excessive love of wine and women had rendered him odious, discharged all his nobility of the debts they owed to the *Jews*<sup>r</sup>. The people thereupon looking upon them as discarded from his protection, began to make a sad massacre of them at *Gotha*, which became still more dreadful, as the peasants joined the populace in it. Those of *Spire* put them all to the sword, without regard to age or sex, some few children excepted, which were spared, and hurried away to the font to be baptised (P). But as such violent persecutions are not only odious, but seldom fail of unpeopling a country, they found it necessary to put a stop to this, by the punishment of some of the ringleaders.

Banished the  
empire,  
A. D. 1400.

THEY were soon after accused afresh of having poisoned the wells, springs, &c. and punished for it by the most severe deaths, not only all over *Germany*, but in *Italy*, *Provence*, and other parts. The *Jewish* historians, however, tell us, that the emperor, being fully convinced of their innocence, represented again to his council, the impossibility of poisoning springs, which have a continual run of water<sup>s</sup>; but that the people pretending to have seen them throw the poison into them, and muttering some words all the time, made the emperor resolve to banish them, to the no small disappointment of the seditious zealots, who cried out, that no punishment was too severe for them. His edict came out accordingly against them, either to flee or be baptised; and the *Jewish* writers above-quoted, highly extol the perseverance of those of their nation, who, notwithstanding the great misery which then reigned among them, not inferior in their account to that which followed the destruction of *Jerusalem*, yet few, if any, were thereby driven to apostatize, or, as they word it, to forsake the glory of their God. But for this we have only their bare word, and with it we now close these two centuries, and pass on to the 15th.

Jews in the  
15th century  
banished out of  
Spain.

IN running through which, we shall not, as formerly, begin with the eastern *Jews*, for reasons which will more visibly appear in the sequel; but pass now from *Germany* into *Spain*, where we shall find them (after a long and peaceable abode there, during which their synagogues and learned men flourished, and their nation was greatly multiplied) banished at length from that country, excepting those who preferred dissembling to a mortifying exile; which fatal revolution hath ever since excited the complaints of the *Jews*, as well as the pity of the more moderate Christians for them; but as it did not take place till the close of this 15th century, and was ushered in by several considerable events, it will be necessary to give our readers an account of them before we pass on to their final expulsion. The first step towards it was promoted by the anti-pope *Benedict XIII.* who was then in *Arragon*, the only province left that owned his authority, and was trying to ingratiate himself with the rest of the *Spanish* nation by his zeal for the conversion of the *Jews*. He accordingly appointed a conference with them (Q), in which, as he defrayed all their charges, they treated him with unusual complaisance

A conference  
held between  
the Christians  
and them,  
A. C. 1413.

† NAUCLER. Chronol. gener. 45. p. 1009. ap. eund.  
<sup>r</sup> CRUS. ibid. lib. vi. c. 3. Hist. Landgr. Thuring. c. 132. p. 948. PISTOR, Hist. Germ. tom. i. ÆN. SYLV. Hist. Bohem. c. 3. BASNAG. ubi sup. TZEMACH, sub. eod. an. p. 146.

<sup>s</sup> CRUS. Antiq. Suevor. lib. v. p. 253.  
<sup>a</sup> SOLOM. BEN VIRG. sub A. 160. p. 151. GANTZ

(P) The pretence for this cruelty was, that they had insulted a priest, as he was carrying the viaticum to a sick person.

(Q) He was induced to it by one *Hieronimo de Sante Fé*, who had forsaken the synagogue to turn Christian, and was then his physician, and promised that he would convince all the *Jews*, from express passages out of the thalmud, that *Jesus Christ* was the Messiah. Accordingly he and one *Bertrand*, a native of *Valentia*, ano-

ther proselyte, and then *Benedict's* almoner, together with one *Garcias Avares d'Alarcon*, a man well versed in the *Hebrew*, challenged the *Jews* to a disputation. All the learned rabbies in *Spain* were summoned to it, and one *Dom. Vidal* chosen to manage it on their side. This last must not be confounded with another of that name, surnamed *de Tolosa*, who flourished in *Catalonia* forty years before this conference.

As to the title of *Dom*, which is an abbreviation of *Dominus*



a complaisance and respect; though they expressed themselves with some bitterness against his physician, who was the chief promoter as well as conductor of it against them<sup>†</sup>.

THE tenor and success of this conference is variously related by the *Jewish* and Christian historians that have transmitted it to us, though they were both present and bore a share in it<sup>u</sup>. Both sides pretend to have gained the victory, as is usual in such cases (R). But as neither the arguments on one side, nor the answers on the other, have any thing particular in them, we shall, for brevity's sake, refer our readers for the further account of the whole, to the historian often quoted by us<sup>w</sup>, and only add, that though *Benedict XIII.* was present at some of the sessions of it, yet he soon left his room to be filled by the general of the *Dominicans*<sup>x</sup>; and that it was begun *February 7, 1413*, and lasted till *May 10, 1414*. On the 10th of *November* following, *Hieronymo de Santa Fé* presented that pontif with his relation of it, which was confirmed on the 12th of *December*, and was afterwards published at *Francfort*, *an. 1602*, in the *Bibliotheca patrum*. With relation to the fruits of this conference, we are told, that about 3000, or according to others 5000, *Jews* were converted upon the reading of *Hieronymo's* relation of it; for which he grew into such esteem, that *Joseph Albo*, fearing lest their synagogues should be forsaken, compiled his *Articles of Faith*, by which he endeavoured to confirm the wavering belief of the rest (S). As for *Benedict XIII.* he published in the year following his constitution against the thalmud, and the usury of the *Jews*<sup>y</sup>, but as he was<sup>Benedict XIII's bull, A. C. 1415.</sup> deposed soon after, and all his ordinances were revoked, they felt not the effects of them. Neither do we find that his successor, *Martin of Florence*, followed his steps against the *Jews*.

BUT the greatest converter of them at this time was *Vincent Ferrario*, since canonized and extolled to the skies for his great zeal and miraculous exploits (T). The Christians reckoned that <sup>Vincent Ferrario's numerous conversions not sincere.</sup>

<sup>†</sup> SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 227—246—264.

<sup>u</sup> Shalsheleth Hakkabal. p. 113. HIERONYM. DE S. FE,

cont. Jud. lib. i. c. 2. in Bibl. patr. tom. iv. pt. i. p. 750.

<sup>w</sup> BASNAG. lib. ix. c. 24. §. 4, & seq.

<sup>x</sup> D'AGUIRA Bibl. Hisp. tom. ii. c. 1. ap. eund. ibid. p. 731—797.

<sup>y</sup> See his bull in BARTOLOC. ubi sup. tom. iii.

*Dominus*, the *Jewish* rabbies had begun about this time to take it, in imitation of the *Spanish* doctors, among whom it was then a mark of high honour; but is since become much cheaper, and commonly given to abbots, priors, and other heads of convents. The *Jewish* writers do indeed likewise give it to some of their ancient rabbies: and *Gedaliah* calls one of his ancestors by it, whom he places in the 10th century; but it is plain, it did not come into use among them till after the end of the 14th (10).

(R) The *Jews* pretend that they bribed several of the bishops to persuade *Benedict* to break off the conference as soon as possible, being afraid lest it should exasperate the Christians against them; but that the pontif insisted strenuously on *Hieronymo's* making good his promise against them. They add, that their rabbies came off with honour, and that the *Jews* were only ordered to refund some part of their exorbitant usuries on the Christians; which they, however, evaded; by applying to *Martin of Florence*, who was chosen pope after the deposition of *Benedict*, and resided some time in that city, and revoked the edict of that anti-pope against them. We omit several blunders and anachronisms which those authors (11) have been guilty of, and content ourselves with stating the time and fact as they are related on both sides.

The Christians, on the other hand, pretend not only to have gained the victory, but likewise that, in that very year, *Hieronymo de S. Fé* presented to *Benedict* a writing, which exposed the dangerous doctrines contained in the thalmud, against the law, against the Messiah, and against the Christians; and that rabbi *Asmuth* presented another soon after to the cardinal *de S. Angelo*, in which he owned that the passages extracted out of that book appeared shocking and erroneous to him; and that it was true, indeed, they might be capable of a better sense, which yet he did not pretend to know. For that reason he declares, that he neither pretends to defend or justify them, and disowns

any answer he may before have made use of to elude them. This was likewise assented to, and signed by all the rabbies there present, except *Joseph Albo* and *Ferrarius* (12). This would be indeed a signal triumph against the *Jews*, and a sufficient, as well as solemn condemnation of their thalmud, by those who were the professed defenders of it, if the MS. out of which our author hath taken it, could be depended upon. But as neither *Hieronymo de S. Fé* takes notice of any such recantation in the book which he wrote soon after against the thalmud, nor *Astroch*, who sent an account of this conference to *Girona*, it may be justly called in question. Especially, considering that all the rabbies assenting to it, except the two above-named, the declaration ought rather to have been drawn up by *R. Vidal*, who was at the head of the rest, than by *Asmuth*. However that be, the former wrote against the conference itself, his *Kadesch Kadoshim*, or *Holy of Holies*; and *R. Isaac Nathan*, his censure of the *Seducer*; though the latter did not appear in public till after the death of *Hieronymo de S. Fé* (13).

(S) These he reduced to three, viz. the existence of God, the law of *Moses*, and the rewards and punishments of belief and disbelief. Whether, therefore, he found his brethren too closely pressed on the article of the coming of the Messiah, it is plain he struck it out of his confession, as not necessary to salvation; and censures *Maimonides*, without naming of him, for having made the belief of his coming an essential article of the *Jewish* faith.

This work of his, published at such a juncture, was held in such esteem, that the *Polish Gedakah* hath written a comment upon it, which he intitled, *The Planted, or Complete Tree*; and of which his notes are the roots; the indexes to the places of scripture, the branches; and the allegorical explanations, the leaves (14).

(T) He is stiled by their martyrologists (15), *the bright star of Spain, the light of Valentia, the prodigy of the universe, the pattern of the Dominicans, and the*

(10) De hoc, vid. Basnag. lib. ix. c. 24. §. 3. (11) Shalsheleth Hakkabalab, p. 113, & seq. Gantz Chron. p. 144. (12) Bartoloc. ubi sup. tom. iii. p. 177. (13) Hottinger, Bibl. Orient. (14) Vid. Juchasin, p. 134; Gantz, p. 147. Wolf Bibl. Hæbr. N. 453, & 862. Hotting. ubi sup. Basnag. & al. (15) Tamaio Salazar, Martyrol. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 509. Saussay. Martyrol. Gal. tom. i. fol. 190. Legend. Manuscr. lect. lib. iv. ap. Tamajum. p. 510. Basn. ubi sup. §. 11.



A. C. 1415, that he converted about 8000 *Moors*, and about 30 or 35,000 *Jews*. And these last, willing a  
& seq. to raise his character still higher, or, which is more probable, to discredit what the former say  
of him, allow him to have made about 200,000 converts out of their nation, besides near  
100,000 of bad Christians. But whatever be the number of these *Jewish* converts, their  
sincerity was far enough for passing unsuspected, and not without good grounds; for the  
greatest part of them, after having dissembled as long as they saw occasion, made no scruple  
of throwing off the mask, as soon as opportunity offered; by which one might see that they  
had only given way to necessity, and merely to avoid a more severe treatment (U); for they  
themselves complain, that he was a great persecutor and calumniator<sup>z</sup>; so that it is no wonder  
that they only conformed to outward appearance, but privately and within doors, lived intirely  
like *Jews*, circumcised their children, observed the Passover, and all other *Jewish* festivals and b  
rites<sup>a</sup>.

The inquisition ordered to suppress their relapses. THIS dissimulation did not go long unobserved by the clergy, who acquainted the king  
(*Ferdinand*) and the pope (*Xistus IV.*) with it: upon which the tribunal of inquisition was  
strictly charged to watch more closely over those delinquents, and Christian princes were  
exhorted to assist it in the punishment of them. This decree, which was published in most  
cities of *Spain*, so alarmed the *Jews*, that 17,000 immediately returned to the church, and  
submitted to whatever censures or penance it should impose upon them. Two thousand of  
them were burnt alive, some of whom, nevertheless, acknowledged *Christ* to be the Messiah.

The punishment inflicted on them. A great number of others were thrown into dungeons, where they continued a long time;  
and those that were let out were declared infamous, and ordered to wear two red crosses on c  
their upper garments, in acknowledgement that they had deserved the flames. They did not  
even spare the dead, but took up and burnt their bones, confiscated their effects, and declared  
the children incapable of succeeding their parents. These great severities made several of them  
flee into other countries, notwithstanding the watchfulness of that tribunal; whilst the rest  
took care either to dissemble more closely, or to be better instructed before they turned, that  
they might be less exposed to the punishment of apostacy (W). These conversions did not  
hinder the populace from often insulting and oppressing them, and from attributing every mis-  
fortune or calamity that befel them either to the obstinacy of the recusant, or to the dissimu-  
lation of the conforming *Jews*; witness the insurrection they made against them at *Toledo*, on d  
a pretended infringement of their privileges, and laying a new tax on that city, which, though  
small and light, was at the time of war very necessary; on account of which, the inhabitants  
vented their resentment on the *Jews*, without sparing even the posterity of those that had been  
converted, and after having broke into and plundered their houses, and murdered all that  
opposed them, as soon as the city had resumed its tranquility, enacted some laws against the

<sup>z</sup> CARDOSO las Excellencias & auct. ab eo citat.

<sup>a</sup> Bzov. ann. ubi sup.

glory of the glorified saints. They tell us moreover, that  
he was heard to bark in his mother's womb, as a pre-  
sage that he would become a celebrated preacher; and  
that tho' he only understood his own mother tongue,  
yet by a prodigy, greater than that which happened to  
the apostles, every nation could plainly understand  
him. His credit was become so great that he was raised  
to the highest dignities in church and state, and particu-  
larly to that of confessor to the anti-pope *Benedict*.

It is not agreed whether or no he was a convert from  
*Judaism*; the *Jews*, by calling him *Meskumad*, or apo-  
state, seem to allow it; but others pretend that he was  
descended of an illustrious Christian family in *Valentia*.  
However that be, we are told that he converted more  
by his miracles than by his eloquence; insomuch, that  
being once got into a synagogue, with a cross in his  
hand, the mens garments, and the womens linen, were  
all covered with red crosses; which obliged them to  
acknowledge *Christ* crucified, and to turn their synagogue  
into a church, for which it has been called ever since  
the *Church of the holy Cross* (16).

(U) We have a pregnant instance of this in a MS.  
letter, preserved in the *Vatican* library, written from a  
*Jewish* rabbi named *Duran*, who, after having em-  
braced Christianity, artfully strove to dissuade his son  
from imitating his forefathers. The whole tenor of it  
was equivocal, and seemed, at first reading, as intended  
to persuade him to continue steadfast in the religion he  
had embraced; but upon closer reading, the whole my-

stery was soon unravelled, and the design found to be  
to persuade him to return to *Judaism*, which he himself  
owned he had forsaken at the instigation of *Vincent Fer-  
rario* (17).

(W) Among them who were esteemed sincere converts,  
was *Solomon* the son of *Levi*, who having read the  
*Summ. of Th. Aquinas*, was convinced of the truth of  
Christianity, and took the name of *Paul of Burges*. He  
was soon after raised to the bishoprick of that city,  
which was his native place, and afterwards to the pa-  
triarchate of *Aquileia*. He hath left behind some addi-  
tions to *N. Delyra*, formerly mentioned, but doth so  
often take upon him to correct him, that himself wants  
a fresh corrector, having been guilty of some egregious  
blunders in his criticisms. He was accordingly criti-  
cised by *Simon de Girona*, but with little credit or suc-  
cess, since that rabbi is often forced to give up the au-  
thority of the thalmud, though of such great weight  
among the *Jews*.

*Paul* left a son, who succeeded him in his bishoprick,  
and wrote the history of *Spain* that goes by his name.  
He had a second, who was raised to the see of *Pla-  
centia*; and a third, who married into an illustrious  
*Spanish* family, and became preceptor to the king of  
*Castile*. But in the midst of all his preferments, he  
declared that no dignities either in church or state ought  
to be given to any of his nation, because they were too  
much accustomed to dissemble. May not he have been  
one of that class?

(16) Bzov. sub A. C. 1412. N. 11. *Ægid. Gonzal Albulens. Historiogr. Philip III. lib. iii. c. 15.*  
the letter in Bartolucci, tom. i. p. 404.

(17) See



a new converts, whether from *Judaism* or *Paganism*, by which they were excluded from all offices of honour and trust <sup>b</sup>. The clergy, however, more equitable to those neophytes, took them under their protection, and condemned those laws as unchristian, and had their censure soon after ratified by the pope (X).

ALL this while the *Jews* were still protected and loved by king *Alphonso the Great* and his grandees; and it is under his reign that one of their writers <sup>c</sup> places a conference which hap-<sup>A conference before Alphonso.</sup> pened between that monarch and one *Thomas*, surnamed *the subtle philosopher* (Y), who came so much the more opportunely thither, as one of the bishops had preached a severe sermon against them, in which he imprudently affirmed that they could not celebrate their Passover without shedding of some Christian blood; which, if true, he said, he was resolved to drive b them out of his territories; whereupon the king was glad to have so learned a man to confute that absurd notion; which he accordingly did, though not with that strength and energy which might be expected from a person of his character. The same author mentions another A second. conference that passed between *Alphonso of Portugal* and the *Jews*, on the subject of the 22d Psalm, and the application which the Christians make of several pregnant passages of it to *Christ*, but which these denied to relate to him; but as he hath not told us how that dispute ended, we shall say no more of it, there being nothing extraordinary urged on either side.

AMONG the learned rabbies who flourished during this 15th century, besides those we have <sup>Learned Jews, A. C. 1482. & seqq.</sup> already mentioned at *Arragon*, &c. we may name their celebrated *Shammai* <sup>d</sup>, one of the greatest cabbalists of the age (Z). *Joel*, the son of *Sciocu*, was no less famed a preacher, c whose sermons, though too long and diffuse, had some very judicious expositions of certain sections of the Pentateuch. The family of *Alcaleb* produced two excellent astronomers, the uncle and the nephew, who both compiled astronomical tables <sup>e</sup>. The first was named *R. Isaac Ben Tzadic*, and the other *R. Isaac Ben Solomon Ben Tzadic*. We shall by-and-by have occasion to mention several others of their learned men, who were unhappily included in the edict of condemnation and banishment, and involved in the same misfortunes with the rest of that unhappy nation, of which we are going now to speak (A).

THIS dreadful edict was issued out against them by *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, soon after he <sup>Jews banished out of Spain, A. C. 1492.</sup> had happily ended his war with the *Moors*, and obliged the whole *Jewish* nation to quit *Spain* in four months after the date of it (in *March*, A. C. 1492). *Turre Cremata*, who was d the soul of this persecution, advised the king to shorten that term, and forbade the people,

<sup>b</sup> MARIANA, ubi sup. lib. xxii. c. i. p. 840.

<sup>c</sup> SOLOM. BEN VIRG.

<sup>d</sup> BARToloc. Bibl. Rab. tom. ii.

<sup>e</sup> Id. ibid. tom. iii. p. 290, & 925. WOLF Bibl. Hæbr. N. 1263, & seq.

(X) The dean of that city was the first who fulminated his anathemas against those laws, and ordered public theses to be held, in which they were condemned; and to give the greater weight to his defence, mentioned a good number of families of high rank, who had intermarried with the *Jews*, and were likely to be deprived of their public employments by them. All his endeavours and struggles would, however, have proved fruitless, had not pope *Nicholas I.* published a thundering bull against them, by which he excommunicated all those who were for depriving these proselytes of any place either civil or ecclesiastical, or from the priesthood and government, whether they were converts from *Judaism* or *Paganism*. This bull meeting but with a cold reception, that pontif was obliged to send a second to confirm it; and *Mariana* is almost the only *Spanish* writer who hath vouchsafed it a place in his history, so displeasing was it to that whole nation (18).

(Y) One might be apt to think, by the name and character, that this must have been the famed *Thomas Aquinas*, especially as he flourished in the reign of king *Alphonso*, the then great favourer of the *Jews*. But as it doth not appear that he ever was in *Spain*, and in this conference quotes *Nich. de Lyra*, and *Abrawanel*, who both lived after the *subtile* doctor, our author must have either jumbled some persons together that were not cotemporary, or mean *Alphonso V.* of *Portugal*, who reigned about the middle of the 15th century. However that be, this conference, which lasted several days, concluded in favour of the *Jews*; and *Thomas*, by quoting *Abrawanel*, who acquits the Christians of idolatry, and telling that he, the king, was lineally descended from king *David*, easily engaged him to

protect and favour their nation; whilst at the same time he counselled him to make some laws against their usury and luxury, which were the two main things that rendered them odious to his subjects.

(Z) Among other cabbalistical secrets, he published that of begetting more boys than girls in the married state, by placing the bed from the north to the south. And the rabbies, who abound with such kind of superstition, affirm, that the Divine Majesty resides from east to west, and that it is a dishonour to it to place one's bed in that point. But when, out of respect to it, men plant it from north to south, God recompenses them with a breed of boys, which the *Jews* prefer to the girls. But one would rather think they did it in imitation of, or conformity to, the notion of the old philosophers, who believed that the cold north winds contributed to the procreation of boys.

(A) We must here once more observe, that *R. Abraham*, prince of the *Jewish* nation, and tutor to the great *Aben Ezra*, had foretold 200 years before, that the same configuration which *Moses* their great law-giver was born under, namely, the conjunction of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, would bring in the Messiah. It was to happen, according to his calculation, 2859 years after the former; that is, A. C. 1464. And there actually happened such a conjunction twice within this 15th century, viz. 1444 in *Cancer*, and twenty years after in *Pisces*. But instead of that glorious train of miracles which was to accompany the birth of that long expected prince, and exalt the *Jewish* nation above all the rest, they met with nothing but disasters, and a general banishment out of all the *Spanish* dominions, which proved the ruin and destruction of the greatest part of it.



under the severest penalties, to afford either victuals, or any other assistance, to such as were found in the kingdom after the month of *April*. Some historians likewise think that they were forbid, by a new order, to carry away either gold or precious stones, or any thing but a few cloaths, wine, and such other merchandize (B). If so, it is plain that order was not punctually executed, since they found means, we are told, to convey away thirty thousand millions of ducats<sup>f</sup>. The *Spaniards* tell us, that 70,000 families, or 800,000 persons, left the kingdom pursuant to this edict; and the *Jews* make them amount to 160,000 families, or 600,000 persons<sup>g</sup>, and even some of those who had been most in credit at court (among whom was the learned *Abravanel*, who had been a long while a favourite of the king and queen) (C), were obliged to embark for foreign countries; and none permitted to stay, but those who preferred Christianity to banishment, which were likewise very numerous.

The number of  
them,

and grievous  
misery.

Learned men  
banished.

THE misery of those who embarked is almost inexpressible. In some the vessels took fire, and they either perished in the flames, or were drowned; others were so loaded, that they bulged and sunk with them to the bottom. Others were shipwrecked on some foreign coasts, and either perished with hunger and cold, or were exposed to some new disasters. In some the plague began to rage, and they were set down at the next shore, where those that outlived it perished for want; others reached the city of *Fez*, where the inhabitants, being frightened at their vast number and misery, shut their gates against them; so that they were forced to spread tents in the fields, and to live upon such few herbs as that dry and barren ground afforded. And this might even pass for a mercy, in comparison of the insults and horrid hardships which they were forced to undergo from some barbarians there, who thought they might impunely commit any inhumanities against those unfortunate fugitives. The reader

<sup>f</sup> BASNAG. ubi sup. c. 25. §. 1.

<sup>g</sup> ABRAMAN. CARDOSO las Excellencias, &c.

(B) We are told that many of them who had courage enough to leave the country, found themselves obliged to stay and be sold for slaves for want of a few ducats, which every one that embarked was obliged to pay to the captain of the vessel; and to such a degree of strictness were the king's orders executed, that two vessels, loaded with *Jewish* families, not having been able to sail before the time prefixed, set them on shore again, where they were unmercifully seized and sold, and all their goods confiscated.

(C) We took notice lately that this learned rabbi pretended to be lineally descended from king *David*, and as such was in great esteem among his nation, as well for his learning, riches, and employment; notwithstanding which, he had been often forced to flee from one country to another. He appeared even from his younger years at the court of *Alphonso* king of *Portugal*, and was in great credit with him; but upon his death, not finding the same favour from his son and successor, *John* II. he privately retired into *Castile*, where *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* intrusted him with the care of their finances, which gave him an opportunity of getting an immense treasure in a short time.

Being obliged to leave *Spain*, with the rest of his nation, he embarked for *Naples*, where he soon recommended himself to the favour of the king, and did him considerable service. But that prince dying, and *Charles* VIII. having seized on that kingdom, he was forced to flee into *Sicily*, with *Alphonso* II. who had succeeded his father. His faithfulness to him, in the midst of his misfortunes, which had deprived him of his riches and crown, obliged him again, after his death, to leave that island, and sail to *Corfu*, and thence into *Puglia*; where having resided some time, he went and died at *Venice*. His corpse did not rest there, but was conveyed to *Padua*, and there interred.

He was no less esteemed for his learned works; and we may truly say that he is, of all the *Jewish* doctors, the most clear and useful for the right understanding of the sacred text. His style is pure, and easy to be understood; and only sometimes rather too swollen, and more like that of an orator than a commentator. He explains the literal sense of the sacred volumes, and learnedly handles those questions that fall in his way in those books he hath commented upon. He was

moreover of a sweet and affable disposition, and lived in a friendly and familiar manner with the Christians. One fault however, is commonly found in his writings, that he frequently inveighs against them, particularly against the pope and his clergy; on which account some are of opinion that the *Jews* ought to be debarred from the reading of them (19).

Among other learned *Jews* that followed *Abravanel's* fate, were *R. Isaac Ben Aruma*, a great philosopher and cabbalist, whose exposition of the *Mosaic* law is highly esteemed by the *Jews*, though some critics (20) think it too diffuse, allegorical, and full of a moral altogether *Jewish*. He took with him his son *R. Meir*, one of the greatest rabbies of that age, and author of a comment upon *Job*, which *Buxtorf* hath attributed to his father.

Another was *Joseph Gigatella*, surnamed the divine Cabbalist; and *Taumaturgus*, who, during his exile, applied himself to the exposition of the divine Attributes and Names, and of the ten *Sephiroth*; that is, of the most mystical, and at the same time of the most admired, part of the *Jewish* theology.

*Isaac Karo* was another learned exile: he retired at first into *Portugal*, and thence to *Jerusalem*, but lost his children and books in his passage. He lived a perfect recluse there, and compiled his book of generations (or of the sons of *Isaac*, to comfort himself for the loss of his own) which is only a comment or clear solution of some doubtful questions on the Pentateuch, partly cabbalistical, and partly literal (21).

*Abraham Zacchut* flourished likewise about the same time. *Bartolacci* hath confounded him with *Abraham the Jew*, who translated an *Arabic* treatise on the virtue of remedies. Both of them were good astronomers, and published a perpetual almanac. *Zacchut* was a native of *Salamanca*, and taught at *Saragossa*; but being obliged to leave the country, pursuant to *Ferdinand's* edict, retired into *Portugal*, where king *Emanuel* made him his historiographer. And here it was that he compiled his famed book of *Juchasin*, or genealogies from the creation to the year of *Christ* 1590. We omit many more, for want of room; but these are the most celebrated ones that underwent this dreadful exile.

(19) *De hoc*, vid. *Bartoloc. ubi sup. tom. iii. p. 857. Simon Critic. Ant. Test. lib. iii. c. 6. Basnag. ubi sup. c. 25. §. 4, &c.* (20) *Simon ubi sup.* (21) *Bartol. ubi sup. Wolf Bibl. Hæbr. N. 1266. p. 689, & seq.*



- a may see some instances of it in the margin (D). All this while the king and queen were highly blamed by all sober Christians, not only for depopulating their dominions, but for running the risk of involving them in a civil war; for whatever precaution he might have taken against it, the resentment and despair of 800,000 subjects, so cruelly used, might, not unlikely, have defeated all his measures; and *Abravanel* had reason to extol their submission and fidelity for not opposing so severe and unjust a decree. What induced that monarch to it, whether avarice, and prospect of seizing upon their immense riches, or religion, and the notion of gaining heaven by the persecution of the enemies of *Christ*, or the hopes of ingratiating himself with his clergy, we leave to our readers to guess. However, he soon after received Ferdinand the title of *Catholic* for it, from pope *Alexander VI.* who probably laughed at his zeal, whilst *filed Catholic*.
- b himself received those fugitives which he had banished.

But a good part of them met with a much nearer refuge from *John II.* king of *Portugal*, Jews received who had already done him some great service (E); and though he did not love them, yet in Portugal found it his interest to receive them into his dominions; and though upon very hard conditions, upon hard conditions, yet such as they chose to submit to, rather than expose themselves to new misfortunes. His son and successor *Emanuel*, seemed indeed at first to pity them, but was soon induced to sacrifice them and the *Moors* to his interest, and the alliance he made with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. He accordingly banished both nations by an edict; and as he feared reprisals from the *Moors*, he suffered them to go with their effects; but doubly broke his promise to the *Jews*, first, *The king's treachery to them,* by detaining their children that were under 14 years of age, which piece of treachery drove them into such despair, that some of them killed themselves, and others, sacrificing their natural affection to religion, became the executioners of their own children: and secondly, by reducing the three ports, which he had assigned them to embark in to one; by which many of them were forced to make a kind of double journey, to take quite new measures, and exhaust their purses; to which we may add, the delay which was caused to their embarkation, which increased their poverty and misery. Those that had the good fortune at length to embark, were nevertheless obliged to bear very severe hardships and insults from the ship captains and seamen, even to the deflowering of their wives and daughters, or exacting large sums to preserve them from being so. Even among those that turned Christians, to avoid such a train of miseries as they saw before their eyes, many of them were very harshly used, from a too just mistrust of their sincerity, and a great number of them were massacred upon the first, though but slight, occasion that offered itself (F). All which seemed but too well encouraged by

(D) One of these wretches, we are told, ravished a *Jewish* virgin before her parents; and returned presently after and cut her throat, for fear she should have conceived, and should bring forth a *Jew*. A seaman seized on a number of *Jewish* children, who were gathering of cockles and other shell-fish on the shore, at low water, and brought them to his ship, where he gave them some bread; which brought many more thither, with whom he sailed away, and sold some of them to persons of quality, and the rest he made slaves of. The captain of a vessel that was transporting a number of them, took one day a resolution to murder them all, and thereby, as he pretended, revenge the death of *Christ*, whom they had crucified; upon which they represented to him that the blood which *Christ* had shed was for the sins of mankind, and did not want to be revenged; and that he did not desire the death, but salvation of the sinner. The brutish sailor, being somewhat softened by this reply, forbore indeed murdering them, but caused them to be stripped naked, and set down on the next shore; where part of them perished with hunger, others were torn in pieces by lions, that came out of a neighbouring cavern; and the rest were saved by the humanity of a master of a vessel, who seeing them in that dismal plight, took them in, and cut his sails to cover their nakedness. Those who sailed for *Italy*, being arrived at *Genoa*, found that country afflicted with a sore famine, which made all victuals exceedingly dear. The *Genoese* beholding them so macerated by sufferings, and destitute of money to buy food, met them in the streets, with bread in one hand, and a cross in the other, and gave the one to those that would worship the other, which temptation proved so powerful, that those poor famished wretches,

who had had the courage to abandon their country, riches, &c. could not now be proof against it.

(E) That monarch had formerly sent some of them, particularly *Abraham de Beja* and *Joseph Zapatero*, to make new discoveries along the coasts of the *Red Sea*, of which they had made an exact and faithful report to him. They had likewise been assisting the *Portuguese* adventurers in the discovery of the *East Indies*; and could be made still more useful to him in other matters. However, as he privately hated them, he found means at once to satisfy his aversion and policy, by laying them under very severe conditions.

These were, that every person was to pay him eight crowns of gold for his protection; and that, at the end of a certain term by him prefixed, they should be obliged to quit his dominions, under the penalty of being made slaves. They complain, moreover, that he sent great numbers of them to the isles of *los Ladrones*, lately discovered, where they came to a miserable end; whilst the rest comforted themselves with the notion that God punished him for his severity to them, by the disasters which happened to him and his family (22).

(F) There was, it seems, in a church at *Lisbon*, a crucifix, the bloody wound of which was covered with a glass, out of which some fanciful devotees thought they saw an extraordinary light emanating, which made them cry out, a miracle! One of these converts having imprudently denied the fact, gave occasion to this bloody uproar, which lasted three days; during which, the zealots, headed by two *Dominican* friars, stirred up the populace, and massacred above 2000 of them. They broke into their houses, plundered and unmercifully butchered them, and snatched them even out of the churches, and from the foot of the altar; whilst the



by the cruelty and treachery with which king *Emanuel* had used them. But though this a  
action of his hath been so highly applauded by some of his flatterers <sup>b</sup>, it hath been no less  
condemned by some of their more candid and equitable historians <sup>1</sup>.

An account of  
those that  
staid.

Their dis-  
simulation.

The number  
and danger  
of them.

Some of their  
learned turn  
Jews again.

WE have now seen the *Jews* banished out of four kingdoms of *Europe*, viz. *Great Britain*,  
*France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*; but before we pass into the eastern parts, it will be very  
proper to say something of those which still remain in the two last-mentioned kingdoms, in  
great numbers, though under the cloak and title of new Christians, and under the mask of  
zealous catholics, though in their hearts as firmly attached to *Judaism*, as those who make  
open profession of it where they are tolerated. It is indeed surprising to see how so impious  
a dissimulation hath been able to support and propagate itself through so many generations as  
it has done; so that the grandees of those two nations have in vain made new alliances, b  
changed their names, and have taken up ancient coats of arms; they are still known to be of  
*Jewish* extract, if not still *Jews* in their hearts. The monasteries and nunneries are full of  
them, and the greatest parts of their prebends, priests, inquisitors, and even bishops, are  
descended from the same stock <sup>k</sup>. This ought to make both clergy and laity tremble, to  
think that such ecclesiastics do only abuse and prophane their sacraments, and most solemn part  
of their worship and religion. And yet, *Orobio*, who relates the fact, was not only perfectly  
acquainted with those dissemblers, and had been himself of the number <sup>†</sup>, but gives pregnant  
proofs of what he says; insomuch that he mentions in the very synagogue of *Amsterdam*,  
*Jews* and *Jewesses*, which are brothers, sisters, or near relations to some of the best families  
in *Spain* and *Portugal*: as likewise others that have heretofore been friers and nuns of almost c  
every order, the *Jesuits* not excepted, who came thither to do penance and reparation for their  
former apostacy.

WE may add, that among those who being at length tired with such impious dissimulation,  
have returned to *Judaism*, several of them were men of great learning, and appear by their  
works to have been better versed in the *Jewish* law than in the gospel. Of that number was  
*Joseph* the son of *Jehoshuab*, who hath continued his chronology down to *A. C.* 1554. He  
was a *Spaniard* by birth, and perhaps the best historian that the *Jewish* nation hath had since  
the great *Josephus*. Such was also *Joseph Ben Shevetb*, or *the son of the rod*, another *Spaniard*,  
who hath written a collection of sundry necessary rules, for the right understanding of the  
*Gemarrab*. The last we shall name was the famed *Isaac Cardoso*, descended from some of the d  
false converts of *Portugal*, and became one of the first physicians in *Castile*, one of whose  
works we have often quoted in this chapter (G). For these reasons the inquisition always  
keeps a watchful eye over all those new Christians; and the least cause of suspicion given by  
them, is sufficient to bring the severest punishments upon them; and both *Spaniards* and  
*Portuguese* are still so superstitiously prejudiced against them, that there scarcely happens any  
public calamity, but they look upon them as the cause of it, and make them suffer for it, as  
they formerly did the professed *Jews*. *Cardoso* last-mentioned, hath given us a flagrant instance  
of it, which happened towards the beginning of the last century, when a *Dominican*, at the  
head of a numerous populace, on some suspicious pretence, fell upon those new converts, and  
plundered and massacred between four and five thousand of them <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> LEQUIRA Nouvel. Hist. de Portug. lib. iv. p. 8.

<sup>1</sup> OSORIUS, lib. i. MARIAN. lib. xxvi. c. 13.

<sup>k</sup> Vide LIMBORG Collat. cum Judeo, p. 102.

<sup>†</sup> Ap. BASNAG. l. ix. c. 25. §. 11.

<sup>1</sup> CARDOSO las

Excellantias, sub an. 1605. p. 383.

magistracy, instead of suppressing, encouraged the but-  
chery. At length the king himself put a stop to it, and  
upon full enquiry into the cause of it, condemned the  
two friers to be burnt, and the magistrates to be de-  
graded. Some foreign authors have indeed pretended  
that these converts had been found celebrating their  
Passover after the *Jewish* manner; but *Mariana's* testi-  
mony (23) ought to be of more weight than that of  
*Germans* or strangers, who relates the fact as we have  
done. Though it must be owned, at the same time,  
that the greatest part of those who staid both in *Spain*  
and in *Portugal*, were rather dissemblers than sincere  
profelytes; and such must prove all conversions which  
are wrought by violent means.

(G) He wrote two treatises in *Spanish*, one on the use-  
fulness of common and snow-water, and of drinking  
liquors hot or cold. The other on the then excellencies  
or prerogatives belonging to the *Jewish* nation, and  
which ought to be esteemed an honour to it, in spite  
of all the misfortunes and dispersions which have hap-

pened to them for the punishment of their sins. He  
therein observes, that God chose them for his peculiar  
people; that they alone are separated by him from all  
other nations; that they received the Sabbath and Cir-  
cumcision from him; and that they were taught his law  
by men inspired by him. This work is followed by a  
kind of second part, which he styles *Las Colonias de los*  
*Hebreos*; wherein he confutes ten accusations which the  
Christians object against them. This last treatise was  
written after he had left *Spain*, and his name of *Ferdi-*  
*nand*, which he had received at his baptism, and retired  
to *Venice* and *Verona*, where he took that of *Isaac*, about  
the middle of the last century. He wrote likewise a  
treatise at *Madrid*, concerning fevers; and another of  
the origin and restoration of the world; both learned  
and curious in their kind (24). It is surprising that  
*Bartolucci*, who was so well versed in *Jewish* learning,  
and their writings, should have made no mention of the  
treatise *de las Excellencias* above-mentioned.

(23) Hist. de Reb. Spanic. lib. xxviii. tom. ii. c. 17. p. 593.  
Wolf Bibl. Hæbr. N. 1265. p. 689.

(24) De hoc, vid. Basnag. ubi sup. c. 25. §. 18.



- a NOTWITHSTANDING all these cruel severities both on staunch Jews and false converts, they made once more a bold push for getting a fresh settlement in Spain, as soon as they heard that Charles V. was come to that crown. They sent some of the most considerable of their nation to him into Flanders, to represent to him, *that they groaned under the yoke of a religion, which they had been forced to embrace, and were daily exposed to the rigorous prosecutions of the merciless tribunal of the inquisition: that they carried on with honour the whole commerce of the nation, and were the most useful and perhaps the most faithful subjects of the kingdom; on which account they trusted in his justice and goodness, that he would grant them the free exercise of their religion; and engaged, on that condition, to give him all the assistance they could, and to make him a present of 800,000 crowns in gold, in return for his kindness.* They met with a very gracious reception from that monarch; and the council of Flanders was likewise of opinion, that he ought to accept of their offer, and grant their request. But cardinal Ximenes no sooner heard of this resolution, than he sent a courier with all speed to inform him, *that it was not lawful for him to make a traffick of religion, and to barter the blood of Christ for money; and that the tribunal of the holy inquisition had been instituted for very good and wise ends; that he ought therefore to follow the steps of king Ferdinand the Catholic, who, in his greatest need, had refused the 600,000 crowns which those very Jews had offered to him for the liberty of continuing peaceably in his dominions: that those who had rejected Christ from reigning over them, were unworthy of the protection of a Christian prince.* Our author adds <sup>m</sup>, *that Charles yielded to these reasons, and preferred the wholesome council of the cardinal to the persuasions of his selfish ministers.* This was their last effort; which proving so successful, they have had recourse ever since to dissimulation, and by pretending to a greater zeal than ordinary for a religion which they abhor, do for the most part pass unobserved, if not unsuspected.
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We need not here give an account of the inquisition's proceedings against such as are indicted for apostacy, nor of their dreadful punishment when found guilty. It will be sufficient to say, that in such cases they are delivered up to the secular power to be put to death, though with a strict and solemn charge not to shed their blood: to prevent which they are condemned to be burnt alive. The Jewish authors do bitterly complain that these severities are still continued in full rigour against them, at Cordoua, Lisbon, Coimbra, &c. and even in the East and West Indies; and for want of better reprisals, do in their return canonize all those sufferers for saints and martyrs, and embellish their sufferings with legends of miracles wrought in their favour, that is, either to save them from, or to revenge their deaths: the reader may see a specimen in the margin (H). In the mean time, in order to honour and perpetuate their memory, they have taken the method of writing martyrologies of them in some places <sup>n</sup>. A sketch of which may likewise be seen in the same note. But it is now time to pass over into the eastern parts.

We begin with those that were settled in Persia, Media, Armenia, under the Great Mogul, &c. where, to avoid the frequent breaking off the thread of their history, as well as the scarcity of materials, we shall continue their history thro' the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. They had hardly recovered themselves from the long and fatal disasters which they suffered during the wars of the great Timur Bekh <sup>†</sup> and his successors, during which those in Persia and Media were not only greatly attenuated and impoverished, but their academies, learning, and learned men, had totally disappeared (I), before they received a new mortification from the conqueror Ismael

<sup>m</sup> Vid. FLECHIER's Life of Cardinal Ximenes, lib. vi. p. 772. VIRNO popular. Judaico, p. 42. MENASSEH. Esperanza d'Iracl, p. 99. <sup>†</sup> See the history of that conqueror in vol. ii. p. 501, & seqq.

<sup>n</sup> At Amsterdam, vid. BARRIOS GOUVINHO popular. Judaico, p. 42. MENASSEH. Esperanza d'Iracl, p. 99. <sup>†</sup> See the history of that conqueror in vol. ii. p. 501, & seqq.

(H) Thus they tell us of one Sylva a physician, who had been kept a prisoner at Lima, during the space of 13 years, where he circumcised himself, forbore eating of flesh and drinking of wine, and became a perfect Nazarite, under the name of Heli Nazareno Indigno Siervo de Dios al. Sylva. Being at length condemned to the flames, he was no sooner flung into them, than a prodigious storm arose, which overturned the house in which he had received his sentence, to the great astonishment of the very Indians, who owned they never had seen any thing like it (25).

Another that was burnt in Portugal, beheld his chains fall off in the midst of the flames, and was no more seen; which made his executioners say that the devil had fetched him away: but the Jews believe that he was miraculously preserved.

One Sobremont, a physician at Lima, was there burnt

alive, after an imprisonment of 22 years. Dom Lope de Vera, of a noble and Christian family, having studied sometime at Salamanca, turned Jew, and circumcised himself in prison, and gave himself the name of Judah the believer. He was likewise burnt alive at Valladolid, An. 1644, and died with such surprising constancy, that the chief of the inquisition was forced to own, that he had never seen such an ardent desire to die, such a firm assurance of salvation, and such an intrepidity, as he beheld in that young man, who died in the flower of his age (26). Thus they preserve their memory to posterity; and affirm, that God suffers these frequent executions, because he is willing to have such faithful witnesses of his unity in all ages and nations of the world.

(I) We are told, however, that one of the provinces of Cochemir was filled with Jews which had come thither ever since the time of Solomon, or of Shalmanezzer. Mr.

(25) Cardoso las Excellent. c. 10. p. 322. Basnag. lib. ix. c. 25 ad fin.

(26) Carta del Inquisidor Moscoso a la Condesa de Monterey. ap.



- Ishmael's conquests. A. C. 1500. *Ishmael Sophi*, chief of the family of the *Persian* kings, who reigned there ever since, till the late great revolution that drove them from the throne\*. The *Jews*, who were very numerous in *Media*, where *Ishmael* had begun his conquests, were so surprised at his wonderful and swift success, that they began to look upon him as the Messiah; in which they seemed more-over confirmed, because he gave himself out to be a prophet sent by God to reform the *Mohammedan* religion. But that prince, who despised them in his heart, refused all their homages and proffered services, and treated them with greater severity than any of his subjects. He died in the year 1523, and was succeeded by his son *Thabamasp*, and he by *Ishmael*, a blind prince, and father of the famed *Shâh Abbas*, who became a great persecutor of them. The fact, as it is commonly related, being in some cases very improbable, may be seen in the margin (K). However, according to our author°, it did not take place till an. 1642, in the reign of *Abbas II.* who, having a more peaceable reign, began to search into the register of the palace, and, among others, found that of his father's contract with them, mentioned in the last note; and was so much more surprised at it, because *Zabbathai Tzevi* made then a great noise, and was looked upon by the *Jews* as the Messiah, who came to disengage them from it.
- A. C. 1666. ACCORDINGLY *Abbas II.* called a great council to deliberate on that important affair, where it was unanimously agreed, that the *Jewish* nation ought to be destroyed without delay; which encouraged so many cheats, who aimed at nothing but to oppress the rest of mankind. The order was accordingly issued out, both to the *Persians* and strangers, to butcher them without exception of age or sex, or of any but those that turned *Moslems*. The massacre began at *Ispahan*, the capital of the kingdom, and was carried on with the same severity in the provinces of *Schiras*, *Ghelan*, *Hamadan*, *Ardan*, and *Tauris*, where the *Jews* were killed, and lasted three years, or from A. C. 1663 to 1666, without intermission or pity; insomuch that there was not one of them left in all those provinces, where they had gained immense wealth. Some few found indeed means to flee into the *Turkish* dominions, and others into
- Jews rejected.
- Persecuted, A. C. 1577.
- Massacred at Ispahan, &c.

\* De hoc, vide sup. vol. ii. p. 601, & seq.

° Hist. of the three impostors, p. 114.

*Thevenot* desired a correspondent of his there to enquire whether they had the holy scriptures, and whether they were the same with ours; but was answered, that if there had been any *Jews* there formerly, there were none of them left then, and that all those inhabitants were either *Mohammedans* or heathens (27). That author tells him, however, that there were some in *China* who still preserved the Old Testament, and had never heard of Jesus Christ. He mentions a Jesuit's relation concerning one part of that spacious empire, "Just upon entering it, and passing the mountain called *Pire Pen-jale*, where most of the inhabitants appeared to be *Jews*, both by their air and complexion, by their making use of the name of *Moufa*, or *Moses*, and a tradition they have, that *Solomon* came into that country, and caused that mountain to be cut across to make a conveyance for the waters. They add, that *Moses* died at *Cochemir*, and that his tomb was about a league from it; and, lastly, shew a small edifice, built on a high mountain, at some distance, which they say was built by *Solomon*, and was still called *Solomon's throne*." All which are too fabulous to deserve farther mention; though we readily own that many *Jews* may have passed into those parts, and may have easily settled themselves there\*, as they are commonly given to traffick, and have many good physicians and astronomers among them; though some of them may, through length of time, and variety of changes, have so far forgot their religion, as to have adopted all these fables.

(K) *Shâh Abbas* having granted great privileges to all strangers to settle in his depopulated dominions, the *Jews* came in such shoals, and so soon engrossed the commerce and riches from the rest, that complaint was made of it to that prince.

But he being afraid lest his severity to them should make others retire from his dominions, found a lucky pretence to persecute them by the authority of the *Koran*; where it is said, that they were to embrace the

*Muslim* faith, 600 years after its publication; and would have destroyed them accordingly, on refusal, if the *Mufti* had not prevented it. However, their *Chakhams*, or doctors, were summoned, and closely examined concerning several parts of their religion; such as the abolition of their sacrifices, and other rites, at the coming of *Isai* (Jesus Christ), their refusing to believe in him, though the *Koran* speaks honourably of him, and what they thought of *Mohammed* and his book; and not being able to give satisfactory answers, had recourse to prayers for mercy, and to protestations that they only settled in his dominions with a design to serve him (28).

After several bitter reproaches, *Abbas* insisted that they should fix a time for the coming of their expected Messiah; and promised that they should be tolerated till then; and that, if he came accordingly, he and his successors would embrace his religion; but that if he did not, they should either turn *Moslems*, or suffer the loss of their lives, children, and effects: they had some time granted to make their answer; and, after mature deliberation, told the *Shâh* that the Messiah was to appear in 70 years, reckoning from the day on which they had been summoned before him; by which they at least procrastinated the threatened punishment till after his death. *Abbas*, who was avaricious as well as cruel, made them pay dear for their toleration, caused the agreement to be registered, and signed on both sides; and taxed the *Jews* at two millions of gold. *Abbas* died in the 63d year of his age (A. C. 1629)†; and 115 years elapsed from his reign, before the contract above-mentioned was thought on, the *Persian* kingdom being all that time distracted with wars against the *Turks*. *Amurat IV.* who, A. C. 1638, made himself master of *Bagdad*, found great numbers of *Jews* in it; but though he massacred the *Persians*, contrary to his promise, yet he shewed favour to the *Jews*, in hopes they would prove serviceable to him (29).

(27) *Bernier Voyag. tom. ii.*

\* See before, vol. iii. p. 572, & seq.

† See before, vol. ii. p. 617, & seq.

(28) *Hist. of the three impostors*, p. 114. *Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah*, part iii. c. 2. p. 435.

(29) *Dom. Miguel de Barrios Hist. Univers. Judaic. p. 4. Basnag. lib. ix. c. 26. §. 9.*



- a *India*; and many saved their lives, &c. by abjuring *Judaism* (L). But as he afterwards observed that most of those conversions were feigned and forced, it is not improbable that they might disgust him from proceeding farther, and induce him to restore to them the full liberty of their religion, as was the custom of the *Persians* to do to all strangers. And we read accordingly that they enjoyed it a long time after, that is, till one of the Shâh's ministers, either out of hatred to them, or with a design to enrich himself by their spoil, prevailed upon his master to persecute them afresh<sup>p</sup>. He spared neither fair nor violent means to gain his end, and even obtained an order from him to forbid the exercise of the *Jewish* religion, in order to make them turn *Mohammedans*. He caused them to be closely watched; and found upon the whole, that, whatever shew they might make of a change, they still continued in their old religion; which at length obliged him to let them still remain bad *Jews*, since he could not make them good *Moslems*. However, continues our author, those that are at *Ispahan* are very poor, and in small number, and are obliged to pay a sequin *per* head to the king, and to wear a piece of cloth on their breasts, of about two or three inches, and of a different colour, upon their upper garment, by way of distinction. It is plain moreover, from the traveller who was in those parts from *an.* 1663 to 1665, that is, some years before the time of the *Jewish* massacre, that, upon his coming thither, they enjoyed full liberty of conscience; since he adds, that the *Persians* thought it strange that one *Eatemad Doulet* should have taken it into his head some time before to oblige them to turn *Mohammedans*. *Obtain liberty of conscience. Their sham conversions.*
- b religion; which at length obliged him to let them still remain bad *Jews*, since he could not make them good *Moslems*. However, continues our author, those that are at *Ispahan* are very poor, and in small number, and are obliged to pay a sequin *per* head to the king, and to wear a piece of cloth on their breasts, of about two or three inches, and of a different colour, upon their upper garment, by way of distinction. It is plain moreover, from the traveller who was in those parts from *an.* 1663 to 1665, that is, some years before the time of the *Jewish* massacre, that, upon his coming thither, they enjoyed full liberty of conscience; since he adds, that the *Persians* thought it strange that one *Eatemad Doulet* should have taken it into his head some time before to oblige them to turn *Mohammedans*. *Distinction of dress in Persia.*
- c have a famed academy; and we are told, that there is a greater number of *Jews* in it than in *Ispahan*; but how the *Levitical* tribe, whether it be the descendants of those that staid in *Babylon*, or of those that returned with *Ezra*†, should have maintained itself there, and ingrossed the wine and glass trade (for that is what they are chiefly employed in), is not easy to guess. They are still more numerous at *Lar*, the metropolis of one of those provinces; and have a quarter peculiar to them at the foot of the mountain between the town and the castle; and extend themselves into the country, on the side of *Ormuz* and *Bender Abassi*, in order to get some part of the *Indian* trade into their hands, which was once carried on by their brethren, who were formerly very numerous in those parts (M). But to return to *Persia*, and the provinces depending on it. *Tribe of Levi at Schiras. Jews at Lar, &c.*
- d BAGHDAD, once the residence of the princes of the captivity, is so gradually dwindled, since its being taken by *Amurat IV.* *an.* 1638, that it hath not above 15,000 inhabitants; and among them a good number of *Jews*, who have their synagogue in it, and increase yearly by the concourse of pilgrims, who visit the tomb of *Ezekiel* formerly mentioned; but still they are hated by the *Persians*, and kept very poor, though they enjoy the free exercise of their religion. *at Baghdad;*

<sup>p</sup> THEVENOT, *Voyag. Engl.* part ii. lib. ii. c. 14. p. 110. & seq.

<sup>q</sup> THEVENOT, *ubi sup.* lib. iii. c. 4. p. 131.

† De his, vide *Anc. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 5.

(L) It is no less difficult to reconcile our author's chronology above-mentioned with the reign of *Abbas I.* than to reconcile the above contract with the character of that haughty monarch. He did not put his brother to death till *an.* 1586, 16 months after his father's death; and from his mounting the throne to the last year of this massacre (1666) could elapse but 80, instead of 115 years. Besides, he could not presently make such a treaty with the *Jews*, from the beginning of his reign; nor the *Jews* themselves be grown so wealthy in so short a time. So that the most that can be supposed to have elapsed between the one and the other, is about sixty or seventy years. Wherefore it is absurd to say the execution of the contract was suppressed for so long a time, either on account of this *Turkish* war, or of a toleration by virtue of this imaginary treaty with them: for who can imagine that so despotic a prince would treat with his slaves on such terms, and engage to be of their religion, if their promise about the *Messiah* proved true? It is therefore more likely that he at first persecuted them, to make as many proselytes of them as he could to his own religion; a piece of zeal which all the *Moslem* princes glory in; and, in case of recusancy, the confiscation of their riches might be no less powerful a motive to his avarice.

(M) There was a manifest difference made there between those who were born *Indians*, and had embraced *Judaism*, and those that were descended from *Abraham*. And the king of *Portugal*, who had banished them out of his kingdom, suffered them to live at *Goa*, and other places, where they were allowed the free exercise of their religion (30). But, at length, an impostor having appeared there, *an.* 1639, who was believed by them to be the *Messiah*; and whose fame had reached even to *Portugal*, where some of the *Jewish* converts betrayed their old leaven, in hopes of him, the inquisition took such care to suppress them, that they were all forced either to flee, or to turn *Christians* (31), in those eastern parts that were under him.

They were moreover accused there of sacrificing, like the *Indians*, to the devil, to prevent his hurting them; but, though that accusation may be false, they have learned from them the doctrine of transmigration, and set up for great foretellers of things to come; which they pretend to do by their cabbalistical art, and by the motions of the planets, which the *Indians* are highly pleased with.

(30) *Mandesto's Voyage into India*, lib. ii. p. 272.

(31) *Basnag. ubi sup.* c. 27. §. 14.



in Armenia; religion. They are said to live more peaceably in *Armenia*<sup>r</sup>, though their own writers allow a no such thing; but tell us, that those of *Masca* having accused them of killing a Christian, because he was seen to go into a *Jewish* house, and not to come out of it again, an information was immediately lodged against them; and the murder being confessed by the accused, they crucified some, and burnt others, not even sparing *Abiob*, a celebrated physician, whom they cast into the flames. Three days after the Christian appeared, the accusation was found to have been laid out of hatred to them, and the confession to have been extorted by torture. Complaint being made of it to *Soliman II.* the *Armenian* magistrates were forbidden from thenceforth to take cognisance of such criminal cases, and ordered to bring them before the sultan. This story, if true, which is taken from an anonymous writer who lived in *Egypt*, and is intituled, *The sufferings of the Jews*, shews plainly, that, if they live quietly among the *Armenians*, it is rather owing to the protection of the *Porte*, than to any good liking or conformity between them, hinted at by the author last quoted.

persecuted.

Their number in Media; THEY are still numerous in *Media*, whither they had been transplanted by *Sennacherib*<sup>†</sup>; but whether they kept footing there ever since, as they pretend, is hard to guess (N). However, they are said to have 100 families against 40 of Christians. They are not suffered to settle at *Scamachia*, a trading city on the *Caspian* sea; but the *Tartars*, who bring thither boys, girls, and horses, to sell, are obliged to tolerate, and intermix with them, for the sake of that commerce. They spread themselves as far as the foot of mount *Caucasus*; and we are told, that the prince of *Mingrelia*, as well as that of *Imiretta*, pretend to be descended from king *David*. The ancient monarchs of *Georgia* boasted the same extract; and the *Cham* of that country, among his other titles, takes that of a descendant from that *Jewish* king by his son *Solomon*<sup>s</sup>. They give indeed no solid proof of it, though there is a great mixture of *Judaism* among them; and there is the small city, situate at the foot of *Caucasus*, called *Alakzike*, in which they had formerly a synagogue built by the *Georgians*, but which the *Turks* have since taken from them<sup>c</sup>. This is the state of the *Jews* in *Persia*, *Media*, *Armenia*, and other provinces of this large part of the East. They have their synagogues, and are very numerous, since they are found in all the trading cities from *Bassora* and the *Indies*, quite to *Mingrelia*, *Georgia*, &c. But their tribes have long since been so confounded and blended, that they are no longer distinguished.

in Georgia, &c.

Trade. What is still worse, they are very poor and ignorant, and, for the most part, get a miserable living, by the lowest and meanest services in life; they have neither commerce nor correspondence with their brethren in the West, and hardly know any thing of them. But it is now time to see how they fare in other provinces of the East.

Poverty.

Why so few in Judea. AND here one would naturally expect that *Judea*, their once delightful country, should have a greater number of them than either *Syria*, *Egypt*, &c.; but, as all its noble streams of milk and honey have been long since dried up, their love for it hath cooled in proportion. It is indeed frequently visited by their devotees, who go thither in pilgrimage, as well as the Christians; but few of either sort care to settle in it, since they find it so difficult not only to grow rich, but even to get a tolerable subsistence in it.

The academy of Sapheta. SAPHETA, or, as the *Jews* commonly call it, *Sephet*, or rather *Tzepbeth*, a city in *Galilee*, is the most populous and the most noted that the *Jews* have in this province. It enjoys several advantages above the rest (O); and they are used with greater mildness than in any other part of the *Ottoman* empire<sup>u</sup>. A traveller of the last century affirms, that none but *Jews* were in it; but he was misinformed, having only rode by the foot of it<sup>w</sup>; for it hath about one-third *Mohammedans*, and the rest all *Jews*. It hath an academy which is still famous, and much resorted to, and hath had some learned professors in it; and, tho' the *Jewish* nation have for a good while lost their relish for learning, yet they send their children to be instructed in the *Hebrew* tongue; for it is their notion, that it can be no-where taught in its purity so well as there; and *Sapheta* is now become what *Tiberias* was once. The

Learned men.

<sup>r</sup> HERBERT'S Voy. into Persia, an. 1677. into Persia, p. 107, & seq. <sup>s</sup> Ibid. p. 168. CHOVE'S Voy. of the Levant, p. 342.

<sup>†</sup> Vide 2 Kings, c. xix. & seq.

<sup>c</sup> CHARDIN'S Voy.

<sup>u</sup> FULLER'S Pisgah sight, p. 111.

<sup>w</sup> STO-

(N) Whether *Tauris* be the ancient *Ecbatane*, or rather a new one near it, here is a considerable commerce carried on by the *Jews*. The same may be said of *Chasbin*, which some geographers believe to be the ancient *Ragesh* of *Media*, where the *Jews* had been transported, and where *Gabael* lived, whom *Tobit* had intrusted with his ten talents (32). It is still a rich trading place, and advantageously situated to link the commerce between

*Hyrcania*, *Iberia*, and *Media*, with the other parts of the empire; insomuch that it was made the capital of *Persia*, and the royal residence for the winter, by *Thahamasp*, and continued so till *Abbas I.* removed it to *Ispahan* \*.

(O) It is situate in the tribe of *Naphtali*, about nine miles from *Bethsaidah*, and built on a mountain with three heads, and difficult of access, and consequently more free from the incursions of the plundering *Arabs*.

(32) *Tobit* iv. 20.

\* De hac, vid. sup. vol. i. p. 443, & seq.



a reader may see in the margin an account of their most celebrated rabbies and professors (P). *Rabbies.* All that we need add, is, that there is not a city in *Palestine* where they have subsisted so long, and even to this day, and with so much credit and safety. They had likewise set up here a printing-house for *Hebrew* books, as they also had at *Theſſalonica* and *Constantinople*, which were afterwards suppressed by the *Porte* \*.

THE *Jews* are still in much smaller numbers at *Jerusalem*, where there are reckoned only *Few Jews at Jerusalem.* about 100 families, who live mostly upon *Mount Sion*, and a few of them are employed in the customs, or by the governor, as secretaries and clerks; and all the rest are poor beggars, who live chiefly upon alms sent to them from their richer brethren in the East and West (Q). These

\* De his, vide MAITTAIR's Annal. Typogr. ORLANDI ORIG. della Stampa. PALMER's Hist. of Printing.

(P) It is plain, from *Benjamin de Tudela's* not mentioning it, that it must have been founded since he was in *Judea*, that is, since the twelfth century. Accordingly, we do not find any persons to have flourished in it till the latter end of the thirteenth. The first, and one of the most celebrated, was *Moses*, surnamed *Cordovero* and *Cordubensis*, from the city of *Cordova*, his native place, who left it, and retired to this city; and was perhaps one of the first founders of that academy. He was reckoned the most learned cabbalist that hath been since *Simeon Joachides*, formerly mentioned. He hath left a work in that kind, intituled, *The garden of pomgranates* (33); wherein the paradise or garden includes the four different senses of the Old Testament; the P is the literal, R the mystical, D the enigmatical, and S the hidden or concealed (34).

The next was *Dominic of Jerusalem*, who taught some time, and had been dubbed *Rav*, or doctor, in it, after he had finished his studies and lectures on the thalmud. But he was still more famed for his skill in physic; for which he was sent for to *Constantinople*, and became the sultan's physician. He lived till the beginning of the last century; and, having embraced Christianity, translated the New Testament into *Hebrew*, and answered some objections which the *Jewish* rabbies made against the martyrdom of St. *Stephen*. *Mursus* seems to mention two of the same name, both *Jews* by birth, both physicians to the sultan, and both new converts to Christianity; but, in all likelihood, they have been split into two without any reason (35).

But those who have done most credit to this academy, were, the learned *Moses Trani* and *Joseph Caro*, who presided in it about the middle of the 16th century. The former was a native of *Trani*, a city in *Puglia*, and taught here with such success, that he was stiled *The light of Israel*, *the Sinaite of Mount Sinai*, and the *Rooter up of Mountains*; because he takes off all the difficulties that occur in the law. His work is not a set of sermons, as *Buxtorf* hath imagined; for the title of it shews it to be a body of *Jewish* laws, wherein that author goes back to their fountain-head, and distinguishes between those penned by *Moses*, those which have been transmitted by oral tradition, and those which are only founded on the decisions of their *Jewish* doctors (36). *Joseph Caro* was a native of *Spain*, whence he retired into *Galilee*, where he died, *an.* 1575. He wrote so well on the rights of the *Jewish* nation, that he was called, *The prodigy of the world* (37).

Besides those doctors which were strangers, *Sapheta* was not without some others that were bred up in her bosom. *Moses Alsheb* was a native of it, and distinguished himself in the seventeenth century, not only by his eloquent sermons, but by his learned commentaries upon some part of the law. All the titles of his works

are metaphorical. One is called, *The eye of Moses*; another, *The rose of Sharon*; a 3d, *The lily of the valley*; 4th, *Good words*; 5th, *Comforting words*; 6th, *The portion of the lawgiver*; 7th, *Hundred gates*; 8th, *Moses's burden*; 9th, *The warrior's looking-glass*; 10th, *The voice of the weepers*; 11th, *The law of Moses*; and some others of the like nature. He is much admired for aiming still at something new in his expositions of Scripture, and for his fondness for ancient writers above the moderns; and fairly relates their sentiments, even when they favour the Christians. He doth not, for instance, disguise that the Messiah was to be a man of sorrows, &c. (38). On the contrary, he proves it, by the three-fold distinction which the ancients have made of those afflictions; *viz.* 1. Of those which related to the patriarchs; 2. Those that related to the people of God; and, 3. Those that related to the Messiah. But he is not so exact and uniform in the application of these prophecies; seeing some of them he absurdly refers back quite to *Moses*, which plainly belong to Christ (39).

*R. Samuel Oxida* was likewise born at *Sapheta*, and was a celebrated preacher. He wrote a commentary on the Lamentations of *Jeremy*, which he stiles, *The bread of tears*. *Moses Nagaira* was another native of *Galilee*; though some make him a *Portuguese*, on account of his name. He likewise taught at *Sapheta*, and hath left a commentary on the Pentateuch, which is much esteemed by the *Jews*.

The last we shall mention was the famed *R. Judah Jonah*, a native of the place, and master of our *Bartolucci*, and who inspired him with the design of writing his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, so often quoted in this chapter. *Judah Jonah* was descended from a *Spanish* family, which retired into *Tuscany* upon the edict of king *Ferdinand*; and being thence again expelled by pope *Pius V.* passed into the East, and some of them to *Sapheta*, where *Jonah* was born. Here he finished his studies, and took the degree of doctor; and then came to *Amsterdam*, where he rendered himself famous for the judgment which he passed on the validity of a will in favour of a bastard son, which was afterwards ratified by 87 rabbies of *Germany* and *Theſſalonica*. He was afterwards chosen judge by the *Jews* of *Hamburg*; and soon after passed into *Poland*, where he turned Christian, and became jeweller to *Sigismund III.* He was afterwards sent by him to *Constantinople*, under pretence of buying precious stones, and was there seized as a spy; and would have lost his life, had not the *Venetian* ambassador redeemed him. He settled next at *Rome*, where he taught *Bartolucci* the *Hebrew* tongue; and is said to have had such a tenacious memory, that, if the thalmud had been lost, he could have recovered it. He died *an.* 1688 (40).

(Q) Nothing can be a greater proof of their extreme poverty, than the frequent deputations they send to

(33) See *Canticles*, chap. iv. ver. 13. (34) *Bartoloc. ubi sup. tom. iv. p. 230. tom. ii. p. 282.* (35) *Nic. Mursi. Relazione della città de Constantinopoli, con. Riti, &c. del Ottomano Imperio, p. 34. Basn. ubi sup. c. xxviii. §. 4.* (36) *Bartol. tom. iv. p. 31.* (37) *Ibid. tom. iii. p. 819. Vid. Wolf, Basnag.* (38) *Isaiab liii. pass. Wolf, Bibl. Hæbr. N. 1523. p. 808, & seq.* (39) *R. M. Alsheb. In Isai. ex vers. Constant. l'Empereur præfat. & p. 232, 238, 240. Basnag. ubi sup. §. 6. p. 430.* (40) *Bartoloc. ubi sup. tom. iii. Wolf, Bibl. Hæbr. N. 720.*



*Their pretence for it.* These have hammered out a strange excuse for their want of zeal, and their averfeness to a settle in that holy city. They tell us, that it is to be reduced to ashes at the coming of the Messiah, by a fire from heaven, which is to be immediately followed by a miraculous rain that shall extinguish it; to the end that the holy place may be purified by fire and water, from the pollutions which the Christians and *Mohammedans* have committed in it; their fear, therefore, of being involved in that dreadful conflagration, they tell you, is the motive that keeps them from dwelling near it. They would doubtless speak more sincerely, if they owned that the little traffick that is carried on there, the heavy imposts laid on them by the *Turks*, the extreme poverty which reigns among them that live in it, and the insults and mortifications they are exposed to from the *Mohammedans*, who have an equal, if not a greater, veneration for that city, and many fanons living in it, are the real discouragements that keep them b from settling there.

*The true reason of it.* THERE was the famed *Rabbi Jaacob* in this city at the time that *Selim* took it, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, who compiled a learned work, called *The eye of Israel*, which was a collection of the various expositions of the law which are found in the thalmud. Several doctors had already compiled all that concerns the questions of *Jewish* rights and rites; but *Jaacob* collected those that relate to the law, and are scattered in that large volume. He did not live to finish his design, but left it to his son *Levi*, who was no less learned than his father; and who completed, published, and prefaced it with lively tokens of sorrow for his father's untimely death. And it was on account of this work that a violent rupture happened among the contemplative professors of *Sapheta*, which lasted during *Levi's* whole life. But, c after his death, the jealousy which his learning had raised began to cool, his memory to be revered, and his book, which saved the reading of several large volumes, was received with great applause (R).

*A rupture among the rabbies of Sapheta, A. C. 1538.* WE read of another learned *Jew* of this city, whose avarice or ambition induced him to make such a fair profession of Christianity, that he, by degrees, raised himself to the dignity of patriarch of *Jerusalem* (S), after having gone through all the inferior ones with great applause. Not yet satisfied with his good fortune, he removed thence to *Constantinople*, in hopes of obtaining the patriarchate of it, which was then vacant; but being there seized with a dangerous sickness, which made him think himself near his end, he sent for several bishops, and a much greater number of *Jewish* doctors, to his bed-side, to whom he openly d declared, that he had always believed the *Jewish* religion to be the best; that he renounced his bishoprick of *Jerusalem*, in order to die in his old faith, which he had never forsaken but in word<sup>y</sup>, to the great astonishment of those that heard him; especially of all those whom he had so long deceived, in a church where the intention of the priest is declared necessary for the administering and efficacy of the sacraments.

*Jews at Damascus;* THE *Jews* in *Syria* are much more numerous and flourishing than in *Judea*. They have always had their synagogues, chakams, and learned men, at *Damascus*<sup>z</sup>. Besides which, they have got from the Christians a celebrated spot of ground, pretended to be that where *Elijah* the prophet called *Elisha* to be his servant<sup>a</sup>, and where they have reared a sumptuous synagogue instead of the church which the Christians had built. They have likewise a public e burying-ground near the city, which is only parted by an alley from that of the Christians<sup>b</sup>. They are no less numerous at *Aleppo*, which is the ancient *Berea*, and where they have stately synagogues, drive a considerable traffick, and signalize themselves in an uncommon manner on all public shows and festivals, especially on the birth of young princes, in order to ingratiate themselves with the *Ottoman* court, and with the governor of the place<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> HILAR. Continuat. Phil. Cypr. Chron. Eccl. Græc. p. 497, & seq. Ap. BASNAG. ubi sup. c. 28. §. ult.  
<sup>z</sup> THEVENOT's Voyage of the Levant, lib. i. tom. iv. p. 50. <sup>a</sup> 1 Kings xix. 19, & seq. <sup>b</sup> STOC-  
 CHOV. Voy. of the Levant, p. 314. <sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. an. 1638.

make collections in other parts for their maintenance. It was upon this errand that *Jaacob Tomerita* passed thro' *Franckfort, Germany*, and *Holland*, an. 1684. His father was one of those, who, on his leaving of *Portugal*, had retired to a small town in *Judea* called *Tomer*, not far from *Sapheta*. The *Jews* there having deputed him to beg some relief from them for these parts; and it was upon his return thither that Mr. *Ludolph* sent some letters by him to the *Samaritans* of *Mount Garizzim*, to whom he was known.

(R) *Leo de Modena*, a learned *Italian* rabbi of the last century, afterwards gave that work the finishing stroke, by adding to it the sentiments of several learned rabbies that were wanting in it, and a table of the chief mat-

ters, for the more readily finding them. He intituled his additions, *The house of Judah*; and his table, *The bread of the house of Judah*; and published both an. 1635.

(S) As this patriarch was no friend to the *Jesuits*, it is still doubtful, whether he was really guilty of such enormous dissimulation, or whether they have not charged him with it only to tarnish his memory. It is not easy, at this distance, to come at the truth of it: however, supposing the fact true, he is not the only *Jew* by a great number that hath done so; witness what we have said of those in *Spain* and *Portugal*, who still follow this dissimulation, though they have not so much honesty as to confess it at their deaths.



2 It was in this city that the infamous *Zabathai Tzevi*, another false Messiah, was born; and, notwithstanding his mean extract and education (T), formed the design of setting up for the great deliverer of *Israel*. As this imposture exceeds any thing we have met with of that kind among the many false Messiahs that have appeared hitherto, both as to its circumstances and consequences, and is, notwithstanding, so little known, the reader will be glad, no doubt, of an account of what is most material in this whole transaction.

*The false Messiah Zabathai Tzevi, A. C. 1666.*

WE have seen in the last note both his extract, and the method he took to gain credit among those of his own nation, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the best and most learned of them. To make his character most conspicuous and agreeable to the predictions of the prophets, there was a necessity that it should be ushered in by an *Eliab*, or forerunner; and he made choice accordingly of a very noted Jew at *Gaza*, named *Nathan Levi*, or, according to others, *Benjamin*, a very fit person to promote his design; and who gave the more easily into it, because, according to the interpretation of the cabbalists on a passage of *Daniel*, the Messiah was to appear on or about the year 1675. His first step was to assemble all the Jews at *Jerusalem*, and to abolish the fast which was there celebrated in the month of *June*, because it was now inconsistent with the coming of the Messiah. After which, he shewed *Tzevi* to them, and told them, that he was the miraculous person who was to be their deliverer, and to destroy the *Ottoman* empire, on *November* following. He met, however, with fresh opposition from the wiser sort, who plainly foresaw, that this intended insurrection would go near to cause the ruin of their nation in that empire; upon which they pronounced him an impostor, anathematized, and condemned him to death; alleging, that he neither had the characteristics of a Messiah, nor *Levi* those of his forerunner (U).

*His precursor shews him to them.*

*Condemned to death.*

*Tzevi*, however, who found his party much more numerous than that of his opposers, caused them to assemble in the great synagogue of *Smyrna*, where he several times pronounced the name *Jehovah*, and made some few alterations in their liturgy; whilst the audience not only acknowledged his authority, but pretended to behold something divine in his person. A fresh sentence of anathema and death, pronounced against him by the rabbies, did not in the least intimidate him, because he knew that none would dare to put it in execution against him. He went however to the *Kadi*, whom his friends had found means to gain, and put himself under his protection; the giddy multitude giving out, that they had seen fire come out of his mouth like a pillar, which had obliged them to protect instead of putting him to death; upon which he was brought back in triumph, accompanied with shouts out of Psalm cxviii. ver. 16. *The right hand of the LORD is exalted, &c.*

*Bribes the Kadi;*

As he wanted now nothing but a throne to complete his character, he caused one to be raised for himself, from which he spoke to his subjects; and another for his queen, as he styled her. He gave them likewise a new set form of faith, which all the world was to receive as from the mouth of the Messiah. Some of those who opposed it were forced to save them-

*erects his throne.*

(T) Some make him a native of *Smyrna*, but more of *Aleppo*. He was a poulterer's son, and was scarcely come from school, before he began to preach in the streets and fields, even before the *Turks*, who only laugh'd at him, whilst his disciples highly admired him. He married a young *Jewess* in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and divorced her immediately after, without having touched her. He took a second, with whom he lived in abstinence, probably to dazzle the eyes of the multitude by his pretended love of chastity. He conversed so long with the writings of the prophets, that it is supposed in some measure to have turned his brains, by endeavouring to apply them to himself; insomuch that he fancied he could fly up into the air, and blamed his followers for not having perceived him mounted on the clouds. He also pretended to do other miracles by the power of the name *Jehovah*; for which some of the wiser sort summoned him before the synagogue, and condemned him to death. But, as they could not get any to execute their sentence, they contented themselves with banishing him.

He passed over to *Theffalonica*, a city where the Jews were very numerous, and which, consequently, appeared a very fit place to play his tricks in; but he was soon banished out of it, and from *Athens* and other *Greek* towns, and retired to *Alexandria*. He had by this time taken for his third wife a young *Jewish* woman that had been debauched, and whom her parents had left in *Poland* under the care of a Christian nobleman. *Tzevi* gave out, that the soul of her father, loosed from the body, had passed from *Asia* into *Poland*, to

transport her stark naked into his house; and married her after she had travelled with him through *Germany* and *Italy*; and he found credit enough among those of his nation to have her looked upon as queen of his future empire. His brother, who was a tobacco-nist at *Frankfort*, left his shop to go to him, in hopes to get some of the best posts under him; and had the comfort to be added to the vast number of the fools he had already made. So well had the cheat hitherto succeeded thro' the credulity of the *Jews*.

(U) He was thereupon forced to leave *Jerusalem*, and to go to *Smyrna* and *Constantinople*, in which last he expected a plentiful harvest of disciples; but the *Jews* there had already been informed, by letters from the twenty-five rabbies, who had excommunicated him, of the sentence passed against him; in which they pronounced him an impious wretch, and that whoever killed him would do an acceptable service to God, and gain many souls to him. This obliged him to post away back to *Smyrna*, where his presence was necessary upon another account, viz. to receive four ambassadors sent him by his pretended precursor, to acknowledge him for the Messiah. This embassy imposed still more upon the people; insomuch that several of their doctors were caught by it: What added still more weight to it, was his affected humility, his frequent washings, his being the first at their synagogues; but especially his pathetic sermons to them there, which had such an effect upon them, that they could no longer resist acknowledging him for their king, and making suitable presents to him.



- Imposes on the Jews.* selves by flight; others, who had been incredulous till then, own themselves convinced, being either really so, or borne away by the torrent; and were industrious in applying to him the accomplishment of the divine oracles. When he found himself raised to this height of authority, he ordered the sultan's name to be erased out of the *Jewish* liturgy, and his own to be written in its stead. After which he began to dispense the high dignities of his future kingdom among his most staunch favourites, styling himself the king of kings of *Israel*, and his brother *Joseph Tzevi* king of kings of *Judab*. He embarked at length for *Constantinople*, in a small vessel, whilst the rest of his followers went thither by land, and was nine-and-thirty days at sea; by which time the Grand Signor, being informed of his coming, sent orders to his vizir *Azem* to apprehend him, and have him severely bastonadoed, which was accordingly done.
- His title.* THE *Jews* were not at all surprised at this accident, but began to recollect, that, according to *Levi's* prediction, the Messiah was to be concealed nine months, during which he was to be a great sufferer; so that they looked upon this misfortune as an accomplishment of that prediction. *Tzevi*, on the other hand, being asked why he had taken upon himself the title of king? answered, that it was done against his will, and to avoid the resentment of the *Jews*, who forced him to it. This answer obliged the vizir, who was then preparing for his departure into *Candia*, to use him more mildly, and to confine him in the *Dardanel*s, which was looked upon as a new miracle; and the *Jews* began to give out, that it was out of the sultan's power to put him to death, seeing he had not done it. There came, immediately after, a vast concourse of them to the *Dardanel*s, where having, by dint of presents, bribed the governor, they went and made much richer ones to their Messiah, who, being thereby greatly puffed up, gave orders to have his birth-day celebrated; and sent ambassadors to all the *Jews*, to declare to them, that he was the Messiah, and to acquaint them with the miracles which he pretended to have wrought, and was still to work. He gave at the same time a plenary indulgence to those that should go and offer their devotions at his mother's tomb; and the *Jews*, on their part, came in shoals to pay their homage to him in prison. Even those of the *Portuguese* synagogue at *Amsterdam* composed a form of prayer, which was to be used by those who went to *Adrianople* to see this pretended Messiah<sup>d</sup>. But, in the height of all his success, came one *Nebemiah Cohen*, a *Polish Jew*, to his very prison, to prove him an impostor; and, the more effectually to ruin him, turned *Mohammedan*, and revealed the whole mystery to the kaimakam. The mufti, being also acquainted with it, was highly exasperated that such a man should be suffered to live, who disgraced the *Mohammedan* religion by pretending to be the Messiah. Application was thereupon made to the sultan, who ordered the impostor to be brought to him at *Adrianople*, and that he should be pierced through with a sword or dart, to try whether he was invulnerable.
- Apprehended and bastonadored.* *Tzevi*, alarmed at this, found no other way to escape than by turning *Mohammedan*, by the advice, and after the example, of the sultan's physician, who had done so before. His wife turned likewise, and all the *Jews* hearing of it, were greatly surprised and disheartened. But his cabbalistical friends found means to keep up their hopes, by affirming, that the Messiah was to be for some time among the *Turks*, as *Esther* had formerly been with king *Abasuerus*; but all the wiser *Jews* were covered with shame at his apostacy and imposture (W). Nevertheless, such was the credulity of the greatest part of them, that, though *Tzevi* was afterwards beheaded by order of the Grand Signor, the generality of them believe him to be still alive, another impostor being since risen, as it were out of his tomb, who persuaded them, that that was the real Messiah, and that he should appear again in the world in a glorious manner. This new event being still more singular, and little known, we shall give it now to our readers, as it was communicated by Mr. *Hochepied*, the then consul at *Smyrna*, to the late Mr. *Cuper*, an. 1703, and by him to Mr. *Basnage*, author of the history of the *Jews*. The letter is to the following purport<sup>e</sup>:
- The blindness of his followers.* “ *TZEVI* being beheaded by order of the sultan, was in a manner forgot, when a *Jew*, named *Daniel Israel*, who had dwelt in that city (*Smyrna*) six or seven years, took it into his head to persuade his nation, that he is still alive, and concealed in some corner, where he is to continue about forty-five years: after which, said he, he will appear again, according to
- Confined in the Dardanel.* and is beheaded. Pretended to be still alive.
- Sends ambassadors to the Jews.*
- Opposed in his prison.*
- Brought to the sultan.*
- Turns Mohammedan;*
- A new impostor proclaims his second coming.*

<sup>d</sup> SIMON. Letters, tom. ii. p. 19. January 6th, 1703.

<sup>e</sup> Letter of Mr. HOCHÉPIED, cons. of Smyrn. to Mr. Cuper,

(W) This was, it seems, what gave birth to the book, or compiled. The three impostors mentioned by this intitled, *The three impostors*, different from another of we are speaking of, were, *Zabathai Tzevi*, *Mahomed* the same title, much talked of, but probably never seen *Bey*, alias *John Cigala*, and *Padre Ottomano* (41).

(41) Vide *Basnag. ubi sup. lib. ix. c. 17. §. 15.*



a “ *Daniel’s* prophecy, to this purpose <sup>f</sup>: *And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination of the desolation set up, shall elapse one thousand two hundred and ninety days: blessed is he that watcheth and cometh to the 1335 days!* when he shall appear and deliver his people. These days are prophetic years; the accomplishment of which he makes to fall precisely to the term of forty-five years after the death (or, as that new impostor words it, the retreat) of *Zabathai Tzevi*.

“ *THIS Daniel*,” continues the consul, “ is neither rabbi nor doctor, but one that reads <sup>Some surprising tricks per-</sup> the law in the synagogue, and uses divers artifices to deceive those that hear him; and it is <sup>formed by him.</sup> hard to guess by what means he doth them. Being seated at table, he pronounces these words in *Hebrew* with a loud voice, *I have heard, and my entrails were troubled*; and at once rises up with such velocity, that one would imagine he was carried off by some superior force. As he moves farther, one sees in the air behind him a globe of fire, which seems to follow all his motions, until he turns his face about towards the beholders; and as he tacks about, he is heard to pronounce these words, *The Lord is king, the Lord is king, the Lord shall reign for ever and ever*; at which time the fiery globe is seen to remove itself upon his breast, where the word *Jehovah* appears written upon it; but presently after disappears.”

THESE prodigies (with some other juggling and surprising tricks, which the above letter <sup>Great Jews</sup> mentions, but which we omit for brevity’s sake <sup>taken with</sup>) have astonished a great number of *Jews*, <sup>them.</sup> and, among them, the famed *Abraham Michael Raphael Cardoso*, who dwells in *Candia*. They will not believe *Daniel* to be a magician, but a real prophet, who acts by the power of God; and that, as he affirms it, *Zabathai Tzevi* is still alive, and wait with impatience for his appearing; and, in the mean time, celebrate the 26th of *Kastew*, or 18th of *December*, which is his birth-day, with great solemnity.

NEITHER the Christians nor the *Kadi* would have known any thing of this imposture, had <sup>The cheat discovered.</sup> there not happened a rupture among the *Jews*; for, to do the wiser sort of them justice, they strenuously opposed the impostor; so that of necessity the matter broke out, and was brought before that judge, to whom they offered a sum of 175 rixdollars, to cause him to be expelled the city, in order to wipe off themselves the shame of such a cheat. *Daniel’s* friends at the same time offered a much larger sum to save him; and, though these officers commonly turn the scale to the heaviest side, yet the *Kadi*, fearing lest he should be called to <sup>Kadi banishes him.</sup> an account for having protected one of *Tzevi’s* disciples, who was raising a man from the dead, whom the *Porte* had caused to be executed, actually banished him; and he continued some time at the small town of *Cassaba*, in the valley of *Magnesia*, near the river *Ormus*, and still pretended to return to *Smyrna* with all his followers; because the government of the *Kadi* was to expire within six months.

SINCE then, Mr. *Cuper*, willing to know how the matter was ended, received a letter <sup>The end of that imposture.</sup> from Mr. *Heyman*, minister of the *Flemish* church at *Smyrna*, which gave him an account, That the death of *Cardoso*, who maintained the impostor, and had been murdered by his son-in-law at *Grand Cairo*, had put a final end to the cheat; that the murderer fled into a *Turkish* mosque, and turned *Moslem*; but he doth not tell us what became of *Daniel Israel*. *Cardoso* was, it seems, a great admirer of *Nostradamus’s* predictions, which he had read at *Salamanca*, whilst he was a student there <sup>h</sup>. We need not here observe, from what has been related above, how numerous, powerful, and flourishing, they are in all these *Turkish* dominions; and indeed they have found means, though despised by all the *Mohammedans*, to make them- <sup>Jews carry on a great traffic.</sup> selves so useful to them, that there is hardly any traffick carried on without them, but especially with the Christians, with whom they scorn to deal without a *Jewish* go-between, or broker; and as the *Turks* are commonly honest and well-meaning, they seldom fail of being made the dupes of both, and the *Jews* of being well paid for their knavery: so that they would of course grow vastly rich, if the government did not load them with heavy taxes for the liberty they enjoy. But let us now pass on to those in *Ethiopia*, *Egypt*, and the rest of *Africa*, during these three last centuries.

WE begin with *Ethiopia*, where they live more peaceably, and more easily maintain them- <sup>Jews in Ethi-</sup> selves, by the conformity there is between their religion and customs and those of the *Ethio-* <sup>opia.</sup> *pians* (X), who boast themselves to be sprung from the same stock. Those that live here never

<sup>f</sup> Chap. xii. ver. 11, 12.  
Mr. Cuper, 29th Jan. 1707.

<sup>g</sup> See BASNAG. lib. ix. c. 27. §. 19, & seq.

<sup>h</sup> HEYMAN’S Let. to

(X) We shall have occasion to speak more fully of the religion of the *Abyssinians* in their history, and shall here content ourselves with observing, that they not only agree with the *Jews* in several customs, such as circum-

cision, strict observance of the Sabbath, and abstaining from swine’s flesh, but their kings boast themselves to be descended from those of the ancient *Jews*; and bear for their arms a lion holding a cross, with this motto; *The Lion of Judah hath conquered*. We find likewise their king *David*, in the letter he sent to pope *Clement VII.* taking



Their high  
situation.

Fidelity to king  
Claude,  
A. C. 1540.

Live inde-  
pendent from  
him.

Driven from  
their strong  
holds.

never received the thalmud, nor any of that heap of traditions under which their religion is buried in other places. Upon the inundation of the *Saracens* into that country, they went and sheltered themselves in *Abyssinia*, where they met with a very kind reception<sup>1</sup>; and they still pretend to be very numerous and powerful there, and to have been masters of some considerable kingdoms in it (Y). It is not easy to guess how early they were settled in this country; but if we may believe a modern traveller, who hath been in those parts, there were not any to be found in any part of *Ethiopia*, except upon a vast high and spacious mountain in the heart of it, and inaccessible on all sides but one, and that very rocky, difficult, and dangerous; and here it was that our author tells us they were seated<sup>k</sup>, the top of it having a most delicious plain, of vast extent, full of small brooks, fine fruits, and excellent pasturage, where they live in plenty of all things, without ever coming down, or having any communication with the inhabitants of *Abyssinia*. Here it was that *Claude*, the son of *David*, mentioned in the last note, being driven by his brother, and *Goranba* king of *Adel*, took refuge, and was received by the *Jews* with open arms, and defended by them with such bravery and faithfulness, against the forces of the latter, that they obliged them to retire, for which brave action they enjoyed his protection and friendship, after he had mounted the throne, during his whole reign.

OVIEDO, sent thither patriarch by pope *Julius III.* confirms their living only in such high and inaccessible mountains; and adds, that they had stripped the Christians of many tracts of land upon them. He adds, that the kings of *Ethiopia* cannot bring them into subjection, by reason of the difficulty of coming at them; so that they live in a manner independent, and form a kind of republic of their own. They still maintained themselves in the same independency towards the beginning of the last century; insomuch that they were sometimes dreaded by the *Abyssinian* kings, and were masters of near three provinces of theirs. *Susneus al Soltan Saged*, a bold and successful prince, who had gained several victories over the *Gallas*, or *Gallani*, and died afterwards, *an.* 1632, came at length against them with a powerful army, and attacked them on their inaccessible rocks, and forced them to dislodge thence, and to disperse themselves through the kingdom<sup>l</sup>. Upon which some of them retired quite up to the springs of the *Nile*, and among the *Caffres*; others are still in the province of *Demba*, where they apply themselves to the iron and woollen manufactures; which being odious to the *Abyssinians*, are left wholly to them, on condition that they shall furnish them with all the necessary implements of war. They have their synagogues and free exercise of religion, in which they make use of the thalmudic *Hebrew*, tho' they have not adopted that book. They are likewise very numerous at the court of the *Abyssinian* princes, insomuch, that an *Arabian* who had been there, told Mr. *Ludolph* that there were no less than 60,000 attending their

<sup>1</sup> LUDOLPH'S Hist. Ethiop. l. ii. c. i. p. 32.

<sup>k</sup> JOH. DE CASTRO Sinus Arab. seu Maris Rubr. Itinerar. p. 491.

<sup>l</sup> PAULI V. Epist. ad Susneum. ap. Ludolph, Comm. ad Hist. Æthiop. p. 491.

taking the following titles upon him; *David, beloved of God, the pillar of faith, sprung from the tribe of Judah, the son of David, the son of Solomon, the son of the pillar of Sion, and of the seed of Jaacob.* Mr. *Ludolph* (42) doth indeed think, that that prince swelled those titles on this occasion above the common standard; but that doth not hinder their believing themselves to be descended from those *Jewish* monarchs.

(Y) An *Arabian* author, who has written a panegyric on the *Ethiopians*, tells us, that the massacre of all the inhabitants having been resolved on, they applied themselves to the *Arabian* king, and begged, that they might be treated like the people of the Scripture, which, in the *Arabic* stile, signifies the *Jews*. They are called by *Mohammed*, the people of the book, meaning the Old Testament (43); so that the *Ethiopians* only desired to have the same treatment with the *Jews* (44); which the *Arabian* prince granted to them, on condition they should wear a scar on their face, by way of distinction.

We pass by here the pretended embassy sent by the king of *Ethiopia* to pope *Clement VII.* mentioned by *R. Gedaliah* (45), and by *Peritfol* (46), of which a little swarthy *Jewish* rabbi was the chief, and came to beg his holiness's assistance; and that he would send his master cannon, bombs, and other ammunition, together

with engineers, and other proper persons, to defend his kingdom against the incursions of the *Arabs*, and other bad neighbours; in return for which, the king his master was to send his holiness spices of all sorts from his country, and go and conquer the *Holy Land*, and put it under his government.

*Peritfol* says, that the pope granted him his request, and sent him home in a vessel loaded with cannon and other warlike engines, and a proper number of engineers. He adds, that, during his eight months stay at *Rome*, the cardinals and persons of distinction invited him, and offered to visit him, but that he refused both. He was wont to ride on a mule about the street, to observe all the curiosities of the place; and went so far one day as to ride a good way up into the church of *St. Peter*; and when he was bid to come down, he only answered, *Do well, O God, unto Israel!* The reader may see a fuller account of this embassy in the three authors last quoted, as well as a confutation of it in *Bartolucci* (47), and *Basnage* (48), which we omit for want of room; and, for the same reason, we shall pass by likewise all the fabulous stories about this country being the true *Prester John's*, and of the fabulation, or sabbatic river, which never flows during the Sabbath, and others of the like kind, which are foreign to the design of this chapter.

(42) Ludolph's Hist. Ethiop. l. ii. c. i. l. i. c. 2. p. 214. Basnag. l. ix. c. 39. §. 2.

(43) Koran, sur. iii. p. 38.

(44) Hottinger. Hist. Orient.

(45) Shalshaleth Hakkabala, sub A. C. 1524. (46) Peritfol Cosmog. c. xiv. p. 93, & seq. Vid. & Ludolph, ubi sup. & lib. iii. c. 9. comm. 5.

(47) Bibl.

(48) Hist. des Juifs. lib. ix. c. 29. §. 7, & seq.



a camp<sup>m</sup>. They trade with the Christians as well as the *Ethiopians*, and live in perfect friendship with them. *Live quietly.*

THOSE of *Egypt* were like to have undergone a more severe fate, when *Achmed*, governor of it, revolted against *Soliman II.* and laid a tax on them of 200 talents; and because they pleaded insolvency, and had brought but 15 talents into the treasury, gave orders that all who had not paid should be imprisoned<sup>n</sup>. But here Providence proved on their side, *Achmed* was seized and put to death, and tranquility restored to the city of *Cairo*, where they celebrated a feast in memory of their deliverance, and called it *Nassimo*, which signifies both a miracle, and the post on which *Achmed's* head was affixed<sup>o</sup>. That city was very full of *Jews*, most of them very rich merchants; but the liberty that was granted to their nation, invited the

b rest to disperse themselves all over that country, where they exercised a great variety of trades, and carried on some considerable manufactures; and they pretend to have been there more numerous about this time than ever they were in *Moses's* days, but their number, we are assured, is since very much dwindled, they having hardly any settlements except at *Cairo*, and some of the maritime towns, but so far from having any in the country, that they were obliged to go disguised, whenever trade, or any other occasion, called them thither, to prevent being insulted or abused by peasants and common people<sup>p</sup>. *Vast number. A. C. 1673. Lessened.*

ABOUT the middle of the 16th century flourished the famed *Moses Alefcar*, or the red (Z), who wrote a learned defence of *Maimonides*, in which he confuted all that had been objected against that learned rabbi. *R. Moses Alefcar, A. C. 1555.*

c Most other known parts of *Afric* not only protect but encourage the *Jewish* nation; and they are the principal traders into the inland provinces, whence they bring not only slaves and gold dust, but abundance of other commodities, especially gums and physical drugs. The misfortune is, that they adulterate every thing that comes through their hands. And so rich some of them are, that it was by the bare spoil of one of them that *Muley Archey*, king of *Taphilet*, was enabled to seize on the province of *Quiviana*, and to dispossess his brother, then king of *Morocco* and *Fez*; in gratitude for which he granted the *Jews* all their former privileges, and made *Josiah Ben Hamosheth*, prince of that nation<sup>q</sup>. His brother *Ishmael*, who succeeded him, favoured them still more, and as an acknowledgement for the great services which he had received from *Dom Joseph de Toledo*, during his disgrace at *Mequinez*, not only made him one of the principal officers of his household, but sent him envoy into divers courts of *Europe*; and he was the person who concluded the peace with the *United Provinces*, an. 1684<sup>r</sup>. His son had all the same dignities confirmed to him. *Jews in Afric. Rich and powerful.*

THEY had likewise been a long while settled at *Oran*, and were intrusted in some of the highest places in that city, yet such was their fidelity to the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the ill treatment they had received from them, that they were the people who betrayed it to them, if it was not rather their avarice, and the great sums with which cardinal *Ximenes* bought their perfidy. However that be, they have continued very faithful to them ever since; and when it was in great danger from their neighbours of being re-taken, the *Jews* resolved to lose their lives in its defence; and when the garrison threatened to revolt, at another time, for want of pay and provisions, they suppressed it by a timely supply of both. All this did not prevent their being banished from the place, an. 1669<sup>s</sup>, on what account is not easy to guess (A). Since which, they have not been able to get footing into it. *Betray Oran to the Spaniards. Banished from it. A. C. 1669.*

THEY have likewise been very numerous and flourishing in the province of *Suz*, which formerly depended on the kingdom of *Morocco*, but has been since dismembered from it. They had in the capital of that principality a very rich and sumptuous synagogue, which was served by several priests and officers. They had their judges and interpreters of the law, who were maintained at the charge of the people, and these get their living by traffick and labour. There are great numbers of them in the mountains of *Morocco*, who are employed in the iron manufacture, building, and other such laborious employments, to which the inhabitants are

<sup>m</sup> Ap. LUDOLPH, lib. ii. c. 7. lib. iv. c. 5. N. 12.

TZEMACH, sub. an.

general de Barrios. BASNAG. ubi sup. §. 17.

<sup>n</sup> SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 402.

<sup>p</sup> VANSLEB Relat. of Egypt. p. 15.

<sup>q</sup> Hist. of Taphilet.

<sup>o</sup> GANTZ

<sup>r</sup> Histor.

(Z) Supposed from that surname to be descended from the noble family *de Rubeis* in that country. He wrote some other small treatises, besides *Maimonides's* defence, against *R. Shem Tob* (49). *Buxtorf* mentions one of them intitled, *Sepher Haggeulah*, or, a Treatise on Redemption, which was more probably wrote by *R. Moses Gerundensis* (50).

(A) They do indeed accuse the marquis *de las Voles* to have used several artifices at court, to obtain this edict of banishment, in order to bestow on an ambitious favourite woman a post which had been of long date hereditary in a *Jewish* family: but could not that have been done with less bustle and injustice to all the rest?

(49) *Gedaliah Shalsheleth*, p. 63. *Bartoloc. ubi sup. tom. iv. p. 59, & 61.*

(50) *Wolf, ubi sup. N.*



Synagogues  
re-built,  
A. C. 1660.

Jews in  
Turkey and  
Constantinople.

Trade and  
privileges.

Capitation.

Poverty.

Bajazet  
poisoned.  
A. C. 1472.

Cyprus taken  
by Selim II  
A. C. 1579

Printing set  
up at Con-  
stantinople,  
A. C. 1576.

averse. But this doth not hinder others from trying their fortunes at court, and raising them-  
selves to eminent posts. It was one of that nation, named *Pacheco*, who was sent ambassador  
to the *United Provinces*, and died at the *Hague*, an. 1604, and was buried there with great  
pomp. Some time after, their synagogues having been demolished in the kingdom of *Fez*,  
*Muley Mohammed* not only caused them to be rebuilt as soon as he came to the throne, but made  
one of that nation his high treasurer and prime minister <sup>a</sup>.

BUT of all other countries the *Turkish* dominions have the greatest number of, and favour  
them most, and *Constantinople* above all other places; insomuch that there is neither lord or  
merchant, *Moslem* or Christian, but hath one of them in pay, who is the chief steward of the  
household, makes all his bargains, takes care of affairs both at home and abroad; besides which,  
they are employed by the ambassadors, as well as the inhabitants, as couriers, in all their  
negotiations (B). We formerly took notice that they had their quarter in the suburb of *Galata*,  
called from thence the *Jewry*; but it hath been since removed to the sea-side, where they  
have their synagogue, houses, and shops, and have the privilege of selling of wine, of which  
they make a considerable gain, because theirs is preferred to that of the *Armenians*, on account  
of the *Jewish* law forbidding all mixtures; so that they reckon theirs the purest and best.  
They carry on likewise a great commerce, and are brokers between the *Turks* and Christians,  
and lend money on usury, as they do in most other countries (C). For all these privileges  
they pay a capitation to the *Porte*; but instead of its being levied on them by the officer of  
the empire, they have agreed with him for a certain sum, which is brought to him by the chief  
of each synagogue, who lays it on them according to every man's worth, by which the  
poorer sort are relieved from too heavy imposts <sup>b</sup>.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, they have a great many among them, whom extreme misery  
obliges to turn *Moslems* <sup>c</sup>, in which no other ceremony is required than an examination of the  
motives of their change, and their pronouncing the following words, *La Illah Ilallah Moham-*  
*med Resoul Allah*; that is, *There is no other God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet* (D);  
but for the generality, they are very thriving and in great credit. The Christians accuse one  
of them that was physician to *Bajazet* II. of having been bribed by his son *Selim* to poison  
him in his flight to *Demoticha*; which he had no sooner done, than *Selim* caused him to be put  
to death <sup>d</sup>. But neither *Selim* nor the *Jew* are charged by the *Turks* with that black deed;  
*Bajazet's* death being looked upon by them to have been natural. However that be, it was  
a *Jew* named *Michses*, who, out of spite to the *Venetians*, inspired *Selim* II. with the first notion  
of conquering the fair island of *Cyprus*; which he soon after did, and granted the *Jewish*  
nation very great privileges in it (E); and not long afterwards sent another *Jew*, called *Solomon*  
*Rephe*, to *Venice*, to negotiate a peace with that republic.

THEY obtained soon after a much greater privilege from him, viz. that of setting up print-  
ing both in his metropolis and in *Theffalonica*, by which their books, especially the sacred  
ones, which were then very scarce and dear, came to be dispersed every-where, and were  
bought at such an easy rate, that people applied themselves more closely and universally to  
the study of them. The consequence was, that there appeared soon after several eminent  
rabbies, and chiefs of the synagogues there. *Solomon* the son of *Japhe*, who had left *Germany*  
to settle in that capital, read his expositions on the *Jerusalem* thalmud, and rendered it much  
<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> CARIO Marochens. Regn. Descript. p. 308—341.  
HILL, THEVENOT, & al.  
Bib. Orient. p. 104.

<sup>b</sup> SMITH Notitia vii. Eccles. p. 116. RICAUT,  
THEVENOT's Voyage into the Levant, lib. i. ch. 32.

<sup>c</sup> D'HERBELOT,

(B) They are accordingly distinguished by their  
dress into two different orders; those that belong to  
foreign princes, or to their ministers there, wear the  
livery of those they serve: the rest wear a high crown'd  
hat without a brim, with a bluish turban and slippers;  
which is no mark of ignominy to them, because every  
nation hath its particular distinction.

(C) A vast number of them are employed likewise  
as porters; but with this disadvantage, that they are  
forbid the use of knots, or of a bag filled with hay  
under their burdens, which is only allowed to the  
*Turkish* ones. And we are told of one of the former,  
who having met *Mohammed* IV. straying in a wood,  
(where he had been hunting, and must in all likelihood  
have staid all night) and conducted him to his capital,  
was bid to ask what reward he would have for his ser-  
vice; and only begged that he might be permitted the  
use of the *Turkish* knot; which was granted him as  
a singular favour.

(D) These words are esteemed so sacred among them  
that whoever pronounces them, must either turn *Moslem*  
or is condemned to the flames.

There is a common notion, that a *Jew* cannot be  
received into the *Turkish* mosk unless he first turn Chris-  
tian, and is baptized; but that is a raillery rather than  
a truth. And as for circumcision, they never repeat  
it, because their old one is reckoned sufficient.

(E) Among other encomiums which *Michses* gave of  
that island to the *Soltan*, for which it was justly stiled  
*Macaria*, or the abode of the blessed, he commended  
its excellent wines; and *Selim*, who was very fond of  
that liquor, promised, in a drunken fit, to make him  
king of it. He did not, however, keep his word with  
him, but recompensed him in some other way; and  
gave such encouragement to those of his nation in that  
island, that they became very numerous and rich in it,  
and continue so to this day.



a easier and clearer by them (F). *R. Gedaliah*, another learned doctor, who boasted himself descended from king *David*, did likewise leave *Lisbon*, his native place, to settle there as a physician, and at the same time taught the rites of the *Jewish* nation. He became afterwards chief of the synagogue, and laboured much to re-unite the *Caraites* and rabbinites, but found both sides too stiff to yield; so that the former only took the advantage of their mutual conferences to print and publish several of their own books (G). The last of note we shall mention, is *Mordecai*, the son of *Eliezer*, who called himself the *Constantinopolitan*; though he commonly resided at *Adrianople*, and there expounded the grammar of *Aben-Ezra*, intituled, *Jessod Morab*, or, *The Foundation of Fear* (H).

There are some places indeed in *Greece*, out of which they have been expelled, particularly the city of *Salona*, whose inhabitants, *Turks* as well as *Greeks*, mortally hate them. The same may be said of *Athens*, where they had been fixed ever since the apostles time<sup>y</sup>, but are since forbid to settle in it: which may be perhaps owing to the Christians being by far more numerous there than the *Turks*, there being between 8 and 9000 of the former, and but about a fourth part of the latter in it<sup>z</sup>. But there are others, in which they are numerous and powerful; especially at *Patras*, where they have four synagogues, chuse their own judges from among themselves, and have a spacious burying-place on a neighbouring mountain, which at a distance looks like a large city (I). They are settled at *Lepanto*, *Livadia*, *Corinth*, and other cities of *Greece*, and live by their commerce; but that country is in so sad and desolate a condition, through the heavy taxes they are obliged to pay to the *Porte*, and its more ravenous officers, that they are for the most part very poor. They fare much better at *Theffalonica*, where we find them settled ever since the time of *St. Paul*, and have had a considerable academy for some centuries, as well as a printing-house; which last was since taken from them. Here flourished likewise several eminent rabbies, whose names and works the reader will find in the margin (K); and hither it is that the *Jews* do still send their children from *Constantinople*, and other parts, to be taught the *Hebrew* tongue.

We read of about 6000 being settled at *Gallipoli*, a city in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, near the mouth of the *Propontis*, and a much greater number at *Prusia*, on the *Mysian* coast, near *Mount Olympus*; there being reckoned near 12,000 living within the walls of it, whilst the Christians are forced to dwell in the suburbs<sup>a</sup>. They had formerly also a settlement at *Rhodes*, near one of the walls of the city, which was thence called the wall and quarter of the *Jews*<sup>b</sup>; but soon after the raising of the siege by the *Turks*, the master of the *Rhodian* knights proposed to their council the banishing of them; which was readily agreed to, not only out of

<sup>y</sup> Acts xvii. 17.<sup>z</sup> Sir G. WHEELER VOY. tom. i. p. 398.<sup>a</sup> Sir G. WHEELER, id. ib. p. 185.<sup>b</sup> SPON. VOY. tom. i. p. 209.

(F) He printed several other works, one of which he titled *The beauty of the eyes*; and another, *The fair look*, alluding to his surname of *Japhe*, which signifies fair or beautiful: the one contained a set of sermons, and the other an exposition of the *Middrash Rabbah*, or larger comment on the Pentateuch (1).

(G) *Gedaliah* likewise printed his treatise of *Shibha Enajim*, or seven eyes, alluding to *Zachariah's* vision (2); and some others which are not known. He must not, however, be confounded with a relation of his of the same name, of whom we shall speak in the sequel.

(H) There hath been since discovered another work of his; viz. a MS. comment on the Pentateuch, the expositions of which are so literal, that he hath been thought a *Caraites*; but whether he was really so or not, this work hath been much commended by a learned author, who had thoroughly examined it (3).

(I) This hill, it seems, is full of little houses, which serve for a repository for their dead; and have a kind of marble door, at which they are conveyed in, and whereon are the epitaphs of the dead, and of the family to which each doth belong.

(K) Among them was the famed *R. Moses Abelda*, whom *Plantavitius* mistook for a *Sicilian* (4), on account of his being stiled *Salonichi*, which is the name by which that city, and not *Sicily*, is called. He published several works there, particularly his *Deraash Mosheh*, or mystical expositions or sermons on the Pen-

tateuch; and his *Shabare Dimbab*, or gates of tears; which is a moral treatise on the vanity and miseries of this life, written to comfort those of his nation under their frequent disasters (5); and some others of less note.

Here flourished likewise *R. Joseph*, the son of *Levi*, who taught in it, an. 1490, and published a treatise on the use of the *Gemarrab*. He was at once chief of the synagogue of *Constantinople*, and of this academy; and this last it was that the false Messiah *Zabathai Tzevi*, lately mentioned, chose for the scene of his imposture; not doubting but if he could impose on the doctors of so famed an academy, he should find it easy to do so on all the rest.

This was also the place where the apostate *Victor Pardo* retired from the university of *Marpurg*, where he had been professor; and, upon his turning *Jew*, on pretence that he could not believe the mystery of the Trinity, took the name of *Moses Pardo*, An. Ch. 1614. Being here grown very poor, he wrote a letter to his quondam friend *Hertman*, in which he told him, among other things, that all the bibles were sadly corrupted, except those of the original *Hebrew*, which he said he had closely studied since his coming to *Salonichi*. He moreover declared himself a firm adherent to the *Jewish* religion, which, he said, was allowed on all hands to be of divine original; whereas mankind was much divided about Christianity; and in that faith he died, though very poor and troubled in mind (6).

(1) Bartoloc. ubi sup. tom. iv. p. 395, &amp; 549.

(2) Zachar. 3 &amp; 9.

(3) Frey's Basileens. Excerpt.

Aaronis. Vid. Basnag. ubi sup. c. 30. §. 9.

(4) Plantavit. Bibl. Rab. p. 136.

(5) Wolf, ubi sup.

N. 1518. p. 804.

(6) Epist. Mos. Pardo, ap. Shud Compén. Hist. Jud. lib. iii. c. 1. Vid. Basnag. ubi sup. §. 13.



Rhodes re-  
taken by the  
Turks,  
A. C. 1652.

the whole island, but out of all the places under their dominions. It was likewise there a resolved, that the *Jews* not having the same natural right over their children that other parents have, they should baptise and educate them at the public charge, lest they in time should go out of the island, and return to their old religion. As for their parents, they were ordered to sell their effects, and depart within the space of forty days, but were forbid to go and settle in the *Levant*, lest they should serve as spies to the *Porte*. However, upon that island being re-taken by the *Turks*, the *Jews* returned and settled in it, and are used with greater mildness than the Christians<sup>c</sup>, who are obliged to leave their shops and warehouses at night, and go and lie in the suburbs, and villages adjacent, which the *Jews* are not. These, however, do not amount to above 200; but they are more numerous at *Smyrna*, where they are reckoned about 6000, and have a good number of synagogues<sup>d</sup>. Upon the whole, there is hardly any con- b siderable city or town in the *Ottoman* empire in which there are not some of them, though every-where oppressed by the *Soltan's* officers, in which they only fare as the rest of his subjects do.

Jews in Italy,  
&c during the  
three last cen-  
turies.

Thus much may suffice for their history in the eastern parts, during the three last centuries; it is now time to return into *Europe*, and take a view of them through all those Christian states wherein they are still tolerated. But here we hope our readers will gladly permit us to be more brief than we have been, with respect to the sufferings and horrid persecutions they have been forced to undergo, especially during the 15th and 16th centuries, and beyond, on false accusations of crucifying Christian children, stealing consecrated wafers, to use them in their conjurations, and the various miracles by which their pretended crimes have been brought c to light, and exposed them to the barbarous fury of a zealous populace, and subjected them to such dreadful punishments, as can hardly be read without horror. These, we say, have been so frequent, and in so many parts of *Europe*, during this epocha, that a bare narrative of them would more than fill one of these volumes; for which reason we shall content ourselves with mentioning some of the most considerable instances of this zealous cruelty, and the year and place where they have happened, without descending into the many shocking particulars that attend them. As for matters of a different nature, and which we think worth a curious reader's notice, we shall gladly impart them to him, as they come in course.

Persecuted by  
pope John  
XXIII.  
A. C. 1412.

We begin with *Italy*, where, though we have seen them hitherto protected and favoured for the most part by the popes, yet their writers open this 15th century with a dreadful perse- d cution, which the then warlike pontif *John XXIII.* raised by his several edicts against them; and not content to persecute them in his dominions, wrote a letter to the then queen regent of *Spain*, during the minority of her son *John II.* desiring her to act in concert with him; which she did accordingly, and with such severity, that she obliged 16,000 of them to renounce *Judaism*, whilst of those who persisted in it, one part were condemned to the flames and other cruel deaths, and the rest were massacred by the peasants in their flight, except some few who bought their lives by dint of money<sup>e</sup>. This calamity, however, proved but of short duration, at least in *Italy*; and the *Jews* had the pleasure soon after to hear that their persecutor was himself reduced to a more desperate state than they (L). *Nicholas II.* being come to the papal chair, began not only to comfort and protect those within his dominions, but to suppress e the inquisitors that plagued them. He likewise sent letters into *Spain*, to prevent their forcing them to abjure their religion; and as to those who did it with a good will, he affirmed that they had a right to be admitted into the public posts, from which the city of *Toledo* had unjustly excluded them, as hath been hinted before.

Protected by  
pope Nicholas  
II.  
A. C. 1447.

A new storm  
against them,  
A. C. 1472.

THEY had not enjoyed the fruits of that pontif's patronage many years, before a new storm arose against them from another quarter; but whether designedly or no, we will not affirm. *Sextus IV.* had been prevailed upon to canonize the little *Simon*, who had been murdered, or pretended to have been so, by the *Jews* (M), in the city of *Trent*, ever since the

<sup>c</sup> STOCHOVE. voy. of the Levant, p. 227. THEVENOT, ubi sup. tom. i.  
<sup>e</sup> SOLOM BEN VIRG. p. 312.

<sup>d</sup> SMITH Sept. Eccl. notit.

(L) The dire change of fortune of that haughty pontif is elegantly set forth in the following distichs:

*Qui modo summus eram gaudens & nomine præsul  
Tristis & abjectus nunc mea fata gemo.  
Excelsus Soli nuper versabar in alto  
Cunctaque gens pedibus oscula prona dabat;  
Nunc ego pænarum fundo devolvor in imo,  
Vultum deformem quemque videre piget.  
Omnibus ex terris aurum mihi sponte ferebant;  
Sed, nec Gaza juvat, nec quis amicus adest (7).*

(M) The *Jews* are accused of having murdered that youth, who was a tradesman's son, in a most cruel manner. They shew you still in that city a knife, a pair of pincers, and four large needles, with which they had let out his blood, and two silver tumblers, out of which they had drank it. The whole story of that butchery is painted at full length in one of the churches of that city, in a chapel dedicated to the little faint (8).

(7) Vid. Basn. lib. ix. c. 31. §. 1.

(8) Misson, ubi sup. Basnag. ubi sup.



a year 1276; but, for what reason may be better guessed than told, had not been fainted till now, that is, near 200 years after his pretended martyrdom. This at once revived the hatred and zeal of the people against them, not only in that city and bishopric, but in the territories of the city of *Venice*. The preachers, under pretence of some special miracle, excited them to such a degree, that they plundered and killed all the *Jews* that fell in their way; insomuch that the doge and the senate were obliged to interpose their authority, to suppress the disaster; and in their order to the magistrates of *Padua*, commanded them to be treated like their other subjects, and to prevent their being ill used by the populace; *because the rumour spread at Trent appeared to them to be false, and artfully invented, for some ends which the senate did not care to dive into*<sup>f</sup>. However, this did not hinder the less equitable magistrates of *Trent* from banishing them, though some time after they obtained leave to tarry there three days, because they drove a considerable commerce in that city. We learn since, that those three days were shortened into three hours, on account of their so strenuously defending the city of *Buda* against the Christians, in the last war with the *Turks*.

*Senate of Venice's order, in their favour.*

*Banished out of Trent.*

POPE *Alexander VI.* not only received those whom the kings of *Spain* and *Portugal* had banished, but observing that those that came to *Rome* met but with a sorry reception from their unnatural brethren there, (insomuch, that they must have perished with hunger and misery, if he had not assisted them) sent express orders to the rest to alter their conduct towards them, and to supply those poor refugees with means to settle themselves in his dominions, and threatened to banish them if they did not comply. To those that staid in his territories he gave the same privileges as the ancient *Jews* had enjoyed, and endeavoured to procure the same for the rest from the other states of *Italy*, which soon brought vast numbers thither (N). Another part went and settled in the kingdom of *Naples*<sup>g</sup>, where they met with such severe usage from the inquisitors, that the people mutinied, and the viceroy resolved to banish them all out of that kingdom, that he might be at once rid both of them and of the plague of those inquisitors. *Charles V.* soon after authorised his viceroy's conduct, by refusing to grant them any toleration either in that kingdom or in *Sicily*. And indeed his whole behaviour towards them shows that he really hated them, on account of some impostures he had found them guilty of, and which they seem too much to have deserved of him: the reader may see an instance or two in the margin (O). This did not however discourage one *Ricci*, a converted *Jew*, from

*Some come to Naples, and are persecuted, A. C. 1510.*

*A. C. 1539;*

*Hated by Charles V. A. C. 1534.*

<sup>f</sup> See the order of the doge Mocenigo, dated April 22, indiction viii. an. 1475, ap. CARDOSO's *Las Excellencias*, p. 27. *MISSON's* voyage into Italy.

<sup>g</sup> *DACHERII Specil. tom. ix. p. 162.*

(N) Among those whom that pontif's kindness had invited to *Rome*, was the learned *R. Jochanan*, a *German*, who had been lately settled at *Constantinople*, and became afterwards the master of the famed *Picus* of *Mirandula*, a prince who had already betrayed an extraordinary fondness for the cabbalistical writings (9), and was so confirmed in it by that *Jew*, that he is reported to have declared, that those who dived into them, dived in the true head spring; whereas those rivulets that had flowed thence into *Greece*, were no better than corrupt and stagnated waters. He likewise affirmed, that *Ezra* had caused certain cabbalistical books to be written, which he had then in his possession, and had purchased at a vast price, and which *Sextus IV.* had ordered to be translated into *Latin*.

*Picus* hath been much censured for his too great esteem of them; in answer to which he took God to witness (10) that he had found in them the mystery of the Trinity, and all the other mysteries of Christianity; so that there was not the least controversy or difference between them and the writings of *St. Paul*, or *St. Jerom*; but that he had by them converted a very learned cabbalist, named *Dattilius*. No wonder then that a prince of that character should prove so kind a friend and patron to the persecuted *Jews*.

About the same time one *Bonis de Latis*, a native of *Provence*, dedicated to pope *Alexander VI.* his treatise on the usefulness of an *astronomical ring*, which he had invented. He wrote it in tolerable good *Latin*, tho' he thought himself obliged to make an apology for it in the following distich prefixed to it.

*Parce, precor, quæ sunt rudibus errata Latino.  
Lex Hæbreæ mihi est, lingua Latina minus* (11).

(O) One of them had, it seems, been so impudent before him, as to affirm himself to be the *Messiah*; and *Charles* being convinced that he was a cheat, had caused him to be burnt alive, an. 1534. This did not deter two others from attempting the like imposture; only they acted their parts with more caution. The one was originally a *Jew*, but had been brought up a Christian, and had already got some small employment at the court of *Portugal*, when the other named *David Lemelein* came thither from *Rome*, and resolved to make him act in concert with him. *David* gave himself out to be the chief of the army of *Israel*, and had done the same at *Rome* before *Clement VII.* and being arrived at *Lisbon*, persuaded the young convert to return to his *Judaism*, and gave him the name of *Solomon Malcho*.

He set him immediately upon studying the rabbinic writings; in which he made so swift a progress, that the *Italian Jews* affirmed, that some angel dictated his sermons. Not content with preaching, he compiled several curious treatises, which still added to his fame. All this while *David* distinguished himself by his long fasting, being sometimes six whole days without taking any sustenance; insomuch, that those who were witnesses of it, looked upon him as something more than human. Neither he nor *Malcho*, however, had dared to assume the title of *Messiah*, but contented themselves with that of his fore-runner. At length *Malcho* was imprudent enough to desire an audience of *Charles V.* then at *Mantua*, which he readily granted; but as soon as he was got out of his presence, that prince caused him to be arrested, and burnt alive; and *David Lemelein* was sent prisoner into *Spain*, and died there a few days after his confinement. Yet such was the stupidity of the *Italian Jews*, that they would not believe, for

(9) *Ap. Manasse. de Fragilit. præfat.*  
*MOD. HIST. VOL. V.*

(10) *Pic. Mirand. apolog. p. 82.*  
7 M

(11) *Basnag. ubi sup. §. 4.*  
a good



from dedicating to that monarch his celebrated treatise on what he stiled celestial agriculture. a He was a physician in *Germany*, and a most profound cabbalist, and pretended to prove all the mysteries of Christianity from the cabbalah; but whoever reads that work, or his 50 theorems and expositions on the *Sephiroths*, &c. will own that they did not deserve those encomiums which some learned men have made on them (P); and that some of them, especially his dialogue on the apostles creed, are far below the dignity of a sound and reasoning divine<sup>h</sup>.

Jews powerful under Paul III. A. C. 1539. Opposed by cardinal Sadolet.

THE *Jews* were become so powerful under pope *Paul III.* that cardinal *Sadolet*, bishop of *Carpentras* (R), grew quite out of patience with them and their protector, against whom he bitterly inveighs, as being kinder to them than to the Christians, who lived amongst them as sheep amongst wolves. His letter, which was written to cardinal *Farnese*<sup>1</sup>, is full of the severest reflections against that pontif, and his partial fondness for those enemies of Christ; and that none could be raised either to civil or ecclesiastical dignities, but through their favour and interest, whilst he scrupled not to persecute the *Lutherans*, &c. He concludes with discovering the true motives of it, the great profit they helped to bring into his finances and treasury. This complaint, if it had not quite the desired effect, procured at least a redress of the most flagrant abuses; whilst those that were of a more profitable nature were palliated and winked at.

Thalmud burnt, A. C. 1554. 1582.

SOME time after this, pope *Julius III.* being of opinion that all the allegorical interpretations of the *Gemarrab* were dangerous<sup>k</sup>, caused the thalmud to be burnt; so that, according to the *Jewish* writers, all the *Gemarrabs* in *Italy* were destroyed<sup>l</sup>. And it was under the same pontif that one *Joseph Tzarphati*, a celebrated rabbi, after having taught a considerable time at *Rome*, embraced Christianity, and, in honour of that pope, took the surname *de Monte* (S), and proved that pontif, by the help of the *Gemarrab*, to have been mentioned in the sacred text. But of all the learned *Jews* that flourished at *Rome* about this time, *Elias Levita*, author of several excellent treatises, deserves the first rank. Some make him a native of *Padua*, and say that some of his relations were still settled at *Rome*, particularly *Abraham Aschenazi*, chief of that family, and one of the judges of the synagogue<sup>m</sup>; not considering that the word *Aschenazi* is the appellative which all the *German Jews* take from *Alkenaz*, the son of *Gomer*<sup>n</sup>, whom they suppose to have peopled *Germany*<sup>†</sup>, and is accordingly affirmed by others, with more probability, to have been born at the small town of *Eysch*, near *Nuremberg*<sup>o</sup>. Some d have likewise imagined that he turned Christian, because he was very conversant among them; but that is a mistake, for he died a *Jew*; and in one of his works gives God thanks that he was born one (T). However, he was a very moderate one, and free from that rancour and free

Elias Levita, his extract, learned works, &c.

<sup>h</sup> BASNAG. ubi sup. c. 31. §. 7, & seq.

<sup>1</sup> SADOLET, lib. xii. epist. 5 & 6.

<sup>k</sup> BULLAR. tom. i.

CONF. Paul IV. p. 19 & 24.

<sup>l</sup> GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 153.

<sup>m</sup> BARToloc. ubi sup. tom. i. p. 135.

<sup>n</sup> Genes. x. 3.

<sup>†</sup> Anc. Hist. vol. ii. p. 241, & seq.

<sup>o</sup> GENEBR. BUXTORF. WOLF, Bib. Rab.

Num. 249. p. 153.

a good while, but that he was still alive there, and that he came constantly once a week to pay a private visit to his wife, who was still in *Italy* (12).

(P) *Erasmus*, who was commonly as lavish of his praises as of his satires, and was intimately acquainted with him, cries him up to the skies, as a good philosopher, and profound divine: he knew him professor of philosophy in *Pavia*, and was charmed with him. But he still more admired the simplicity of his manners, which shewed him to be a guileless *Israelite*, who had no other pleasure or exercise but the study of the scriptures; on which account he was extremely solicitous to procure him some honourable employment, by the help of which he might make the best advantage of his talents (13).

But, besides what we have observed above of his writings, he displays but an indifferent judgment in the parallel he makes in his theorems of the writings of *Dionysius* the areopagite, and the book of *Zohar*, formerly mentioned, as well as by his unskilfulness in his chronology, and making those two authors to have been contemporaries, and to have lived about the time of the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

(R) This city [which is in the county of *Avignon*, and had been sold to the pope by *Joan* queen of *Sicily*] had ever since that time had a *Jewish* synagogue, as well

as that of *Avignon*, and the *Jews* protected by those pontifs, have ever since then enjoyed the full liberty of their religion: only they are forced to live in a quarter by themselves, and to wear, the men yellow hats, and the women a yellow bit of silk or stuff on their upper head garment.

(S) He was born in *France*, but of *Fezan* extract; but finding that the *Jewish* learning flourished more at *Rome*, he removed thither, and expounded the thalmud both in the synagogue and in their academy. After his conversion he wrote a peaceful letter to the *Jews* there, an. 1582, in which he proved to them that the Messiah was really come, and was made soon after to preach both to them and to the new converts; but his defection had rendered him so odious to the former, that they complained of it to the cardinal *Sirlet*; upon which that employment was taken from him. He wrote afterwards a treatise, stiled, *The confusion of the Jews*, in which he pretended to prove that all the mysteries of Christianity are found in the Old Testament (14); but as it was not printed, an *Italian* writer, author of the *Dialogo di fede*, hath taken the liberty to plunder what he thought fit for his purpose out of it.

(T) *Elias* was no less unfortunate than learned; and this obliged him, having been totally ruined at *Padua*,

(12) Imbonat. Bibliot. Rabb. tom. v. Gantz Tzemach, sub an. 293. Shalsheleth, p. 45 & 48. Wolf, Eibl. Rab. N. 2004. p. 1076. Peritfol Itinerar. c. 14. p. 91, & seq. & al. (13) Erasmi epist. lib. i. epist. 37. p. 88. (14) Fabian Fiocchi. Bartoloc. Bibliot. Rabb. tom. iii. p. 818. Basnag. ubi sup. §. 12.



a gall against the Christians that one meets with in the writings of those of his nation. The rest of his character and works the reader may see in the last note. There flourished likewise at Rome a celebrated *Jewess* poetess, named *Deborah*, who began to make herself famous, by her poetic and other works, about the year 1560, and lived to the beginning of the 17th century<sup>p</sup>. She was wife to *Joseph Ascariel*, a learned rabbi, commonly known by the name of *Ascarellus Romanus*.

THE *Jews* fared much worse under *Paul IV.* who really hated them, and from the beginning of his pontificate issued out two severe bulls against them; by the first of which, every synagogue within his dominions was to pay ten crowns *per an.* for the instruction of the catechumens who were willing to embrace Christianity; and by the second they were obliged to wear, the men yellow hats, and the women yellow hoods, to live separate from the rest of the Christians, and to have their quarter shut up every night. They were moreover deprived of all society, places, merchandize, or commerce, with the Christians, except that of cloth-bro-  
b wear, which was the only traffick allowed to them. They were limited to one synagogue in every city, and ordered to sell all their lands in six months; which so lowered the price of them, that they did not get the fifth part of their value, which yet amounted to 500,000 crowns<sup>q</sup>. He issued likewise an ordinance against their books; not indeed like that of his predecessor *Julius III.* who caused them all to be burnt in the lump; for this distinguished between those that contained blasphemies against Christ, and those which only taught or expounded the *Jewish* religion; the latter of which were tolerated, and the former flung into  
c the flames (U).

THE cardinal *Charles de Boromeo*, bishop of *Milan*, and since canonized, not only enacted several canons against them, in the first council he held in that metropolis, which were much of the same kind with those of *Paul IV.* above-mentioned, but desired all the Christian princes to do the same<sup>r</sup>; and all this in order to promote as much as possible their conversion. But

<sup>p</sup> GENEBR. BUXTORF, WOLF, Bibl. Rab. N. 465. p. 287.  
<sup>r</sup> Concil. Mediolan. I. an. 1565. cap. 14.

<sup>q</sup> BASNAG. ubi supra, §. 17, & seq.

when that city was taken and plundered, to teach *Hebrew*, to maintain himself and family, particularly to cardinal *Gilles*, who proved a generous patron to him. But, for this, his whole nation cried him down at a severe rate, some charging him with apostacy, and others with exposing the divine mysteries and oracles to the Christians; whereas, according to the words of the psalmist (16), *he gave his laws unto Jacob, and his statutes unto Israel: he hath not done so to any nation, &c.* they said, that they ought not to have instructed any strangers in that sacred language. And this might be the reason of his having been looked upon as a convert to Christianity, unless we will suppose this notion to have arisen from one of his grandsons, of the same name, having afterwards embraced Christianity, and become a Jesuit, under that of *J. Baptista Elianus*.

However that be, *Elias* easily disculpated himself from those slanders, partly in the preface to his book *באור*, *Bachur*, or *The chosen*, and partly in a poetical preface prefixed to another work of his, intituled, *Massechet Hamassoreth*, in which he owns that the narrowness of his circumstances had obliged him to teach the *Hebrew* tongue; but at the same time declares, that he never explained or betrayed any of the mysteries of the *Jewish* faith, no, not even the first verse of *Genesis*.

He was again reduced to such extreme poverty, by the plundering of *Rome* by the high constable of *Bourbon*, that, to use his own words, he had neither bread to eat, fire to warm himself, nor cloaths to cover his nakedness. This obliged him to retire to *Venice*, and thence into *Germany*, to seek his bread; but being by this time very old, and unable to bear the coldness of that country, he was forced to cross the *Alps* once more, and died in the 80th year of his age (17).

His chief works are as follows:

An exposition of *Kimchi's* grammar. His own grammar, or *Bachur*, divided into four parts or treatises: the first of which treats of the conjugations; the second of verbs regular and irregular; the third, of perfect names; and the fourth, of imperfect ones: with rules for the true pronunciation of the *Hebrew* tongue. His

treatise on composition is another grammatical book. His *Sepher Zichronoth*, or book of remembrances; or a collection of *Massoretic* observations from ancient authors. His *Tob Taham* (Ps. cxix. 66.) or treatise on *Hebrew* accents. His *Massoreth Hamassoreth*, or critical art on the *Hebrew* text. His *Meturgaman*, or *Chaldaic*, targumic and rabbinic lexicon. His *Pirke Eliahu*, or grammatical rules in verse. His *Shibre Luchoth*, or breaking of the tables, a grammatic treatise on true reading, &c. His *Thishby*, or dictionary. Some other poetical performances, in praise of certain books and authors, with some others of inferior note, the reader may see a fuller account of, in the authors last quoted.

(U) They were likely to have fared much worse, on an information of 89 women converts from *Judaism*, who pretended to be possessed; and, upon being exorcised, answered, that the *Jews* had sent those devils into them out of spite and revenge. The pope, who hated them, and was no great divine, was, on hearing it, resolving to banish them all, when a Jesuit diverted him from it, by representing to him the absurdity of the accusation, and the necessity of making a stricter enquiry into it. The pretended demoniacs were accordingly ordered to be examined by scourging; and, upon receiving the first strokes, confessed that they had been drawn into this imposture by some courtiers, who hoped to enrich themselves by the spoils of the *Jews*, whether they were banished or put to death. Those courtiers were thereupon put to death that night; and the pontif, being informed of it, cried out, *I might have been damned for unjustly putting the Jews to death, had not my good Jesuit prevented it. I will pray to God to convert them; but whilst I live will I never hate nor molest them as I have done.* This story we have from an author (18) who lived pretty near this time, and who tells us he had it from his own brother, who was chaplain to cardinal *Granville*; and, if true, may be a good caution against giving too easy credit to such kinds of accusations against the *Jews*, as well as to the notion of possessions and witchcraft (19).

(16) Ps. cxlvii. 19, 20.  
*divers. lessons*, tom. ii. lib. iii. c. 9.

(17) Vid. Basnag. ubi sup. Bartoloc. Wolf, ubi sup.

(19) Basnag. ubi sup. §. 18.

(18) Lewis Guion



that edict shews at the same time that they were become so numerous and powerful, as well as interspersed with the Christians, that there was some reason to fear them, not only at *Milan*, but in other places of *Italy*, unless they were confined to their own separate quarters, and interdicted as much as possible all kind of converse and dealings with the Christians.

Pius V.'s  
edict against  
them,  
A. C. 1569.

POPE *Pius V.* was still more severe to them, not only laying them under the same harsh restrictions, but charging them in his bull against them with treachery and falshood; with encouraging theft, lewdness, and other vices; with dealing in magic, forcery, and fortune-telling, and with every thing that could render them odious to the Christians: on which account they were ordered to be banished out of all places of his dominions, excepting the cities of *Rome* and *Ancona* (W). *Sextus V.* acted with more frankness towards them, and fairly owned that the profit he reaped from them was the chief motive of his tolerating them. A certain rabbi named *Meir*, or *Magin*, of *French* extract, but who had resided some time at *Venice*, came about this time to *Rome*, and, being a man of learning and address, dedicated a book to him, with some verses in his commendation, and presently after petitioned him for the sole privilege of settling there a silk manufacture, pretending that he had an excellent secret for multiplying of silk-worms. *Sextus* not only granted his request, but revoked all bulls and edicts of his predecessors to the contrary; though confirmed by oath, or backed with sentence of excommunication. His view was to enrich himself by laying a good heavy tax on every pound of silk; though his granting the monopoly to him could not but prove prejudicial to all that dealt in that commodity.

Sextus V.'s  
grant,  
A. C. 1587.

Clement  
VIII. his bull,  
A. C. 1593.

CLEMENT VIII. confirmed the bull of *Pius V.* against them, by which they were banished out of the ecclesiastical states; but added the city of *Avignon* to those of *Rome* and *Ancona*, where they have been settled ever since, with full liberty of their religion. He gave much the same reason for his indulgence that his predecessor *Pius* had done, viz. the promoting their conversion. However, they did not make him a suitable acknowledgement for it, but, on the contrary, applied to him that prophecy of *Zechariah*, *Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered* (X); which made *Abraham Echelenfis* tax them with horrid ingratitude, for cursing, like *Shimei*, a prince from whom they had received such singular favours. But it is time to take a view of them in other parts of *Italy*, where they had likewise very considerable settlements.

Jews at Ve-  
nice.

THEY are tolerated in all the *Venetian* territories, and claim in part their protection from that republic, on account of some eminent services they did to it in the wars with the *Turks*, particularly at the siege of *Candia*. But they are still more numerous and flourishing in its capital, whither the great printer, *Daniel Bomberg*, came from *Antwerp*, and began for the first time to print *Hebrew* bibles; for the correcting of which he kept several, some say above 100, learned *Jews* in pay (Y). *Bomberg* was likewise desirous to print some good *Hebrew* grammar, and *R. Abraham de Balnais* was ordered to compile one accordingly; but dying before it was finished, it was afterwards completed by *R. Calonymos*, a learned *Jew*, then at *Venice*. Besides those two books, he printed a great number of other works of the *Jewish* rabbies, for which his memory is still dear to the learned world, especially to the *Jews*. Here likewise lived *R. David*, the son of *Isaac de Pomis*, who, in gratitude to this republic, wrote a book to prove that its laws were of divine original, and that God had promised by his prophet to

Hebrew bible  
printed,  
A. C. 1511.

R. David de  
Pomis.

\* De Judæis Conc. tom. xv. p. 333. ap. eund. ann. sub an. 1569.

† BULLAR, tom. ii. Pii V. Constitut. 80. SPOND.

‡ See his Privilege in BARTOLOC. Bibl. Rabb. tom. iv. p. 20. BASNAG. ubi sup.

§. 22. \* LUZAT CARDOZO, ap. Basnag. ibid. c. 32. §. 1. † GANTZ TZEMACH, sub an. 1271. p. 151.

‡ Vid. MATTAIR. annal. Typogr. Orlandi. Orig. della Stampa. PALMER's History of Printing, &c.

(W) It is somewhat surprising, that if they were really guilty of those crimes, they should be suffered to stay in any place, much more in his capital; but that pontif had his reasons for it: tho' those he gives in his edict will hardly be deemed serious, viz. that he indulged them to live there, to put the people in mind of Christ's sufferings; that he might have a more watchful eye over them; that the sanctity of the place, and example of the Christians, might encourage their conversion, &c. But the true motive was, the promoting commerce with the eastern parts, and the great advantage accruing to the holy chamber from it.

(X) This prophecy (20) was variously applied by them; by some to the grand signor, under whom they lived a miserable life, as we have lately seen, and whose empire being destroyed, the *Jews* were to conquer the *Holy Land*, and afterwards the world. *R. Solomon Jar-*

*chi* applied it to the *Roman* emperors. But the famed *Manasse Ben Israel* hath fixed it upon the *Roman* pontif, who styles himself *the great shephera, the head shepherd next to God, and his vicar upon earth*. And it was this his comment on the prophet which filled *Echelenfis* with such indignation against them.

(Y) *Felix Pratensis* had the care of that impression of the bible, with the *Chaldee* paraphrase, and the commentaries of several learned rabbies, and dedicated it to pope *Leo X.* But the edition is far from being the best, through the difficulty of ranging the various *Mafforetic* readings in a right order. He printed a second, in which the inquisitors retrenched several things, which they thought injurious to Christianity; the preference is therefore given to a third in folio, printed an. 1548, at the head of which is a preface of *R. Jacob Chajim*, formerly mentioned.



- a preserve so holy a commonwealth. This learned rabbi boasted himself to be descended from some of those *Jewish* families whom *Titus* had transported from *Jerusalem* to *Rome*; and mentions two of his ancestors, viz. *Isaac Rich*, and *Eliab Hak'odesh*, or the saint, over the tombs of which two miraculous fires had been observed to shine during the space of seven nights. *David* must have been a prodigy of learning even from his infancy, if, as *Bartolucci* affirms<sup>a</sup>, he wrote his *Tzemach David*, the sprout or branch of *David*, but different from that often quoted in this chapter, at the age of seven years. But this is a mistake of that author (Z); and he only compiled it at his leisure, from a MS. dictionary in *Hebrew*, written by one of his ancestors, about the beginning of the 12th century, which he enriched with every thing valuable in those of rabbi *Nathan*, *Elias Levita*, and *D. Kimchi*; so that it hath all the *Hebrew* words, and all the rabbinic terms, in an alphabetical order, together with the *Latin* and *Italian* explanation of them.

- HERE flourished likewise *R. Shimsha*, since named *Simeon Luzati*, who published his *So-* *R. Shimsha*, *crates*, in which he shews that the greatest geniuses are weak, and apt to err, when they are not guided by revelation<sup>b</sup>. He published likewise another treatise on the present state of his nation, of which we shall have a more proper occasion to speak in the close of this chapter. *R. Samuel Nachmiah*, a native of *Theffalonica*, also settled in this metropolis; and with his son *David*, and some of his family, abjured *Judaism*, and took the name of *Morefini*. *Samuel*, to shew the sincerity of his conversion, wrote the book called *Derek Emunah*, or, *The way to the faith*, in *Italian*, wherein he shews the uselessness of the *Jewish* ceremonies; that the 613 precepts taken from the law<sup>†</sup> are observed by no *Jew*, and explodes all the sects and superstitions of the *Jews*. He retired to *Rome*, where he died in a good old age, *an.* 1613. *R. Mordecai Korkos*, who taught at *Venice*, and was a native of it, did an action no less bold and odious to those of his nation, in writing a treatise against the *Cabbalah*, and even against the ten *Sephiroth*, the most sublime part of it, which shews his excellent taste for true sound divinity, as well as his courage in exposing himself to the hatred, resentment, and anathema, of the cabbalistic tribe. For so high is their esteem of that science, that they look upon every such attempt against it as levelled against the fundamentals of religion, for which reason their doctors would not suffer it to be printed. *R. Mordecai Korkos's book against the cabbalah*, A. C. 1672. 1674.

- MUCH about the time that *Bomberg* set up his printing-house at *Venice*, some *Jews*, come from *Spire* in *Germany*, were doing the same at *Soncino*, a small town in the duchy of *Milan*, near the river *Oglio*, and began to print *Hebrew* books there, about the end of the 15th century; by which means many considerable manuscripts were preserved, which had lain so long buried in the dust, that they were scarcely legible. These printers exchanged the name of their family for that of the town of *Soncino*, and became celebrated under the name of *Soncinates*; and as they were the first that did their nation so great a service, they became very rich and famous. They spread themselves from that into other parts of *Italy*, and have had some learned men among them, particularly *R. Asher*, who was a native of that place, and descended from that family: the reader may see a list of the books they there published, in the authors quoted in the margin<sup>d</sup>. *R. Jacob Tzephalon*, born at *Rome*, *an.* 1630, where he had also taken his degree of doctor in physic, came and taught at *Ferrara*, and became one of the principal rabbies of the last century. The nearness of that city to *Venice* gave him an opportunity of printing several learned books, the chief of which may be seen in the margin (A). *Jacob Tzephalon*, A. C. 1490, & seq.

## THE

<sup>a</sup> BARTOL. ubi sup. tom. ii. p. 40.  
Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 596, (C).  
DI, PALMER, CHEVILIER, & al.

<sup>b</sup> FRA. PAULO, Histor. de gli Uscocchi.  
<sup>c</sup> BARTOLOC. ubi sup. tom. iv. p. 404.

<sup>†</sup> De his, vid.  
<sup>d</sup> MATTAIR, ORLANDI.

(Z) *Bartolucci* seems quite to have mistaken his meaning, where he tells us, that being at *Bevagna* (whither his father and he had retired from *Spoletto*, and having been plundered of all their effects on their journey, were reduced to the greatest poverty) he found the book of *R. Nathan*, and, having read it attentively, formed the design of abridging it. Some time after, the *Meturgaman* and *Thibbby* of *Elias Levita* being fallen into his hands, together with *Kimchi's Roots*, from all these he compiled his *Tzemach*, at his leisure, and called it by that name, because he wrote it by little and little; and it is plain that he did not publish it till the year 1587, that is, after some others of his works.

He was invited into several places where he practised physic with great success; but the bishop of *Chiuffi* caused

the gates of that city to be shut up against him, though he was very much wanted there. He passed from thence to *Rome*, and thence to *Venice*, where he ended his days; and there, to comfort himself in some measure for the great misfortunes he had gone through, he wrote his *Treatise on the miseries of human life*; which he interspersed with some of the brightest texts in *Ecclesiastes*, and is rather a comment in *Italian* on that sacred book, with his notes upon it (21).

(A) The first was a book of precious prayers and meditations; in which there is in particular a long prayer, to be said by physicians when they go to visit their patients. It seems this good *Jew* thought it necessary to implore the blessing of heaven, before he went to prescribe to the sick; and did not, like the greatest

(21) Vid. Bartoloc. ubi sup. Wolf, Bibl. Rabb. N. 499. Basnag. ubi sup. &c.



R. Gedaliah. THE *Jews* had likewise a synagogue at *Imola*, where the celebrated *R. Gedaliah*, of *Portuguese* extract, was born, and wrote afterwards his genealogical work, stiled by him *Shalsheleth Hakkabalab*, or the *Chain of the Cabbalah*, often quoted in this chapter, which he wrote an. 1539, and is the only work of his that we know of that hath been printed, though he wrote above twenty more on other subjects (B). And though that work is very erroneous, both in its chronology and facts, and for the greater part taken from another of the same nature, yet is owned by *Bartolucci*, and others, to have been of great use to them; and is more especially so to those who are fond of the chain of oral tradition, and of the personal succession of its doctors. We refer our readers, for the rest of his works in manuscript, to the authors quoted below <sup>c</sup>.

R. Samuel of Modena. THE synagogue of *Modena* produced several learned men, particularly *R. Samuel*, who was chief of it, and published his judgments of *Samuel*, an. 1550; which is a collection of thal- mudic and rabbinic decisions, to which he hath added some of his own, which are much esteemed <sup>f</sup> (C). That of *Padua* had also a good number of great rabbies; and there the *Jews* received the title of doctors of physic, and are thereby authorized to practise it in all the dominions of the republic of *Venice*. They have there three synagogues, and about 800 *Jews*, and a very handsome *Ghetto*, or quarter, with three gates, which are shut up every night. Over one of them one reads an inscription, which begins with these words, *Ne populo cælestis regni hæredi usus cum exhærede esset*, &c. <sup>g</sup>; alluding to the words of *Sarah* to *Abraham* <sup>h</sup>. In this synagogue flourished the great *R. Meir*, who was chief of it. *R. Joseph de Padua*, so called from that city, his native place; *R. Isaac Phea*, author of the way to faith, a treatise which gained him great reputation; *R. Menahem Rabba*, whose sermons on the four seasons of the year have been since printed by his son: he was still alive in the beginning of the last century, 1605. <sup>c</sup>

A diffension at Mantua, A. C. 1460. THE synagogue and academy of *Mantua* have been long since famed; but a diffension having been unhappily raised between *R. Messer Leone de Mantua* and *R. Koloa*, the two chiefs there, towards the end of the 15th century, through their mutual ambition and jealousy, the *Mantuan Jews* divided themselves, and called the Christians to their help; and the dispute ran so high, that they came to take up arms one party against the other. *Lewis de Gonzaga*, then marquis of *Mantua*, strove in vain to pacify them; and was at length forced to take the most effectual means of suppressing the uproar, by banishing those two chiefs that had caused it. After which, both synagogue and academy resumed their ancient tranquillity, and were governed by several eminent chiefs and learned doctors, particularly by *Mose Vecchio*, or *Moses the Elder*, who gained a great reputation by his corrections on *Alphez*, and his commentators. The small city of *Pesaro*, in the duchy of *Urbino*, had likewise a synagogue of the *Jews*; till that duchy falling into the pope's hands, they were obliged to go out of it, by the pope's edict lately mentioned (D). They have, generally speaking, upheld themselves in most cities of *Italy*; and have had many learned rabbies during the foregoing century, the most celebrated of whom were those that follow: <sup>d</sup>

Leo de Modena's works. R. JEHUDAH ARIE, more commonly known by the name of *Leo de Modena*, the place of his nativity, as that of *Leo* (Lion) answered to his *Hebrew* name *Arie*. He was a learned man, though a professed enemy to the Christians, against whom he hath, out of his cabbalistical head, forged many dishonourable anagrams, and numerical devices and puns, not worthy his <sup>e</sup>

<sup>c</sup> BARTOLOCC. ubi sup. tom. i. p. 722, & seq. WOLF, ubi sup. N. 451. p. 277, & seq. <sup>f</sup> Id. ibid. N. 2137. <sup>g</sup> Misson's journey into Italy. <sup>h</sup> Conf. Gen. xxi. 10. & Galat. iv. 30.

part of those of his profession, depend wholly on the natural efficacy of the medicines.

He wrote some other works, one of which is called *the light of Jacob*; and another, *the light of the preachers*; a third he stiles *the stage of life*, which is a physical treatise of fevers, and diseases peculiar to every part of the human body, of their cures, of simple poisons, &c.

(B) He was the son of *R. Joseph Jacobijah*, who was forced to retire to *Imola*, upon the banishment of his nation out of *Portugal*. His family boasts itself descended in a direct line from *Jesse*, the father of *Dawid*, king of *Israel*. But, in his deducing this genealogy, he is grossly out in his chronology (22). He was a much better preacher, and published 180 sermons, which he dedicated to his son *Moses*, besides other works; an account of which may be seen in *Wolf's Bibliotheca Rabbinica* above-quoted.

(C) This book is by a mistake called *the judgments of Solomon*, by Mr. *Basnage* (23), and was published at *Venice* by *Dan. Saneti*, in folio, an. 1599 (24).

(D) *Pesaro* was the native place of *R. Jechiel*, who took his surname from it. He went thence to *Florence*; where having heard for some time the sermons of an inquisitor, he went thence to *Rome*, to abjure *Judaism*. Pope *Gregory XIII.* assisted at the numerous assembly, where he made his speech of recantation; and, at his coming down from the chair, received him with these words, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord*. He was baptized some days after, and became a preacher; and some of the *Italian* sermons which he preached against the *Jews* at *Florence*, where they were very numerous, were printed an. 1585 (25).

(22) *De hoc*, vid. *Basnag. lib. ix. c. 32. §. 9.* N. 2137. p. 1120.

(23) *Ibid. §. 10.*

(24) *Vid. Wolf, ubi sup.*

(25) *Bartoloc. ex Schedis Magliakek, Bibl. Rabb. tom. iv. p. 564.*



a learned pen<sup>i</sup>. But he hath given the world a treatise of the *Ceremonies of the Jews*, which is highly esteemed by the learned of all nations. His book, intituled, *The mouth of the lion*, is another useful work, wherein he hath judiciously collected and explained all the words used by the rabbies, which are neither altogether *Hebrew* nor altogether *Chaldee*; and hath endeavoured to fix the pronounciation of them so as to be understood by *Jews* of all nations (E). He was for a considerable time chief of the synagogue, and reckoned a good poet, both in *Hebrew* and *Italian*; and hath written several other treatises; and designed to have translated the Old Testament into *Italian*; but was forbidden to go on by the inquisitors; instead of which, he wrote his lexicon above-mentioned. He died at *Venice*, in the year 1654, being almost eighty years old<sup>k</sup>. His death.

b R. JEHUDAH AZAEL was no less famous for his sermons preached at *Ferrara* in the last century, infomuch that the Christians went also to hear him. He was the author of a cabbalistical treatise, intituled, *The thrones of the house of David* (F); and died at *Ferrara*, an. 1677<sup>l</sup>. About the same time flourished R. *Jehoshua Menahem* at *Rome*, where he was chief of the academy; and another famed doctor named *Jaacob Dattillo Delli Piatelli*, who was esteemed one of the best masters to breed up their youth in learning. Here was also, about the middle of the last century, one *Nathaniel Tribotti*, who wrote a treatise on womens bathing, wherein he advanced some propositions which raised a number of antagonists against him. The synagogue and academy of that city were at length obliged to interpose their authority, to prevent the multiplication of books on that subject, by declaring for *Tribotti*, and obliging the opposing doctors to submit to their decision<sup>m</sup>. Tribotti up-  
held by the  
synagogues,  
A. C. 1644.

c THE *Jews* at *Rome* are reckoned to amount to between 12 and 15,000. They have nine synagogues, and an academy which they stile *Tbalmud Thorab*, the study of the law, and their learned professors in it; among whom was, about the latter end of the last century, the famed *Joseph Kimchi*. They seem to have a kind of superiority here over the rest of those in *Italy*; for they consult them in doubtful cases, and pay a singular regard to their decisions. They are governed in this city by their triumvirs, whom they stile *Memmonim*, or governors, who decide all quarrels and disputes between private men, and take care of the privileges granted to them by the popes. They are changed every year, lest they should abuse their authority; and live in such great friendship with the Christians, that they made no scruple to go into their synagogues in such numbers; that pope *Innocent XI.* was obliged to threaten them with excommunication, and to lay a fine of twenty crowns on every one that goes into them<sup>n</sup>. The *Jews* were heretofore wont to be employed by the popes, as we have had occasion to observe; but, as it was apt to give offence, it hath been since left off<sup>o</sup>. Jews numerous  
at Rome;  
  
their govern-  
ment, &c.  
  
Christian for-  
bidden their  
synagogues.

<sup>i</sup> De his, vid. BASNAG. ubi sup. c. 32. §. 15.

p. 412, & seq. <sup>l</sup> WOLF, ibid. N. 766. p. 452.

ROQUE'S Memoires de l'Eglise, lib. v. p. 605.

<sup>k</sup> Idem ibid. & seq. WOLF, Bibl. Hæbr. N. 692.

<sup>m</sup> Id. ibid. N. 1742. p. 928.

<sup>o</sup> NAUDEANA, p. 54.

<sup>n</sup> LA

(E) The *Jews* having no *Italian* version of the sacred books, caused a great confusion in the pronounciation of the *Hebrew* words, according to the different masters they had been taught by: to prevent which, our rabbi compiled this work in *Italian*, and added to it a grammar. Both were esteemed very useful, and bore a double impression; the last of which, viz. that of *Padua*, an. 1640, though very scarce, is reckoned the best.

There is a poetic piece, wrote by him in the fourteenth year of his age, which is much cried up; tho' it shews rather the patience and laboriousness, than the genius or judgment, of its author; and wherein he hath, with much hammering doubtless, so associated the *Hebrew* and *Italian* tongues, though so vastly different, that one finds in the former the same syllables that run in the *Italian* verses. One line will suffice to give an idea of it:

*Cbi nasce muor. Oi me che pass. acerbo è.* That is,  
He that is born dies. Ah me, how bitter is that step!

Now those syllables are found in the following *Hebrew* words, though of a quite different signification;

*Kinab scemor aimek ccpas aotzer ba.*

There can be nothing said in favour of such a labo-

rious piece, but its being written by such a juvenile hand.

His other works are, *The captivity of Juda*, or *Pesbar dabar*, the interpretation of words. His historical narrative of the passover in *Italian*, but in *Hebrew* characters. His *Leb Arie*, or Lion's heart, in *Hebrew*; which is a treatise on artificial memory, adapted to all sorts of learning. His *Sod Jesharim*, *Secret of the righteous*, a treatise of the secrets of nature. His *Sur merah*, *Depart from evil*, a dialogue between *Eldad* and *Medad* about the game of aice, wherein one defends and the other condemns it. His *Tzemach Tzadik*, or *Branch of the righteous*; a moral treatise, by way of fables and apologies; with some few others of less note (26).

(F) He is however shrewdly suspected to have stolen it from his father R. *Eliezer*, commonly called *Leone del Bene*, who taught also at *Ferrara*, and had compiled and intituled it, *Hir David*, *The city of David* (27). However that be, the book is divided, according to the cabbalistical cant, into ten houses, to each of which are assigned fifty doors; each chapter and section having its argument at the head, and at the end an index of the author's. It was printed at *Verona*, an. 1646 (28).

He wrote another book called *Jehudah Mecokeki*, *Judah is my lawgiver*, Ps. lx. 7. which consists partly of poetical pieces, and partly of epistles, both elegant in their kind.

(26) Wolf, ubi sup. N. 692, p. 412, & seq.

(27) Bartoloc. sub an.

(28) Wolf, ubi sup. N. 766. p. 452.



Innocent XI. a friend to the Jews, A. C. 1685. POPE *Innocent IX.* gave them several marks of his favour ; particularly when the *Venetian* general *Morosini*, after his successful war in the *Morea*, brought back a good number of *Jewish* and Christian captives, and gave liberty to the latter, but would have kept the former under slavery ; that pontif, being applied to by their brethren, who are there very numerous (G), ordered a congregation to take cognisance of their case, and censured the conduct of the *Venetians* ; whereupon these gave them their liberty, without suffering the pope's ministers to intermeddle farther in that matter <sup>p</sup>. The same pontif strove much to promote their conversion, and built seminaries for the maintenance of these new converts, hospitals for their sick, and caused sermons to be preached, to prove that the Messiah was come, and that *Jesus Christ* was that Messiah ; but little benefit was reaped from it ; because the *Jews* either absented from them, or only came to ridicule them, and sometimes committed shameful indecencies in the churches, where they were preached, though there were proper officers to punish them for it. As a farther encouragement to new converts, some cardinal, or great person, was commonly their godfather, and made them some handsome present after baptism ; they were dressed in white sattin, and carried about the city in a fine coach during a fortnight, to be seen and congratulated by the spectators ; after which they appeared in a common dress ; and, to prevent their apostatising, all that were found guilty of it were condemned to the flames <sup>†</sup>. But, after all these pains and cost, one sees plainly enough, that the far greater part still remain in their unbelief ; and as for those few converts they make, cardinal *Barberini*, who had bestowed great pains and sums towards that work, was forced to own, a little before his death, that such conversions were only feigned and insignificant <sup>q</sup>.

Means to promote their conversion prove ineffectual.

Their homage to the new popes.

It must be owned, however, notwithstanding their tenaciousness for their old religion, that they are not over scrupulous whenever their interest clashes with it ; since they oblige themselves to celebrate the inauguration of every new pontif, and to wait on him in the way to the *Lateran* church, to pay their homage to him. They endeavour, indeed, to disculpate themselves, by pretending, that they pay it to him only as a temporal prince ; but they cannot be ignorant that the inauguration of a pope is a mere act of religion, by which he is raised to the dignity of head of the church, and vicar of Christ upon earth. After all, it is hard to say who are most to blame ; the *Jews* for paying such an homage to the vicar or representative of Christ whom they abhor ; or the popes for exacting that homage to be paid to themselves, whilst they suffer them to refuse it to their divine master (H).

Jews in Piedmont.

THE *Jews* have been settled a long time at *Turin*, the capital of *Piedmont*, or *Pignerot*, and some other places of that principality, by an edict or grant, which secures to them a plenary liberty of conscience ; and, though they now-and-then meet with some disaster from the zealous populace, yet they live more quietly and friendly than in other places of *Italy*. They had indeed an accident happened to them, *an.* 1671, which was like to have been attended with some ill consequences (I), but was by some means compromised, for we have heard no more of it since <sup>r</sup>. And thus much shall suffice for the history of the *Jews* in *Italy*, down to the end of the last century. Those who desire to have a fuller account of their number, wealth, and the present state of their synagogues, may consult the tax of those that are in the ecclesiastical territories ; of which they reckon nine at *Rome*, nineteen in *Campania*, thirty-six in the *Marcha D'Ancona*, twelve in the patrimony of *St. Peter*, eleven at *Bolonia*, and thirteen in *Romandiola* ; for all which, besides what may be extorted from them by vexatious suits, they are obliged to pay a yearly tax of 700 crowns and upwards to the holy see <sup>s</sup> (K).

Total of their synagogues in Italy.

WE

<sup>p</sup> LA ROQUE, ubi sup.      <sup>†</sup> NAUDEANA. ones ceremonial. Rom. lib. i. sect. 2. p. 26.

<sup>q</sup> WAGENSEN's *Tela Ignea* præfat.      <sup>r</sup> Sancti-  
<sup>s</sup> BASNAGE, ubi supra, c. 32. §. 25, & seq.

(G) They are reckoned to amount to about 2000 in that capital, where they enjoy full liberty of conscience, have their synagogues, academy, and burying-ground, with many handsome monuments, and pompous epitaphs (29).

(H) There is another ceremony performed at *Rome*, which, though they have no hand in it, is very mortifying to them. It is the custom of the pope and priests to pray for their conversion in all churches, on *Good Friday* ; in doing which, instead of kneeling, as they do at the rest of the prayers, they stand up whilst that collect is said, to testify their abhorrence of the indignities they offered to Christ on that day, in mocking him with their bended knees (30).

(I) A *Jewish* boy going by some water, a Christian boy took some of it, and threw it over his head, pronouncing the form of baptism over him ; whereupon the grand vicar of *Turin*, being informed of it, caused him to be taken from his parents, pretending he now belonged to the church (31). The doctors of *Sorbon*, and other universities, were consulted upon it, but differed in their opinion. At length the *Jews* appealed to the pope ; but we have not been able to learn how that pontif decided the matter.

(K) The reader may further consult the last will of *Zachariah a Porto*, a rich *Jewish* merchant of *Urbino*, who died at *Florence*, *an.* 1671, after he had compiled a concordance on the comments of the thalmud, which he

(29) *La Roque's Memoirs*, ubi sup. See also the *Description of the city of Venice*. *parafr.* p. 182. *Cajetan. ordo Roman.* xiv. p. 368, apud *Basnage*, ubi supra, c. 30, §. 23.

(30) *Missal. Rom. Ferr. in*  
(31) *Idem*



<sup>a</sup> WE come now to speak of those of *Germany*, and the more northern regions, during the three last centuries, where they were very numerous, though much poorer than those of *Italy*, as well as worse treated by the priests and populace. The fifteenth century opened upon them with a very melancholy prospect. Great numbers had settled themselves in *Thuringia* and *Misnia*, where the *Landgraves*, whether through avarice or need, made them pay dear for the quiet and liberty they enjoyed, and were still exacting vast sums from them. Particularly at the very entrance of this century, such a large one was imposed on them as they refused to pay; upon which they were all arrested and imprisoned, and could not be discharged till they had complied<sup>1</sup>. They had, however, some learned men among them; particularly the famed *R. Jacob Movilin*, who was no less eminent for the number of his disciples, than <sup>Jews in Germany, Poland, &c., Oppressed, A. C. 1401.</sup> <sup>Learned men, A. C. 1427.</sup> <sup>b</sup> for his judicious answers which he wrote to the questions that had been proposed to him<sup>2</sup> (L). About this time the title of doctor came to be in vogue among the *German* rabbies; the occasion of which may be seen in the margin (M). And *Movilin* was one of the first who took it upon himself, instead of the old one of *rabbi*, which was become despicable.

THEY received soon after a new mortification from the council of *Basil*; which, finding them very numerous in that city and elsewhere, issued out a decree, by which all the prelates, where-ever any *Jews* were, should be obliged to have sermons preached against them, and oblige them to assist at them under severe penalties. They were likewise excluded from having any commerce with Christians, to be used for servants, nurses, farmers, or even physicians, or to have any houses near the churches, or towards the center of cities. They were farther <sup>c</sup> obliged to wear a different habit, by way of distinction; and condemned to lose whatever sums they lent on church-books, utensils, and ornaments<sup>3</sup> (N). All this struggle, however, produced little or no change in *Germany*; except that about twenty years after, *Lewis X.* duke of *Bavaria*, banished them out of his dominions, in spite of all remonstrances from them or their friends, as well as against his own interest. He even ordered them to march out of forty towns, and as many boroughs as they were settled in, at one and the same day and hour, confiscated all their goods, and built gaols, and other public edifices, in the places where they had lived<sup>4</sup>. <sup>Council of Basil's decree against them, A. C. 1434. Banished Bavaria, A. C. 1454.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BASNAGE, c. 33, §. 1. <sup>2</sup> GANTZ Tzemach, p. 147. <sup>3</sup> Confil. Basil. sess. 19. art. 5 & 6. c. 2. p. 547. <sup>4</sup> AVENTINE's Annal. Bojor. l. vii. p. 513. Status Europ. sub Frederick III. c. 32. apud FREHER's Hist. Germ. tom. vi. p. 79.

left at his death to the rabbies at *Rome*, and his library to the academy of it. He bequeathed moreover 24,000 piasters to his nation; one-fourth part of which was to be divided between the academies of *Leghorn*, *Venice*, *Jerusalem*, and of the *Holy Land*. The other 18,000 piasters were to be distributed to serve for dowry to the *Jewish* daughters of the synagogues of *Rome*, *Ferrara*, *Ancona*, *Urbino*, which was his native place, *Pesaro*, *Cesano*, *Venice*, *Padua*, *Vercina*, *Rowigo*, *Florence*, *Siena*, *Pisa*, *Leghorn*, *Mantua*, *Modina*, and *Reggio*; which shews how numerous they are still in *Italy* (32).

(L) It is supposed to be about this time that the famed concordance, intituled, *Meir Nelib*, or *The Enlightener of the Way*, was compiled. The learned are indeed divided about its genuine author, though it is universally allowed that his name was *R. Nathan*, who flourished soon after the beginning of this fifteenth century. However that be, *Reuchlinus* caused it to be printed; since which there have been several editions of that work; the most approved of which is that of *Marias Calasio*, a learned monk, who made some considerable additions to it, particularly a concordance of the books of *Ezher* and *Daniel*, and an explanation of several *Cabalaic* terms, and of whatever relates to the description of the places mentioned in *Holy Writ*.

*Calasio* died at *Rome*, an. 1602, and his book was printed, an. 1622 (†), but was become so scarce, that a new edition was greatly wished for by the learned; and this is what the Rev. Dr. *Romain* hath lately obliged them with, with very considerable improvements.

(M) There was about this time a strong dispute among the *Jewish* rabbies, concerning divorce; some young and

unlearned fellows among them, having taken upon them to write these bills or instruments, had committed such faults in wording them, for want of being well versed in the *Jewish* rites, as rendered them null and ineffectual. To prevent which therefore, the old ones made an order, that none of those bills should be valid, but such as were drawn by persons that had been dubbed doctors. And in imitation of the *Germans*, who bestowed that title on theirs with great ceremony, they began likewise to use some formality in it: and hence is supposed that change to have been owing here, as those in *Spain* and *Portugal* had done by assuming that of *Dom*, instead of the worn-out one of *Rabbi*. *Abrawanel*, however, was not a little surprised to see the ceremony performed, and the title of *Morena*, or doctor or teacher, given to those men; but his wonder ceased, when he found the same done in *Italy* (33).

(N) The same council made likewise sundry regulations for the encouragement of new converts; such as their being allowed to enjoy all their wealth, except what they had got by usury, which they were obliged to refund to the owners or their heirs. They were likewise allowed to be chosen to offices and places in those cities where they received baptism; but, lest they should corrupt each other, as they often did, they were forbid to converse with each other frequently, to bury their dead after the *Jewish* manner, or to observe the sabbaths, or any other *Jewish* rites; and, if they complied with those orders, they were to be married into some of the richest Christian families; but, if they apostatized, they were to be turned over to the secular power, and punished with the utmost rigour (34).

(32) *Idem ibid.* c. ult. Wolf, *Bibl. Hæb.* N. 573. p. 358. (†) *Vid. Imbonat. Bibl. Rabb.* p. 156. (33) *Basnage, ubi sup.* c. 33, §. 3. (34) *Concil. Basil. ubi sup.*



Burnt at  
Mecklen-  
burgh, A. C.  
1492.

A. C. 1494.

Banished out  
of Nurem-  
berg, A. C.  
1499.

And Cologn.  
Victor à  
Carbe's book  
against the  
Jews, A. C.  
1509.

Pfeffer Corn's  
advice against  
the Jews, A.  
C. 1509.

THERE was a dreadful execution made of thirty of them in *Mecklenburgh*, who were con-  
demned to the flames, together with a priest, accused to have sold them an host, which they  
had pierced, and was found bloody. Some women and children being of the number of the  
condemned, a mother in despair killed two of her daughters with her own hands; and was  
going to kill a third, but she was snatched out of her hands to be made to undergo a severer  
fate <sup>y</sup>. Two years after, some others were accused at *Tirnavo* in *Hungary*, to have drank  
the blood of a Christian whom they had murdered. The accused were put to the torture, to  
find out whether the whole nation were not guilty of the crime; if not, perhaps to extort  
such a confession from them (O). However, those only were punished who had a hand in it <sup>z</sup>.  
About five years after, those of *Nuremberg*, who were both numerous and wealthy, were all  
banished out of that city; and went and settled in a small town in the neighbourhood of it, <sup>b</sup>  
where they built a synagogue. The citizens laid several crimes to their charge, in order to  
palliate their severity to them; but the true motive seems to have been their wealth, which  
made them insolent, their great number, which made them appear dangerous, and their usuries,  
which helped to debauch their youth, and rendered them at length so odious, that they resolved  
to rid themselves of them (P).

Not long after the bishop of *Cologn* followed the example, and banished them out of his  
diocese; on which account one *Victor à Carbe*, who renounced *Judaism* to become a priest,  
wrote some books against them, wherein he highly complimented that prelate, for having  
thus happily *plucked up the tares from among the wheat* in the Lord's field, and cleared his  
bishoprick from them. He affirmed, at the same time, that Christians ought never to enter  
into disputes with the *Jews*, who are used to them from their infancy, but that they must  
be overcome by violence, or, as he words it, by the quiver and arrows (Q). <sup>c</sup>

SOME years after, another profelyte, named *Pfeffer Corn*, kindled a war among the learned  
of this century, by endeavouring to persuade the emperor *Maximilian*, that all the *Jewish*  
books ought to be burned; because they were full of fables, lies, and blasphemies, against  
Christ. He had written, some years before, a book on the manner of the *Jews* celebrating

<sup>y</sup> NAUCLER. Chronogr. gener. tom. ii. p. 1110.

<sup>z</sup> See WOLF, ubi supra, N. 1145. p. 641.

(O) Nothing more plainly shews the falshood of those  
murders, than the reasons which that writer and others  
give for their committing them; and which, for that  
reason, we shall here subjoin, that our readers may judge  
of one by the other (35): he tells us, 1. That human  
blood hath a peculiar virtue for healing and consolidating  
the scar of circumcision. 2. That they have a *fluor sanguis*, like the women: some say every Friday, others,  
every moon, which was inflicted on them on account of  
their shedding that of Christ's; and that a dose of it gives  
those in this way great relief. 3. That it is likewise of  
singular efficacy to excite love, and promote concep-  
tion: and, 4. That they are bound by a vow, in all parts  
of the world, to sacrifice a Christian, to wipe off the in-  
famy they are under: which sacrifice they call, *Joel*, or  
*Coming from God*; or, perhaps, rather *Goel*, *Redeemer*, in  
derision of Christ the redeemer of the world (36).

(P) Another motive for their banishment might be  
the appearing of the impostor *David Leimleiri*, about  
this time. He did not, indeed, declare himself the Mes-  
siah, but assured them with such confidence that he  
was to appear in the year 1500, that the credulous  
*Jews* were even prevailed upon to pull down their  
ovens, in which they used to bake their unleavened  
bread, which were now become useless, since they were  
to eat it on the next year at *Jerusalem* (37).

As they were preparing themselves for the voyage,  
*David*, who perceived that he had set too short a time  
for their pretended deliverance, was obliged to declare,  
that the sins of the nation had retarded the coming of  
the Messiah; which set them all on fasting, and praying  
to God to hasten that happy time. All these things were  
sufficient to alarm the jealous *Nurembergers* fears, lest  
they should hatch some other design against them; and  
they were not the only ones that took that method to  
rid themselves of them, as we shall see presently.

(Q) *Bartolacci* mentions four books written by him on  
that subject; and Mr. *Basnage* and Dr. *Wolf* a fifth, in-  
titled, *The manners of the Jews*; of which the former  
gives an extract, to which we refer the reader (38).  
There is still an inscription to be seen over the church  
of *St. Ursula*, at *Cologn*, importing, That "*Victor, for-  
merly a Jew, wrote four books against the errors of the  
Jews, an. 1509.*" He was fifty years of age when he  
turned Christian; and it is from him that we learn, that  
the *Jews* had been persecuted in that diocese, about the  
beginning of the fifteenth century.

About the same time flourished, in the neighbourhood  
of that city, the great *R. Simeon*, an eloquent preacher,  
and author of that famed book *Talkut (Pouch)*; which  
is a judicious collection of such interpretations of the  
ancient *Jewish* doctors on the sacred books, as were the  
best and easiest to be understood. It was presently  
printed at *Theffalonica*. Soon after which one *Abraham*,  
another rabbi of the family of the learned *Gedaliah*, who  
had retired to *Jerusalem*, wrote a long comment upon the  
*Pouch*; and, not being able to pay the charges of print-  
ing it, one *Dias Mokato*, a rich *Spanish Jew*, defrayed  
them; and the *Pouch* was printed with his notes at *Leg-  
horn*, an. 1658; the corrector of it, named *Abraham  
Ben Solomon Chajim*, dedicating it to duke *Ferdinand  
II.*

There hath been since a new edition of it printed at  
*Amsterdam*, an. 1678, with the title of *Talkut Chadaish*,  
or, *The new Pouch*; wherein the anonymous editor hath  
digested all the literal and mystical interpretations in an  
alphabetical order: whereas that of *R. Simeon* followed  
the order of the sacred books, and only took in the alle-  
gorical sense. There is still a third *Pouch*, written by  
*R. Reuben*, and printed also at *Amsterdam*, an. 1700,  
which is only a collection of notes on the pentateuch  
(39).

(35) *Bonifin. rerum Hungaric. d. cad. iv. lib. v.*

p. 217. *Basnage, ubi supra*, §. 7.

*Wolf, ubi supra*, N. 565. p. 355.

(37) *Idem ibid.* §. 9.

(39) *Idem ibid.* §. 11.

(36) *Spondan. Annal. sub A. C. 1494. N. 10.*

(38) *Basnage, ubi supra*, §. 10. *vid. &*



a the passover, wherein he charged them with heresy, and to be apostates from the Old, and enemies to the New, Testament. In another book, intituled, *The enemy of the Jews*, he discovered all their usuries and imprecations against the Christians; by which means he had drawn so many divines to his opinion, that that monarch was almost inclined to grant his petition. However, being willing to hear both sides, the famed *Campnion*, or *Reuchlinus*, a man well versed in all the *Jewish* and other learning, and who had been employed in several important matters, opposed it; and alleged, that such only ought to be burnt, as contained any blasphemies against Christ (R). But declared against doing the same by those which only treated of the tenets, morals, and rites of the *Jews*. He likewise rightly observed the impossibility there was of suppressing books, by an imperial decree, which were dispersed all over the world, and which might be easily reprinted in any other part.

*Reuchlinus  
pleads against  
burning their  
books.*

The prosecutions which this equitable judgment brought upon that great man, and the warm contests of the divines on that subject, being foreign to the subject of this chapter, may be seen in the history of those times. It will be sufficient to say, that the matter was brought by an appeal to *Rome*, whither *Hochstrate*, one of his most violent enemies, hastened, backed with recommendations from several princes to bias, with money to bribe, and with threatenings to intimidate, that court; all which could neither hinder *Reuchlin* from being absolved, nor himself from being condemned; and all he could obtain was a *Supersedeas* from the pope, just as judgment was going to be pronounced against him. *Reuchlinus* returned again victorious; but this did not prevent the opposite party from being very vexatious to him; much that he said, he did not doubt but *Martin Luther*, who began then to make some figure in *Germany*, would cut them out so much work, that they should be glad to let him end his days in peace; and it happened so accordingly; for the *Jewish* books were not only spared, but began to be read, and confuted with better success; so that it is hard to decide, whether the *Jews* have gained or lost by the reformation that ensued, and introduced the study of their books, and hath enabled Christians to beat them at their own weapons (S). Though Protestants do indeed claim the merit of this, especially those of *Germany*, where many of their doctors have proved the truth of the Christian religion, in a manner not only new and unanswerable, but likewise vastly different from what had been formerly done by those of the church of *Rome*; but it must be also owned, that these have since produced a vast number of divines, equally excellent and thoroughly versed in *Jewish* learning. However, the *Jews* have reaped one singular benefit from the reformation, that it hath, in a great measure, suppressed those prosecutions usually raised against them, on account of crucifying Christian children, stealing and piercing of consecrated wafers, and such like black accusations, upon the authority of pretended miracles, which have since lost all their credit.

*Prosecuted and  
acquitted.*

*Jews since the  
reformation.*

On the other hand, the *Jews*, being more closely pressed by the Christians than usual, were obliged to steer a better course in their own defence; and it must be owned, that they have produced some learned champions on their side; at the head of whom we may reckon *R. Isaac Ben Abraham*, supposed to be by nation a *Polander*; but he tells us himself that he had spent the most of his time in the courts of *Germany*, and had been in great credit

*Become more  
wary and  
learned.*

(R) These were more particularly the *Nitzachon* of *R. Lipman*, a poetical book, full of the bitterest invectives against Christ and his Gospel; and which we have had frequent occasion to confute in the second part of the history of the *Jews* (†). We shall find a more proper place to speak both of it and its author by-and-by, and the *Tholedoth Jesu*, or *Generations of Jesus*, a blasphemous piece, which makes Christ to have been an idolater, born in adultery, and guilty of the blackest crimes, for which he was put to death. And, as *Reuchlinus* was so well acquainted with the thalmud, and all the *Jewish* books, and was at that time so well known by all the learned, to be a proper judge of the merit or demerit of them, it was no wonder he should be consulted about the fate of them.

On the other hand, *Pfeffer Corn's* conversion and zeal were very much suspected; and he hath been accused of a design of seizing upon all these books, with no other view than to oblige the *Jews* to redeem them at an extravagant price. He was likewise openly charged with several enormous crimes, and represented as a vile dissembler, who only assumed the name of a Christian, to sow the more easily the seeds of discord among them;

on which account some authors have confounded him with one *Jaacob Melfinski*, another *Jewish* counterfeit, who was burnt at *Hall*, in *Saxony*, an. 1515; and who confessed at his death, that he had exercised the priestly office twenty years; and then, turning physician, had administered a deadly poison to the elector of *Brandenburg*, and to his brother the bishop of *Magd. burg*. But they plainly appear to have been two different persons, whatever likeness there may be found in their characters. And it is mostly agreed that *Pfeffer Corn* died a natural death (40).

(S) It is plain *Luther* was no lover of the *Jews*, nor they of him. He accused them of divers cheats (\*), particularly, that one of them had pretended, by his art, to have rendered the duke of *Saxony* invulnerable. On the other hand, they gave out, that he had promised to the *Jews* of *Frauckfort*, on consideration of a good sum of money, to preach and write in praise and vindication of their nation; and that their refusal was the cause of his spleen against them (41). This last appears a mere forgery; and the true reason of their hatred against him, was his having, by his credit, prevented several princes of *Germany* from protecting and tolerating them.

(†) *Ancient History*, vol. iv. p. 157, & seq.  
(\*) See his little book *De Judeorum mendaciis*.

(40) Vide *Basnage*, *ibid.* §. 16. & *au3. ab eo citat.*  
(41) *Cardoso's Las Excellencias*.



with several princes. He it was that wrote a most virulent and dangerous book (T) against the Christian religion, wherein he runs through all the Gospel, endeavours to explode all the proofs of it, raises all the difficulties he can against it, and presses them with all possible vigour and bitterness; and, with the same heat, confutes the objections of Christians against the *Jews*. This book he composed against the disciples of *Luther*, with whom he had had frequent conferences and disputes; and it was not long before that piece was followed by another, equally, if not more, virulent; viz.

THE *Nitzachon*, or *Victories*, commonly ascribed to *R. Jom Tob Lipman*, was published and answered by Mr. *Wagenfeil*, as was lately hinted, and by *Sebastian Munster*, in his *Hebrew* version of St. *Mathew's* Gospel. The reader may see a farther account of that virulent book and its author in the margin (U).

IN the mean time these disputes between the *Jews* and Christians seem to have produced some new sects among the latter, which are called in contempt *Judaizers*, or half *Jews*. Of that sort was *Seidelius*, who maintained, that the Messiah regarded only the *Jews*, to whom he had been promised in the same manner as the land of *Canaan*; and that the heathen had no more share in the promise of the former than of the latter. He further affirmed, that the whole of religion was contained in the decalogue, and written in the hearts of men<sup>a</sup>. He was

<sup>a</sup> MARTIN. SEIDELII, ad Cæt. Cracov. ep. i. p. 806.

(T) This book, which the author intitles *הזק אמונה*, *Chafuk Emunah*, and the *Latin* translator *Munimen Fidei*, shews the author to have lived about the beginning of the seventeenth century. Its editor *Jos. ph.*, the son of *Mardocai*, published it, an. 1616, after it had remained a long while in manuscript, and was become very scarce. The *Portuguese Jews*, indeed, got it translated into *Spanish*, and dispersed it about in all the neighbouring kingdoms; and it was also in high esteem among the *African Jews*; and it was from thence that the learned *Wagenfeil* brought it into *Germany*; and having translated it into *Latin*, inserted it into his *Tela Ignea Satanæ*. It were to be wished he had likewise answered him paragraph by paragraph, in the same clear and nervous manner with which he hath the *Nitzachon* of *Lipman*, of which more hereafter; for his author doth in the preface make great parade of proving the truth of the *Jewish* religion, and confuting the Christian, by the clearest and strongest reasoning, by the most theological, powerful, and convincing arguments. And it must be owned, that he argues more judiciously and warily than the rest of the rabbies; and the *Jews* have such an high opinion of this work, that they look upon it as unanswerable. And yet he often blunders in his historical facts; as when he makes *Julian* the apostate to have been an *Arian* emperor, and gives him a grandson, who was also a great stickler for that heretical sect. However, that doth not hinder his book from being one of the strongest that hath been written against Christianity. It hath had some editions since that of *Wagenfeil* above-mentioned, and hath been as learnedly confuted by eminent divines; for both which we refer the reader to Dr. *Wolf* above-quoted (42).

(U) It is not unlikely, as some authors have observed against *Bartolucci* (who hath not distinguished here with his usual exactness), that there have been some other books printed under the name of *Nitzachon* (victories or triumphs), the rabbies being, as we have observed more than once, very fond of such pompous titles; one of them seems to have appeared in the twelfth century, from his quoting no authors below but all above it. Another, which is attributed to one *R. Mattathiah*, appeared, an. 1399; and was written by him against one *Peter*, who had renounced *Judaism*, and had been baptized by that name. This is supposed to be the book which the learned *Skikard* had designed to confute; but which Mr. *Hackspan*, having with great difficulty procured from a *Jewish* rabbi, an. 1643, caused to be printed at *Altorf* the very next year, in *Hebrew*; and

was since reprinted with much greater correctness by Mr. *Wagenfeil*, and with proper notes.

Since then *R. Lipman*, who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth century, wrote two books with the same title; the one in confutation of the proofs which Christians urge against the *Jews*, from *Jaacob's* prophecy, *That the sceptre shall not depart from Judah*, &c. (43). The other which was only an abridgment of that, he reduced into verse, that it might be the more easily learned by heart by the *Jewish* youth; and it is this that *Wagenfeil* hath thought so dangerous, as well as worth confuting. But that which *Munster* so often takes to task, in his *Hebrew* version of St. *Mathew's* Gospel, and sometimes quotes whole paragraphs out of it, being written in prose, is, in all likelihood, the first of *Lipman's* writing, of which more by-and-by.

There hath been a fifth published since under the same title, which must have been written since *Luther* and *Calvin*, as they are often quoted in it. But the *Jews* have been so fearful of its coming to light, that one of their rabbies, being informed that *Hackspan* had got one of them, and was translating it into *Latin*, stole it from him, so that it hath never appeared since (\*).

*Lipman*, in that above-mentioned in prose, not only strives to overturn all the proofs of Christ's being the Messiah, but doth every-where express himself with the greatest bitterness against him and his religion, taking his Gospel to task in the most virulent manner; and descends even to the lowest puns, stiling it, in allusion to its *Greek* and *Latin* names, *Havon-ghelion*, that is, *The Revelation of Iniquity*; and calling his blessed Virgin Mother by the filthy name of *Charia*, which will not bear *Englisking*, instead of *Maria*. Those who desire to know more of that pestilent work, may consult the authors last quoted, and *Munster's* notes to his *Hebrew* version of St. *Mathew* above mentioned.

In the mean time, we hope the generality of our readers will not be displeased, if we tell them, that our present *Jews*, those especially of the higher class, are so far from following his example, or using his blasphemous expressions against our divine lawgiver, that they make no scruple to own a deep admiration of his precepts above those of *their own*, especially those which relate to universal charity, beneficence, meekness, humility, forgiveness, &c.; and how much deeper an impression they would make on them in his favour, were his professed disciples, like him, to display those excellent Gospel virtues in practice, as they do in theory, every considerate reader may easily guess.

(42) *Bibl. Hæbr.* N. 1145. p. 641. p. 462 (G). vol. iv. p. 256. §. 5—10. *Wagenfeil Tela Ignea*.

(43) *Genesis*, xlix. 10. De hoc, vide *Ancient History*, vol. i. (\*) See *Wolf*, ubi supra, N. 1364. p. 734. *Basnage*, ubi supra, c. 34.



a a native of *Silesia*, and there he divulged his notions, but gained few disciples to them. Another, named *Francis David*, was called half a Jew, because he maintained it unlawful to pray to *Jesus Christ*, who had taught us to pray to the Father only; and being now in heaven could know nothing either of our wants or of our prayers<sup>b</sup>. Such was likewise reckoned *George de Novara*, who was burned at *Bolonia*, for denying that the Messiah was come: and such were also esteemed some other sectaries, who observed the *Jewish Sabbath*, abstained from blood and things strangled, &c.; several of whom also suffered as half Jews, in *England* and other parts.

ABOUT the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Jews of *Mersburgh*, though they pretended to have been settled there ever since the destruction of *Jerusalem*, were nevertheless banished out of that city and diocese by the bishop of it. They found, however, a safe retreat in other parts; and the emperor *Ferdinand I.* not only protected them, but granted them the privilege of having a chief, or prince of the captivity; and ordered that the chief Rabbi of *Worms* should have that advantage above any other of his nation. They reckon in the number of them the famed *R. Jakob*, a native of that city, and a man of great learning, who left four sons, who were all presidents of academies, princes of the dispersion, and highly admired by their nation<sup>c</sup>. One of them taught chiefly at *Friburg*, where they had an academy and synagogue, as well as in other cities of the empire, particularly at *Vienna*, where they had erected a magnificent building. This century likewise produced a good number of learned doctors, both in *Germany* and *Poland* (W), who enjoyed very great privileges, as well as liberty and quiet, in the latter; insomuch, that at *Cracow* they had a synagogue, an academy, a house of judgment, and a great assembly. They were likewise dispersed in several other cities of that kingdom, and flourished under the protection of that government: only they were now and then liable to suffer by popular commotions. Thus, for instance, their houses were one day set on fire in *Posnania*, without their daring to quench it, being afraid lest the populace should fall on them if they attempted it. The people, indeed, pretended, that a kind of supernatural terror had seized on them from above, which would not suffer them so much as to draw water to quench the flames, or to save any thing out of them; so that they were forced to stand still, and see their houses, effects, and even their sacred books reduced to ashes<sup>d</sup>. But, excepting those popular disasters, learning, as well as traffick, flourished among them; and their academies were governed by men of great reputation (X).

CARDINAL *Commendon*, in his way into *Russia*, found likewise in the province of *Ukrania* a great number of Jews, in great credit, who did not enrich themselves, as they do everywhere else, by usury, &c. but by a fair and honest commerce. They cultivated their lands, and applied themselves to the study of physic and astrology, and others farmed the customs and carriage of merchandize. They are not only exempt from wearing a mark of distinction, but are even allowed to wear a sword, and to enjoy the same posts and employments as the natives of the country<sup>e</sup>.

WE took notice a while ago, that they had been advantageously settled in *Bohemia*, ever since the tenth century, on account of great services they had done to the Christians there, against

<sup>b</sup> FRANK. DAVID, defens. inter oper. Socini. tom. ii. p. 717. BASNAGE, ubi supra, c. 34, §. 11, & seq. <sup>c</sup> GANTZ Tzemach, p. 153. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 157. <sup>e</sup> See the life of that prelate, written by FLECHIER, p. 270. BASNAGE, ubi supra, §. 18.

(W) There flourished in *Austria* the famed *R. Solomon Luria*, who was esteemed even more learned than *Jakob* above-mentioned, and was stiled, according to their pompous way, *The crown of Israel; the wonder of the age; all people walked by his light, and all the Israelitish dispersions drank of his water; and his name was known in all the world*. He wrote a treatise, intituled, *The Sea of Solomon, Jam Shlomoh*, alluding to his name, wherein he pretended to dive into the greatest depths of the thalmud; and took a particular examen of its stile and phrases. He was, according to their stile, called up to the celestial council, that is, he died, an. 1573 (44).

He wrote several other tracts of the same kind, such as his *Wisdom of Solomon, Curtains of Solomon, Crown of Solomon, Columns of Solomon*; together with some other expositions, his *Bircath Hammazon*, or *Blessing of the food*, and his *Shechitoh Ubedicoh*, which is a kind

of directory how to kill and examine beasts used for food (45).

About the same time flourished also *R. Samson de Guntzburg*, so called from his native place, who was a great master of geometry and architecture, gained immense wealth, and distributed it with the same liberality he got it. *Bartolucci* says he published a treatise of architecture, but which was never printed (46).

(X) Among them was the celebrated *R. Iserdes*, who taught at *Cracow*, an. 1553, and was followed by a vast number of disciples, who flocked to him from all parts to hear his lectures. He was pious, perfect, and expounded the law, during the space of twenty years (47).

*Joseph Cets*, born in the same city (48), was another learned professor, who is affirmed to have worn four crowns, viz. that of the priesthood, of the law, of the imperial dignity, and of a great reputation (49).

(44) Theod. Ebert. in poetic. Hæbr. Gantz, ubi supra.

(46) Idem ibid. N. 2211. p. 1153.

(48) Idem ibid.

(49) Idem ibid.

(45) Wolf, ubi supra, N. 2000. p. 1071.

(47) Gantz, ubi sup. Wolf, Basnage, ubi supra, c. 35, §. 15, &c.



*An academy at Prague, A.C. 1530.* They not only built a noble synagogue, but erected afterwards an academy at *Prague*, of which *R. Falk* was chosen chief (Y); and enjoyed some singular privileges in that country. But they met likewise there with persecutions and disasters. A general conflagration having destroyed some part of that kingdom, they were accused, and found guilty of having caused it; so that those that escaped the flames were all banished, ten only excepted, who obtained leave to continue at *Prague*. *Ferdinand* was not able to appease the tumultuous *Bohemians*, by any other means than by their deaths or banishments, till the incendiaries were discovered towards the latter end of the year, when they were all recalled, and settled there afresh <sup>f</sup>.

*Banished.*

*Recalled.*

*A new storm, A. C. 1558.* It was not long before another storm was raised against them, on a suspicion that they had prayed at *Prague* against the Christians; whereupon all their books were immediately seized, and sent to *Vienna*. The loss of them was very afflicting, not only on account of their value, but because they were forced to officiate in the synagogue without them, and that by dint of memory. They were, however, so soon restored to them, that it looked as if they had been taken away with no other view but to force them to redeem them. But even then their happiness proved short-lived, since the emperor banished them all but ten families out of *Bohemia*, before that year was out. What his reasons were, our author <sup>e</sup> doth not tell us; but they were permitted at the same time to go and settle in any other part of his dominions; and it was not long before they were resettled in that. What learned doctors flourished in it may be seen in the next note (Z).

*Banished and settled afresh.*

*Learned men.*

THOSE

<sup>f</sup> GANTZ, ubi supra, p. 151, & seq.<sup>e</sup> RODOLPH. Imp. Decret. Posan. an. 1578. art. ii. apud Verboz Corp. per Hungar. tom. i. p. 52. RODOLPH. ii. Decret. Posan. an. 1595. art. x.

(Y) This rabbi took it into his head to introduce the Christian manner of disputing in his school; but soon found that it disgusted all their wise men, and that the Jewish theology is too mystical and abstruse to bear being canvassed by arguments and regular syllogisms.

(Z) They had several here that maintained the glory of their nation, among whom was the famed *Isaac Mebeling*, who taught in that academy about the end of the sixteenth century, and at his death left the chair to his son *Charam*. Here likewise flourished the celebrated *Liava Bitzleer*, who conversed with the emperor *Rodolphus*; and of whom the Jews say, that all Israel drank of his waters, and walked by his light (50). He founded the academy called *Klaufe*, an. 1592, which became so famous in his time, that it drew a vast concourse of disciples to him. He was chosen at last superintendent of all the synagogues in *Poland*.

*Jebudah Betzaleel*, or *Leo Pragensis*, a native of *Bohemia*, likewise flourished in it, an. 1553, and was chief of the *Moravian* academies, and judge of the nation in that country. He went thence to *Prague*, an. 1573, and there founded a new school, in which he taught eleven years with great applause, but left it at length to pass into *Poland*, where he died about the beginning of the seventeenth century. He left several learned works behind, among which is that, intitled, *The Redemption and Eternity of Israel*, wherein he assures the Jews of the certainty of the Messiah's coming, and of his settling them in a perpetual state of prosperity. Some time before him lived one *Abraham of Prague*, who wrote a commentary on that of *R. Jarchi*; and who died, an. 1540, as his epitaph shews.

*Mordechai Japhe*, or *The Fair*, was likewise a native of *Prague*, and gained no small reputation among those of his nation for his great learning; but retired at last into *Poland*, where he died, an. 1611. He wrote several learned volumes; the principal one is that which he intitled, *The royal Robe (or Apparel)*; alluding, according to the rabbinic custom, to his namesake *Mordechai*, and the royal dress which king *Ahasuerus* caused him to be clothed with (1). The reader will not be displeased, if we subjoin the order in which he ranges this treatise.

He divides it into ten different *Royal Habits*, though he finished but five of them, which contain an accurate comment on another work. The first part is stiled, *The purple Garment*, in which he treats of prayers and thanksgivings; the second is, *The white*, which treats of the Sabbath; the third is, *The golden Crown*, which treats of things permitted and forbid; the fourth is, *A Robe of fine Linen and Scarlet*, in which are explained the ceremonies of marriage; and the last is, *The Garment of the City of Shushan, and its Rejoicing at the Prosperity of the Jews* (2).

The last we shall mention here is the Jewish historian *David Gantz*, so often quoted in this chapter, who was a native of that city, and there composed his *Tzemach David*, which is a chronology from the creation to the year 1492 of the Christian æra; and must not, consequently, be confounded with a dictionary of the same name, which we have elsewhere mentioned. He gave it that title, either as it was his first work, or to put his suffering nation in mind of the branch, *David*, or *Messiah*, who was to redeem them from thralldom, and to induce them to pray the more fervently for the hastening of his coming.

There are three singularities in his history; viz. 1. That he begins at the creation, mentions the patriarchs and first temple; whereas the rest of the Jewish chronologers go no higher up than the æra of the Greeks. 2. That, though he follows the Hebrew, or *Pseudo Josephus*, and other Jewish rabbies that wrote before them, yet he is much more exact, and often corrects them. 3. That he hath compiled his second part from Christian authors; and though he hath not been so happy in his choice as he might have been, had he been a better judge of them, yet it is some merit in him that he hath so far departed from the method of his brethren, who despised the help of foreign authors, and thought it a dishonour to make any use of them.

*Gantz* closes his chronology with an encomium on one *Mordechai Meusel*, a very rich and liberal Jew, who not only contributed largely towards a synagogue, which was then building at *Prague*, and was not inferior to those of *Poland* and *Jerusalem*, but gave away vast sums to the relief of his poor brethren in *Bohemia*.

(50) Basnage, ubi supra, c. 34, §. 21.

tom. iii. p. 40. Wolf, ubi supra, N. 1482, p. 792. Gantz, Basnage, &amp;c.

(1) Esster viii. 15.

(2) Bartolucci, ubi supra,



- a** THOSE in *Hungary* were greatly diminished, towards the end of the sixteenth century, when the emperor *Rodolphus* laid a double tax on them, in order to oblige them to quit that country the quicker; and, at length, obliged them to pay a monthly fine of fifteen denarii *per* head, which it was thought must have ruined them quite; but, notwithstanding a good number of them made shift to maintain themselves in it, though a much greater was forced to seek their fortune elsewhere. The *Moravian* synagogues suffered a very severe persecution in the year 1574, a great number of *Jews* being burnt, and otherwise dispatched, before the emperor could be applied to in their behalf, who was at length moved with pity towards them, and put an end to those massacres. Those in *Franconia* were accused of having set fire to some houses in the town of *Bamberg*, for which they were plundered of all their effects, in order to make good that loss, but had their lives spared. They were served much in the same way at *Bonn* on the *Rhine*, when that town was taken and plundered by the *Dutch* general *Schenk*; but were made ample amends for their loss, towards the close of the sixteenth century, when *Henry*, then duke of *Brunswick*, permitted them to settle in his dominions. Till this time the princes of that illustrious house had been possessed with a notion, that the tolerating of them would prove detrimental to that state; insomuch, that they suffered none of them, not even those that were merchants, to pass through it; and if any were caught, they were plundered with impunity. At length, complaint having been made of it to prince *Henry Julius*, then duke of *Brunswick*, he not only granted them liberty of conscience in his territories, but appointed them a place in *Lower Saxony*, to carry on their commerce<sup>b</sup>: so that there were but few places in *Germany* where they were not allowed to traffick, towards the latter end of the sixteenth century. It is now time to see how they fared in the seventeenth, or last.

*Oppressed in Hungary, A. C. 1595.*

*Persecution in Moravia, A. C. 1574.*

*Plundered in Franconia, A. D. 1575. At Bonn, 1588.*

*Settled in Brunswick, A. C. 1592.*

- THERE** is hardly any country in *Europe*, wherein the *Jews* enjoy greater liberty and privileges than in *Poland*, though it grant none to the protestants. They have their stately synagogues and academies; and their house of judgment or court of judicature is endowed with singular authority, since it is allowed to judge of criminal as well as civil cases. It hath been even affirmed<sup>i</sup>, that they had once the privilege of coining money; but both the shekels, and *Hebrew* inscription<sup>†</sup>, and the tomb out of which they were taken, and on which that conjecture is founded, are too suspicious to persuade one, that any crowned head would make them such a grant. However, *Poland* is looked upon as a nursery of learned rabbies, and the place where the *Jews* send all their youths to study the *talmud*<sup>k</sup>, and rites of their religion. In speaking of the preceding century, we mentioned some rabbies there who were an honour to their nation; this hath produced one who hath not only renounced *Judaism*, but wrote and published 37 demonstrations against it. But the condition he then was in, as well as the affected swoln stile in which he wrote, gives one reason to suspect the sincerity of his conversion (A).

*Jews in Poland, during the last century.*

*R. Solomon converted. A. C. 1656.*

- THE** city of *Hamburg* is called the *Lesser Jerusalem*, on account of the many *Jews* that live and traffick in it. Their synagogue is indeed at *Altena*, a little city near it, under the king of *Denmark*, who protects them likewise at *Gluckstadt*; but that doth not hinder *Hamburg* from entertaining a vast number of them; some of whom are very rich, and others learned in various sciences, especially physic. They are observed to have been more tractable in that city than elsewhere; and that a good number of them were converted in this century by one *Esdra*s, or *Edzar* (whom some have mistaken for a converted *Jew*), and who made it his chief business to instruct and confirm them in the Christian faith. A divine of that city once imagined, that if those instructions were armed with some violence, they would become

*At Hamburg.*

<sup>b</sup> GANTZ Tzemach, ubi supra. BASNAGE, ubi sup. <sup>i</sup> Historia Univerf. Judaic. c. 3. <sup>†</sup> De his vol. i. p. 721 & (X), & seq. <sup>k</sup> Histor. Univerf. Judaic. ibid. p. 18. VILLALPAND, tom. ii. p. 2. Juan de la fuente conveniencia de las monarchias, apud BASNAGE, c. 35, §. 1, & seq.

and *Posnania*. He stiles him *The Basis and Wall of the School, the Chief of liberal Souls, the Father of the Poor, the Oak of his Nation, and the Love of his Brethren* (4).

His chronology hath been translated into, and continued in, the *German* rabbinic language, and in *Latin*; besides which he wrote two other treatises, one on arithmetic, stiled, *The Shield of David*; and the other, *The Tower of David*, on geometry (5).

(A) His name was *Solomon*; he had been bound for one of his brothers, and clapt into a jail, whence nothing could have redeemed him but his turning Christian; and this, and his readiness to yield to every argument of his instructor, made his conversion suspected. He readily owned that the *Messiah* was come, and

that reason could not, ought not, to judge of the mysteries of faith, and that we ought to be wholly guided by revelation. Being told, that if God had given such sensible proofs of his divine presence in the holy ark of the covenant, which was made of wood, how much more, now he was united to our flesh, of which the ark was but a type? he cried out, "These words are sweeter than honey, and pierce my very heart."

After his baptism he endeavoured to convert his brethren, and wrote his 37 demonstrations, in which he proved the *Messiah* was come, that he was a divine person, distinct from God the Father. He inscribed his book to king *Casimir*, in an elegant and pompous dedication (6).

(4) Bartolucci, ubi sup. Wolf, ubi supra, N. 481. p. 292. Basnage, ubi supra, §. 24, 25, &c. (5) Idem ibid. (6) Johan. Solomon, Demonstrat. cum Hist. Colloquii. cum Joh. Botzaco, congress. i. prol. v. p. 14, & seq. vide & Basnage, ubi supra, c. 35, §. 2.



more numerous and effectual. But the senate being informed of it, soon cooled his untimely zeal, which tended only to lessen the number of their citizens, and had already caused some popular commotions.

Settled in  
Prague.

Their defence  
of that city.

WE have already observed that they were endowed with great privileges at *Prague*, for their great services at the siege of it; and they glory so much in that piece of merit, that *R. Jehudah Leo* compiled a history of that transaction, in which he highly extols the fidelity and bravery of his nation; their indefatigable industry in mining and countermining, watching, and defending the place, &c. but especially their piety in often assembling themselves in their synagogues, to intercede with heaven, and to recite a most pious litany, composed for that purpose by *R. Simeon, whose head shines with bright lustre*. In a word, he seems to ascribe the preservation of that city to their prayers and merit; notwithstanding which, they had the mortification to hear that the enemy, after raising the siege, entered *Tabor*, and several other cities of *Bohemia*, and had plundered all the *Jews*. The author concludes with an exhortation to those of his nation that shall read his history, to shout aloud, *Blessed be our God, who hath wrought all these wonders in our favour*. All this, however, hath not been capable of creating a tolerable good understanding between the citizens and them; on the contrary, they hate one another, and take all opportunities to shew it: and it must be owned that the *Jews* have now-and-then been guilty of such enormous deeds, as must render them not only suspected, but hateful to the Christians. The reader may see a few instances of it in the margin (B).

Hated by the  
Christians.

Strip of their  
privileges in  
Hungary, A.  
C. 1630 &  
1647.

1655.

A form of  
their oath.

THEY had enjoyed in *Hungary* the privilege of farming the revenue, till *Ferdinand II.* took it from them, by an edict dated 1630<sup>1</sup>: notwithstanding which, they found means, it seems, to preserve themselves in it, since *Ferdinand III.* was afterwards obliged to deprive them of it, by a new one, which condemned those to the loss of their places who admitted the *Jews* into any of them; because, says this law, *they have neither conscience nor honesty, and are therefore unworthy to enjoy the privileges of the kingdom of Hungary*<sup>m</sup>. This did not, however, prevent their being winked at, and keeping those employments, till that emperor sent once and again express commissioners to drive them out, and to punish those communities that had connived at it; the last of which commissions was in the year 1655<sup>n</sup>. However, they continue there still, not only under the protection of the Grand Signor, in those parts which are under his dominion, but in those of the empire. In this last, when they go to law against the Christians, there is a form of an oath prescribed to them, which is very singular, and which the reader may see in the margin (C).

#### NOTWITHSTANDING

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Ferdin. II. imper. decret. art. xv. an. 1630. apud VERBOZ Corp. jur. Hungar. tom. ii. p. 256.*  
<sup>m</sup> *Ferdin. III. decret. ii. Posoniens. an. 1647. art. ix. apud eund. p. 344.* <sup>n</sup> *Ibid. sub an. 1649. p. 383. & decret. Poson. v. an. 1655. art. xxix. p. 402. vide BASNAGE, c. 35, §. 8 & 9.*

(B) *R. Chajim, or Joachim*, put one of the greatest cheats and affronts on this city that ever was heard. He had committed some signal theft; to avoid the shame and punishment of which, he renounced *Judaism*, and wrote a severe censure against it. From thence he removed to *Vienna*, where he at first ingratiated himself with the court and emperor *Ferdinand*; but finding his fortune beginning to sink, he associated himself with some other *Jews*, and robbed the treasury. They were soon discovered and condemned for it; and *Chajim*, who in his baptism had been named *Ferdinand Francis Engelberg*, dissembled, in hopes of a pardon, till he came to the place of execution; but there openly owned that he had never been a Christian, but a *Jew* in heart, and died such. That he had received the sacrament a few hours before, which they would find in his urinal, where he had thrown it; and breaking the crucifix he held in his hand, threw the pieces away (7), and was executed. *Bartolucci* suspects him to have been the author of the virulent book, lately mentioned, called *Theolodot Jesu, or, The Generations of Jesus*; but upon no probable grounds.

We have another instance of their hatred to the Christians and their religion, in a *Jew* of this city, named *Lazarus*, who, *an. 1694*, finding his son inclined to receive baptism, fell upon and killed him. Being im-

prisoned for it, he fell into a fresh fit of despair, and by the help of another *Jew*, who was in the same place, strangled himself. This last was condemned to be broke upon the wheel; and, in hopes to save his life, begged to be baptized, which was granted to him; but that did not prevent his being executed (8).

On the other hand, the Christians are not wanting in means to spite and mortify them; and have, among other things, erected a brass crucifix on the bridge which parts the two cities; and in order to oblige them to pay homage to it, have engraven the names of God about it in *Hebrew* characters. But as they are brought up to look upon all such things as idols, they pass by without taking notice of it, or of the names of God written upon it, which is often attended with vexatious consequences. For the scholars, who are there very numerous, seldom fail of abusing and drubbing them; whereupon a riot ensues, of which they are commonly obliged to pay the cost, as well as bear the blows and disgrace. All this doth not hinder their being so numerous, that they fill the third part of the city of *Prague*; but they are mostly very poor and miserable, and forced to hire themselves to the meanest offices, both to the citizens and to strangers (9).

(C) They are obliged to turn their faces towards the sun; to stand barefoot, their bodies covered with a

(7) *Wagenfui Tela Ignea Satanæ, p. 189.*

(8) *Basnage, ubi supra, §. 5, & seq.*

(9) *Histo-*

*ric. remarks in a voyage from Italy to Holland, an. 1704, p. 130, & seq. Basnage, ubi supra.*



- a NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the *Jews* made choice of this kingdom, preferably to all other countries, to hold their grand council, *an.* 1650, in which was to be debated the most important point of their religion; *viz.* whether the Messiah was come. A countryman of our own, who tells us he was present at it, hath given us the following account of it °. The *Jews* being in doubt about the great number of centuries which have elapsed since the time in which they expected him to appear, agreed to call a general assembly of all their rabbies, to clear up that point. *Hungary* appeared to them a proper place, because the *Turkish* wars had in a great measure depopulated it; and they made choice of the plain of *Ageda*, about 30 leagues from *Buda*, and the princes then at war readily granted them that liberty. Three hundred of their most learned rabbies, out of different nations, met there accordingly, with a vast multitude of other *Jews*, who flocked thither from other countries. They all encamped under their tents; and one, larger than all the rest, was reared for the grand council to sit in (D); and *R. Zachariah*, of the tribe of *Levi*, was chosen their president and speaker. He was seated before a large table, with his face towards the eastern door of the pavilion, and all the rest sat round him.

A great assembly of them held in Hungary about the Messiah.

- THE first day was spent in compliments and mutual congratulations, and in excluding those who could not prove their *Jewish* origin, which amounted to about 5 or 600. On the second day the president proposed the question, in words to this effect: "We are here met to examine, whether the Messiah is come, or whether we must still wait for his coming?" Upon which some professed themselves inclined to believe *he was already come, seeing those great misfortunes and disasters which Providence had continued to send down amongst them, during such a series of centuries, could not be owing to their idolatry; a crime from which their nation had kept themselves wholly free, ever since their return from the Babylonish captivity. So that all those miseries which they had suffered since their dispersion, must be owing to some other cause.* This was rightly judged; and they might have justly added, that it was solely owing to their still rejecting of that Messiah whom God had sent at the appointed time, as we have elsewhere shewn †: but the majority of votes carried it against them, and it was agreed that the Messiah was not yet come, and that his delay was owing to their sins and impenitence.

The result of it.

- THEY next debated in what manner the Messiah was to come; and easily agreed to these three particulars. 1st. That he would appear as a great conqueror, and deliver them from all foreign yokes. 2dly. That he would alter nothing in the *Mosaic* religion. And, 3dly. That he was to be born of a virgin; and that his miraculous birth was to be a characteristic by which he should be known to those who were strangers to the covenant. Some farther debates they had, the substance of which may be seen in the margin (E). The congress had lasted six

° BRETT'S narrative of the proceedings, &c. phoenix xv. tom. ii. p. 544. 153, & seq. sub not. & al.

† See before, vol. iv. p.

cloak, and their heads with a *Jewish* hat; and laying their hand upon a roll or volume of their law, repeat the following words: "I, such-a-one, a *Jew*, do swear by the living God, the almighty God, who hath made the heavens and the earth, and all that is in them, that I am innocent of the crime of which that Christian accuses me. And if I am guilty of it, may the earth open itself and swallow me up, as it did *Dathan* and *Abiram*: may the palsy and leprosy, which *Elisha* removed from *Naaman* upon *Gehazi*, fall upon me: may the falling sickness, the bloody-flux, and gout, seize me in an instant: may a sudden death carry me off: may my body and soul perish: may my good fortune be overturned: may I never get admittance into the bosom of *Abraham*: may the law given on *Mount-Sinai* blot me out (*me delect*): may all the holy writ contained in the five books of *Moses* confound me. And, if my present oath is not true and just, may God (*Adonai*), by his divine power, blot me out of the book of life (10)."

(D) In this vast assembly, which consisted of some of the most considerable persons of their nation, who came thither from most countries of *Europe*, if not likewise from the East, and for which great plenty of provisions and all other conveniences had been brought, it was resolved that none but those who spoke the *Hebrew* tongue, and could trace their own genealogies, should

be admitted; which caused great numbers of them to be excluded: and these were only admitted to stand without, and at a certain distance from the great pavilion, and among the strangers whom curiosity had brought thither also.

(E) They debated, among other points, whether *Jesus Christ*, who had been crucified, might not be the Messiah; to which the Pharisees, who over-ruled the assembly, answered, on the following day, that he could not be that person, because he appeared in a low and despised state; whereas the Messiah was to appear in a glorious and triumphant manner. They likewise objected his being the son of a carpenter, and the aversion he had long shewn against the law of *Moses*.

Here a rabbi, named *Abraham*, who was still unsatisfied with the Pharisaic reasoning, strenuously insisted upon Christ's miracles; and asked them by what power they thought he could work them? To this *Zebedee*, one of the chiefs of that sect, answered, that he wrought them by his magic art. *Abraham* objected, that no magic art could give sight, hearing, or speech, to those that were born blind, deaf, and dumb: to which the other replied, that those blind, deaf, and dumb, had been so formed in the womb by magic art; and that he that cured them did nothing else but dissolve the charm by the same diabolical power. The *Sadducees*, though in other things so opposite to them, agreed with

(10) *Virboz. Corp. jur. Hung. part iii. titul. 36. tom. i. p. 139. apud Basnage, ubi supra. §. 10.*



fix days, when some ecclesiastics, sent thither from *Rome*, presented themselves before it; and a not content to prove to them that *Jesus Christ* was the promised Messiah, began to extoll the worship, ceremonies, and the authority of the church, whose head was the vicar of that divine Person. This declaration immediately caused a strange uproar in the council, among which nothing was now to be heard but a tumultuous out-cry of *No Christ! no God man! no intercession of saints! no worship of images! no prayers to the Virgin!* accompanied with loud clamours, rending of cloaths, stopping of ears, &c. and in this manner they parted for that day. On the next, which was the 8th, they only met to agree upon another council, which should be held three years after in *Syria*, where, our author tells us, there are still some of the ancient *Rechabites* \*. He farther observes, that some of the *Jewish* doctors owned themselves not a little shaken at what had passed, and expressed a desire to converse with some protestant b divines; but that the presence of so many monks, they said, deterred them, and made them fear some tragical conclusion to their assembly.

A new one  
agreed on.

High credit at  
Vienna, A.C.  
1660.

Banished, A.  
C. 1669.

Recalled,  
1673.

Stript by the  
populace,  
1705.

Settled in  
other parts of  
the empire.

ABOUT ten years after, they were in such high credit at *Vienna*, that *R. Zachariah* had obtained leave to build a stately synagogue and academy, in order to revive learning among them. He had endowed the latter with a sufficient pension for twenty-four doctors, who were to read lectures on the thalmud night and day; so that the school was to be always open, and some doctors teaching in it. The building, however, was scarcely finished, when the emperor banished all the *Jews* out of that capital, and turned their synagogue into a church <sup>p</sup>. They complain, that the empress superstitiously ascribed her barrenness to their toleration; for which God punished her soon after; for that she was brought to-bed of a daughter, and died c in child-bed. Not long after which, they were all recalled and settled in that capital. That monarch did not a little resent the zeal with which those of *Buda* sustained the siege against him; though in reality they did but their duty in it, seeing they were subjects of the *Ottoman* empire. However, they are not only tolerated at *Vienna*, but are admitted to several high posts, and titles of honour; but the people, who begrudge them the wealth which they acquire under the government, sometimes raise vexatious commotions, in order to strip them of it. They were no less numerous and flourishing in most other large cities of the empire, as well as in the provinces of *Servia*, *Croatia*, *Moldavia*, *Valantina*, &c. and though they are banished d out of the city of *Nuremberg*, yet they are settled in most of the neighbouring towns, and have a synagogue at *Pfurt*, and are even permitted to enter that city, under a guide, who stays with them all the time. The same may be said of the city of *Ausburg*, where they had formerly a synagogue and academy, and their doctors and disciples were maintained by the rich merchants of the place <sup>q</sup>, but have been since banished from it, and must buy the liberty of coming into it at the price of a florin for every hour they stay in it.

THE *Jews* of *Ratisbon* are accused of having stolen from the Christians there, one of their greatest saints, whom they call *Emmeron*, and affirmed to have come from *Poitou*, and to have converted the *Huns*; whereas the former affirm him to have been of their nation, and descended from *Amram* the father of *Moses*. It is not easy to decide the controversy; only this may be said in favour of them, that they don't appear so fond of saints as to steal those of the Christians; which is more than these can say for themselves. Those of *Worms* are also e charged, by one who abjured *Judaism*, to have written the name of God on the top of their synagogue, out of a superstitious notion, that it was an effectual means of preserving it to them; insomuch, that they suffered it to be covered with spiders webs, rather than run the risque of defacing it by brushing them off. But the *French* soon convinced them of the vanity of that notion, when they took that city, and demolished that building to the ground.

Numerous, and  
dispersed at  
Frankfort.

A late traveller reckons 30,000 *Jews* in *Frankfort* <sup>r</sup>; yet they are but ill used there, being often plundered, fined, and made to carry water, where-ever any fire happens; and the citizens paint them in their houses in all manner of ridiculous and other forms, on purpose to render them despicable and odious: and yet they seem fond of living, though in extreme poverty and contempt, in all these parts, and often produce some very learned men among f them (F).

WE

\* De his, vide Ancient History, vol. i. p. 820 (T).  
supra, §. 20. <sup>q</sup> BENJAMIN DE TUDELA, Itinerar.  
Italy, apud BASNAGE, ubi supra, §. 25.

<sup>p</sup> BARRIOS's Hist. Judaic. BASNAGE, ubi  
<sup>r</sup> Historical remarks on a journey into

them in this; and the more readily, as they denied the resurrection, which Christ had so strenuously defended against them.

(F) Among them was the famed cabbalist *Nathan de Spira*, who, about an. 1640, wrote a panegyric on the *Holy Land*, intitled, *The Good of the Earth*; and another called *Megillath Humucoth*, or *Volume of the Profundities*; which is a cabbalistical comment on some verses

in the third chapter of *Deuteronomy*, wherein he hath discovered sundry deep mysteries, which he there explains, and removes the difficulties which occur to him.

There flourished another famed one at *Cisenstadt*, about an. 1682, named *Mordechai*, who set up at first for a prophet; and finding the people ready to credit him, gave himself out to be the Messiah. Those of *Italy* wrote letters to invite him thither, where he was accordingly



- a WE now come to those that are settled in *Holland*, where, if we may believe one of their writers, they enjoy greater liberty and quietness, and are more flourishing and wealthy, than in any other part of the world<sup>s</sup>. They are here of two sorts; viz. those who come from *Germany*, and those who come from *Portugal* and *Spain*, and are so divided on account of some difference in their ceremonies, that they heartily hate each other (G). Zeigler was once very considerable among the former, and came to *Amsterdam*, on purpose to delude them with the hopes of a Messiah, whom he pretended to have already seen at *Straßburgh*, and who would appear immediately after their conversion and agreement were completed (H), and soon after destroy Anti-Christ's and the *Turkish* empire, and extend his own from one end of the world to the other. He was likewise to assemble a general council at *Constance*, which would last twelve years, and put an end to all their feuds about matters of religion. This Messiah, however, did not appear; and the Jews found themselves vilely deceived by that impostor<sup>t</sup>.

Jews in Holland numerous.

Deceived by R. Zeigler.

- Of those who retired thither from *Portugal* and *Spain*, one of their chiefs, named Michez, of *Spanish* extract, is accused by *Strada*<sup>u</sup> of having promoted the wars in the *Low Countries*, by promising the magistrates of *Antwerp* a powerful succour; and wrote to them from *Constantinople*, that the Grand Signor would, in a short time, find so much work for the king of *Spain*, that they would meet with no great obstruction from him. But though he did not keep his promise with them, it shews that the Jews were safer in those parts than in *Spain*, since he chose to shelter himself there so early. For it was not till about forty years after that those of *Portugal* and *Spain* came to settle in *Holland*. However, their first assembly at *Amsterdam* caused no small jealousy among the citizens, who took them at first for Roman-catholics in disguise; till, upon searching their houses, especially those where they met to worship, they found nothing but *Hebrew* books, and the volume of the *Mosaic* law: upon which they were only charged to pray for the preservation of the city, which they readily promised; and built soon after their first synagogue there, which they called *The house of Jacob*, because a rich Jew of that name was the founder of it<sup>w</sup>. They reared another not long after, which they stiled *Neve Shalom*, *The dwelling of peace*; and put it under the care of a famed rabbi, named *Judab Vega*, who was come from *Afric*; but left it, and retired to *Constantinople*; where he compiled a history of his nation, down to the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*. He was succeeded by *R. Uziel*, who censured the faults and remissness of the Jews in such severe terms, that he incurred their hatred; upon which a third synagogue was built, to which the schismatics repaired, under the conduct of another rabbi, named *Pardo*. This last was stiled *Beith Israel*, *The house of Israel*. This schism lasted about twenty years, not

Accus'd of intelligence against the Spaniards.

The first synagogue at Amsterdam.

A second built.

A third, A. C. 1618.

Re-united, A. C. 1639.

<sup>s</sup> DAN. LEVI DE BARRIOS, Casa de Jaacob, p. 24.

<sup>t</sup> VOETII disput. select. tom. ii. p. 95.

<sup>u</sup> STRADA de Bell. Belg. lib. v. p. 214.

<sup>w</sup> Vide Silva del Anton. Alvares Suares.

accordingly received with great respect; but the rabbi who conducted him thither, having discovered his imposture, began to cry him down; but was forced by the rest to retire, and obtained a certificate from them, upon condition that he should speak no more against him; but upon his breaking his word was accused of divers notorious crimes. However, the false Messiah was found out, and forced to retire from *Italy* into *Poland*, and it is from the rabbi above-mentioned that we have this account, so that it can hardly be called in question.

But the most celebrated rabbi that *Germany* hath produced in the last century, was the great *Isaac Loria*, author of the metaphysical introduction to the cabbalah, in which he examines the reasons which induced God to create the world. He was a native of *Jerusalem*, and his appellative of *Askenasi* (*German*), was only given him on account of his long abode in that country; for he retired again into *Palestine*, towards the latter end of his life, and was buried at *Sapheta* in *Upper Galilee*. He wrote several other treatises, which the reader may see in the authors quoted in the margin (11), but that above-mentioned was so highly admired by our great *Henry More*, that he thought it might be of singular service to convert not only the Jews, but the heathen, to Christianity (12).

(G) The true reason however, of this extreme hatred, if we may believe the *Germans*, lies deeper, and is more

justifiable; viz. the dissimulation and remissness of those of *Portugal* and *Spain*; who as we have observed more than once, live in those countries, and conform in all things with the popish religion for the sake of enriching themselves, and then retire into *Holland*, to enjoy with more safety the fruits of their hypocrisy. They charge them likewise with being too remiss in many things relating to their law, of which themselves are more scrupulous observers; and if we may judge of those in *Holland* by those in *England*, where one sort is tenacious and the other remiss, to an extreme, if not to a fault, the charge will appear far from groundless.

(H) This Messiah, whom he affirmed to be lineally descended from *David* king of *Israel*, by the line of *Nathan*, was then, he said, but fourteen years old. His ancestors had resided about a thousand years in the kingdom of *Tunis*, whence they passed afterwards into that of *Granada* in *Spain*, whence being expelled by king *Ferdinand*, they had settled themselves in *Germany*. He was then at *Straßburgh*, where *Zeigler* had seen him, and for whom he reserved a diadem and sword, to put into his hand, in order to bring all the world under his dominion. This was his fabulous account of him. However, this cheat must not be confounded with another rabbi of the same name, who was descended from the house of *Salmes*, born at *Landau*, and was well versed in most sciences, for this last died about 70 years before (13), and was called *James*, and the other *Philip*.

(11) Narratiuncula Judæi cujusdam de R. Mordechai Pseudo Messia, an. 1682, apud Buxtorf Catalæsa, p. 361.

(12) Buxtorf & Wolf, Bibl. Rab. N. 1227, p. 671.

(13) Voetii disput. select. vol. ii.

p. 95, & seq.



without great heat on both sides ; but was at length happily ended, and the three synagogues <sup>a</sup> were reconciled, and united into one, to which they gave the name of *Thalmud Hathorath*, or, *The study of the law* (I).

R. Menasse  
chosen.  
His high cha-  
racter.

R. MENASSE, author of several learned treatises, and one of the ablest divines which the *Jewish* nation hath produced these many centuries, was chosen to expound the thalmud there, at the age of eighteen ; and gained such reputation for his learning and application, that it raised the envy of the jealous rabbies, and created him many enemies. But he despised their calumnies, and pursued his studies with such assiduity, that at the age of twenty he published the first part of his *Conciliator* on the Pentateuch ; wherein he endeavoured to reconcile the seeming contradictions of the sacred books, by the expositions of ancient and modern doctors, and by his own conjectures. And this work, which he afterwards finished, gained him the esteem and <sup>b</sup> admiration of all the learned, both *Jews* and Christians \* ; and it must be owned, that no rabbi, either before or since, ever handled those difficult points with so much erudition and solidity (K).

Comes to Eng-  
land, A. C.  
1656.

Death, A. C.  
1662.

BARTOLOCCI accused him of having taken the advantage of the civil wars in *England*, to prevail upon *Oliver Cromwell* to permit the *Jews* to settle there. On the other hand, a *Jewish* historian affirms, that *Cromwell* and his parliament invited him over to treat about it <sup>c</sup>. But, without entering farther into the matter of fact, was it not natural for him to endeavour to procure such an advantageous settlement to his nation as that of *England* ? But whether invited or no, it is plain he came over into *England* with that design, and was well received by *Cromwell* and the parliament, as well as his apology for the *Jews*, in which he exploded all the calumnies raised against his nation, especially those of their crucifying and using the blood of Christian children at their passover ; and pleaded their cause so well there, that, if we may believe some authors of those times, he obtained a much better settlement, and greater privileges for them, than ever they had enjoyed before in *England* <sup>d</sup>. We shall speak of that apology in the account of his works. However, *Bartolucci* not only censures him for it, but charges him with other frivolous matters, though he represents them as crimes ; such as his taking part with the remonstrants, in order to obtain their friendship and protection ; and printing his works without the approbation or leave of the Christian divines, &c. from all which he hath been sufficiently cleared by Mr. *Basnage*. He died at *Amsterdam*, an. 1662, and left a son, who inherited his printing-house, and printed his father's works in it <sup>d</sup>. His other works may be seen in the margin (L). R. *Zachuth*, a great friend and panegyrist of *Menasse* <sup>b</sup>, and

\* See the Epistle of R. ZACHUTH, prefixed to his *Conciliator*.  
Judaic.

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid. vide THEOPHIL. SPIZEL. Coronid. Philologic. p. 382, & Pantheon Anabaptistic. part ii. lib. iii. p. 234. WOLF, ubi supra, p. 783.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>c</sup> BARRIOS Histor. Univers.

<sup>d</sup> BARTOLOCCI, WOLF, BASNAGE, &c.

(I) Since then they have taken care to found schools as well as synagogues ; and one of them called *Kether Hathorath*, or *the Crown of the Law*, hath been still governed by some of their most learned men, and was founded an. 1643. But that which most displays the flourishing state of this nation, is the vast and noble synagogue which they consecrated an. 1673, and hath been so deservedly admired by all the judges of architecture, and so much cried up by their own preachers, that there has been a collection printed of the sermons preached on that occasion (14), and may be rightly called pompous panegyrics in the swoln *Jewish* stile : not but the *Jews* deserve the greater commendation for that noble structure, because though it was reared in time of war, which caused some obstruction to the work, yet being begun in April 1671, it was completed in the short space of four years (15).

(K) R. *Menasse* was of *Jewish* extract, and of the family of the famed *Abraamels*, but was so far from the morose conduct of the learned of his nation, who shun the company of Christians, that he made himself many real friends among them. The great poet *Barlaeus* was one of them, who wrote in his praise, and protested that no difference of opinions should lessen his esteem for so learned a man. Even the learned *Grotius* often consulted him on difficult passages of scripture with good success, and encouraged him to go on and publish

his excellent works, and recommended them to the learned as of great service towards the right understanding of holy writ (16).

He had also many friends among those in power ; all which raised the jealousy of some zealous divines to such a degree, that they condemned *Barlaeus*'s verses in his praise ; and a kind of paper war was begun among the learned, in which every one took what side he pleased (17).

(L) Besides the *Conciliator* above-mentioned, the 2d, 3d, and 4th parts of which took up the remainder of the Old Testament, he published, 1. A *Spanish* bible, an. 1630. 2. A *Hebrew* Pentateuch, with a *Spanish* version to it, an. 1646. 3. *Tesoro dos Dinim*, or treasury of rites, in *Portuguese*, an. 1645. 4. His *Oeconomia*, or collection of rites relating to women, children, servants, and goods. 5. A panegyric on the queen of *Sweden*. 6. His *Phocylides*, in *Spanish* verse. 7. His *Ebn Jekara*, or precious stone, or comment on the statue of *Nebuchadnezzar*. 8. His treatise of the resurrection of the dead, and immortality of the soul. 9. Of *Adam*'s fall, and frailty of human nature. 10. Of the hope of *Israel* ; in which he endeavours to prove, from the relation of *Antonio Montezino*, that the ten *Israelitish* tribes are settled chiefly in *America*, along the river *Sabbation*. This book was dedicated to the *English* parliament, and received the thanks of it from the chairman of the committee, in an

(14) *Sermones que pregaracon*, &c. De his, vide *Basnage*, ubi supra, §. 5.

(16) *Grotii Epist.* an. 1639, p. 564.

(15) *Ibid.* sub not. (B).  
(17) See *Wolf*, *Bibl. Hebr.* N. 1463, p. 778, & seq.



a and who flourished at the same place and time, was of *Portuguese* extract, and born at *Lisbon*, *an.* 1575. He was sent by his parent, who made outward profession of popery, to study physic at *Salamanca* and *Conimbra*; after which he returned and settled at his native place, where he gained no small reputation for his learning, and more so by the charitable cures he performed among the sick poor, and for some notable ones at court. He wrote several books, particularly an history of the chief physicians, which he dedicated to the pope's residentiary there. And after having dissembled about 30 years, he retired to *Amsterdam*, where he was circumcised, and died a *Jew*, leaving several works unfinished, which he designed to print. Those he published were of the physical kind. R. Zachuth's character, and death, A. C. 1642.

R. ABRAHAM ISRAEL PITZARO flourished likewise at *Amsterdam*. He wrote a book intitled, *The Sceptre of Judah*, which is an exposition of that prophecy of *Jaacob*<sup>d</sup>, in a most swoln stile, and dedicated to the *Pharnassim*, or judges of that synagogue, whom he stiles *The Stars which enlighten the Firmament, and the Atlases which bear up the People of Israel*. It is a virulent book against Christianity, in which he complains of the danger of confuting it, and of the unfair way of Christians expounding the Scriptures, of their unfitness for such a task, and of their tyrannic way of using those *Jews* who expound them in a different way from them. And it is not improbable that this was the motive which inclined those *Pharnassim* to suppress the publishing of that work, notwithstanding his great encomiums on them. Mr. *Basnage*, who saw it in manuscript, hath given a short account of it, and of his way of interpreting the words *Sceptre*, *Shiloh*, &c. in that prophecy, in a manner quite different from that of the Christians, in order to confute the notion of the *Messiah's* being come, but for which we shall refer our readers to that author, to avoid running into too great a length.<sup>e</sup> R. Abraham Pitzaro's works.

R. MORTERA was another celebrated doctor at *Amsterdam*, and a more subtle writer than *Pitzaro*; though his treatise of *The Truth of the Mosaic Law, and of the miraculous Providence of God over his People*, be designed to prove that the law given to *Moses* was perfect; and that the Christians have injured it, by pretending to raise it to a higher perfection, by the addition of new precepts. He falls equally foul on the Protestants and Roman-catholics; and endeavours to explode the authority of the New Testament, the efficacy of the Sacraments, and the rewards and punishments of another life. The reader may see a sketch of his book in the author above-quoted<sup>f</sup>. The rest of the *Jews* of note, who flourished in this city, may be seen in the following note (M). R. Mortera, A. C. 1645.

## THEY

<sup>c</sup> See his life, written by LUDOV. LEMOSO, prefixed to his book *De Calculorum Morbo*. WOLF, ubi supra, N. 568. BASNAGE, c. 36. §. 13. <sup>d</sup> Genes. xlix. 10. <sup>e</sup> Hist. de Juifs, lib. ix. c. 36, §. 14—21. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. §. 22. ad fin.

epistle printed at *London*, *an.* 1650, in which the writer stiles *Manasse his most dear brother*. 11. His 30 problems concerning the creation, in *Latin*, 8°. *an.* 1635. 12. His treatise on the certain term of life. His *Sepher Phene Rabbah*, or *Hebrew* index of places in Scripture, which are explained in the *Middrash Rabbah*, or large comment on them, alphabetically digested. 13. His *Sod Yescharim*, or secret of the righteous, or treatise on the secrets of nature, or natural magic. 14. His *Nishmat Chajim*, or breath of life, on the immortality of the soul. 15. His *Shaphah Berurah*, or pure lip, on grammar. 16. His logic, his apology for the *Jews*, printed first in *English*, *an.* 1656, and since re-printed in the *Phoenix*, 1707, and different from another under the name of *Edward Nicholas*, who professes himself to be no *Jew*, but betrays himself such, by his stile and writing. To these we might add his epistles to the learned of his time, on various and difficult points, of which he takes notice in his second part of his *Conciliator*. His three editions of the *Hebrew* bible, from his own printing-house, and a much greater number of rabbinic books, which the reader may see in *Bartolacci*, *Wolf*, *Basnage*, *Hottinger*, and other writers, particularly, *Daniel Levi de Barrios's* universal *Jewish* history.

(M) *Joseph Atthias*, a *Spaniard* by birth, was at first a teacher of the thalmud at *Hamburg*, but came afterwards to *Amsterdam*, where he bought the famed *Elzevir's* printing-house, and became himself a celebrated printer in the *Jewish* way. His *Hebrew* bible, and other works, being not only very correct and commo-

dious, but in such a fair type as had not been yet seen, nor been outdone since, except by that of our excellent *Casson*, and with the *Massoretic* notes on the margin, and as such are highly esteemed by the learned.

R. *Isaac Aboah*, who came thither from *Basil*, was not only a celebrated preacher but a great cabbalist; and translated from *Spanish* into *Hebrew* the treatise, intituled *The gate of Heaven* (18), written by another *Spaniard*, named *Irira*, or *Abraham Cohen Herrera* (19), and from that *Hebrew* version it is, that a new *Latin* one hath since been made. *Aboah* likewise wrote a paraphrase on the Pentateuch, wherein he sings *Moses's* triumphs in heroic verse.

*Benjamin Musaphia* was likewise a very learned commentator on the thalmud, but applied himself to another study, equally abstruse, viz. *The Flux and Reflux of the Sea*. He was so perfect a master of the *Hebrew* tongue, that he compiled a dictionary of it, in a quite new and easy method (20), and intituled it, *Massaph Hagharuc*, or additions to the *Gharuc*, another lexicon, formerly mentioned (21). He likewise published his *Zeker Rab*, or large memory, which is a collection of all the *Hebrew* roots, to which he tacked certain sentences or maxims, for the better learning and retaining their signification. There is likewise an epistle attributed to him on the subject of potable gold, and under the fictitious name of *Mezabab* (*de auro*) (22).

But the most remarkable of all the *Jews* of this city, was the late *Spinosa*, author of a new kind of Atheism, and well known to all the learned for his philosophical

(18) *Barrios in vit. Isaac Huzick*, p. 45. *supra*. *Wolf*, N. 402. p. 251. *supra*.

(19) *Vide Cabbala Denudata*. (21) *Idem ibid. Basnage*, ubi *supra*, §. 6.

(20) *Barrios*, ubi *supra*. (22) *Wolf*, ubi *supra*.



Rich ones at  
the Hague.

THEY are no less numerous and flourishing at the *Hague*, where they have also a noble a  
synagogue, and where those who are become wealthy and opulent seek for a peaceable and  
delightful

works. His parents were of *Portuguese* extract, and in good circumstances, but he was born at *Amsterdam*, an. 1632, and, at his father's death, would only accept of a bed of all that he had left him, and chose to live in the meanest and lowest way, and get his living by polishing of spectacles, and other such glasses, which brought him so little gain, that though he lived chiefly upon milk and gruel, he was as poor at the year's end as at the beginning. He refused a considerable sum, however, from a friend; and consented only to accept of a very small pension from him, upon which he lived. Some think that he received the first seeds of his atheism from his *Latin* master *Vanden Ende*, who both professed and taught it. But whether so or not, it is probable that the philosophy of *Descartes* gave him a dislike to all the *Jewish* learning, and at length to their religion. They soon perceived it, by his absenting himself from the synagogue, and would have retained him by a considerable pension; but he rejected it, and became so odious to them, that some of them attempted more than once to stab him; upon which he left that city, where he found they were too powerful and exasperated against him, to stay any longer amongst them; thence he retired to *Leyden*, and afterwards to the *Hague*. They pursued him, however, with their grand excommunication; but he protested against their sentence by a writing in *Spanish*, directed to the rabbies of the synagogue. He soon after published his geometrical demonstrations, and his meditations, and brought forth at length his *Traëtatus Theologico-Politicus*, in which was formed his new system of Atheism, for which he hath been so much admired and caressed by all loose lovers of novelty, both in *Holland*, *Germany*, and *France*, from whom he received several invitations, and large encouragements, but refused them all, and died at the *Hague*, an. 1677, aged 44 years. We shall forbear other particulars of his life and death; such especially as his being often heard, in his last sickness, calling upon God to have mercy on him, a miserable sinner; his having always by him some pieces of mandrake to hasten his death, and stupify him against the approach of it. The reader may see them in his life, written by a *Lutheran* minister, then at the *Hague* (23).

His books have been translated into divers languages, and in some with a different title, the better to conceal their author and poison. Particularly the *French* intitles his version, *A Treatise of the ancient and modern ceremonies of the Jews*. We are told that he designed to have given the world a compleat version of the Old Testament, and had gone through the Pentateuch, but burnt it a few days before his death. He did the same by his treatise on the rainbow, because some learned, who had read it, did not think it worth printing. He was likewise suspected to be the author of a treatise of ecclesiastical rights, published, an. 1665, in which he maintained, that the clergy, being subject to the civil power, ought not to teach what they believe, but what that commands. However, *Spinoza* disowned the book, which hath been since supposed to have been written by the physician who assisted him in his last sickness, and who was also the writer of another called *Philosophia S. Scripturæ interpres*, or *the holy Scripture interpreted by Philosophy*. He only put the initial letters of his name *L. M.* or *Lewis Meir*. *Spinoza* left another work which was printed after his death, and called his *Opera Posthuma*; among which one finds a *moral geometrically demonstrated, the cure of the understanding*, some letters, a *Hebrew* grammar, and a political treatise (24).

As *Spinoza* had many followers and disciples, not indeed united into one sect, but scattered here and there;

so had he also many learned opposers, which it is out of our province to take notice of here. We shall content ourselves with mentioning those of his nation, and particularly the learned *Balthazar Orobio*, a *Spaniard* by birth, and physician, whose parents outwardly professed Christianity, but he, it seems, could not dissemble well enough to escape suspicion, but was cast into the prison of the inquisition, and after three years close confinement, was put to the torture, in order to be made to confess himself a *Jew*. He, however, bore it with such constancy, that the inquisitors believing him a Christian indeed, discharged him.

*Orobio* who had studied philosophy (25), and had been professor of metaphysics at *Salamanca*, found so much leisure, during his imprisonment, to improve himself in that science, that he was become a perfect master of it; so that instead of retiring into some other country, he once more obtained the chair, and was some while professor at *Tholosa*; till being at length tired of dissembling his religion, and coming to *Amsterdam*, he was circumcised, and made open profession of *Judaism*. He acquired such reputation by his success in physic, that he had hardly time to follow his studies; and when *Spinoza's* book appeared, he at first despised it, on account of its author, and thought his principles too evidently false to be espoused by any man of sense. But when he received *Bredenburg's* answer to it, in which that author agreed with him in two dangerous positions, or seemed to hesitate about them; viz. 1st. That nothing ought to be admitted in matters of religion, but what is agreeable to reason. And, 2dly, That as *ex nihilo nil fit*, God could not be admitted to have created the world out of nothing. *Orobio* therefore undertook to confute them both, and did it with success, and like the sound philosopher and metaphysician he was, though he seemed to level his answer only against *Bredenburg* (26).

*Orobio* likewise entered the lists in defence of *Judaism*, with the learned remonstrant, professor *Limborgh*; which gave birth to that excellent conference, well known to all the learned (27), and died soon after the publication of it, an. 1687. He left some other works, of which the reader may see a farther account in the authors quoted in the margin (28).

There flourished about the same time several learned rabbies in other cities in *Holland*, whom we omit for want of room, and shall mention only two of the most celebrated, viz:

*David Cohen de Lara*, a disciple of the famed *Huziel*, and author of *the City of Dawid*, a treatise in which he proves the affinity of the *Hebrew* with the *Greek*, and several other tongues. He compiled likewise the *Kether Kebunnah*, or *Crown of priesthood*, which is a much more copious lexicon than that of *R. Nathan*, formerly mentioned, since he hath added about 2000 words to it. He also translated out of *Hebrew* into *Spanish* the book stiled *Reshith Cockmah*, or, *the beginning of wisdom*. (29). He lived first at *Amsterdam*, and died at *Hamburg*, an. 1674.

The last we shall name is the great *Jacob Jehudah Leon*, author of the *Description of the Temple of Solomon*, which he compiled at *Middleburgh*. He was a *Spaniard* by birth, but retired into *Holland*, to be more at liberty to pursue his design; and in order to gain a more perfect idea of that noble edifice, applied himself to the building of a wooden model of it, upon the plans which he had met with among the several authors of his own nation. He afterwards formed his description from it, and published it in *French*, under the title of *Description du temple de Solomon, par Jacob Juda Leon, habitant*

(23) *Coleri vit. Spinoz. pass. & p. 172, 174.*

*univers. an. 1687, tom. vi.*

*Collatio, cum erudito Judeo.*

§. 16.

(29) *Bejn. ibid. Wolf, N. 501. p. 316.*

(24) *Id. ibid. p. 97, & seq.*

(26) *Isaac Orobio, certamen philosophic. adversus, I. B. principia.*

(28) *De his, vid. Wolf, Bibl. Hæbr. N. 1155. p. 646.*

(25) *Le Clerc Bibliot.*

(27) *Amica*

*lib. ix. c. 37.*



a delightful retirement. For here it is that they enjoy the greatest prosperity, and live in the greatest luxury, and in the most sumptuous edifices. Yet such is their happiness under that government, that they enjoy their wealth and grandeur without raising the jealousy, zeal, and envy of the populace; whilst the rest carry on a considerable traffick both at home and abroad, without being liable to those heavy impositions, vexatious prosecutions, proscriptions, and other disasters, which we have seen them groan under in other parts of *Europe*.

Those here in *England* have no less reason to praise the mildness of our government, and <sup>In England;</sup> the hospitable treatment of our nation towards them. Here they are allowed full liberty of their religion, a full freedom of trade, and the quiet enjoyment of their properties. They are, like those of *Holland*, commonly distinguished into *German* and *Portuguese*, or, more <sup>Divided into</sup> properly, into northern and southern, and have each their respective synagogues, chiefs; <sup>German and</sup> *German* and *Portuguese* schools, &c. but no academy; so that they are obliged to send their youth to be educated, the one in some of those in *Germany*, and the other, in that of *Amsterdam*. The former are by far the most indigent, as well as the most zealous for their religion, and most careful to instruct their meanest children in it, and in the knowledge of the *Hebrew* tongue: whereas the latter being rich, and some of them opulent, are more remiss in all these respects; insomuch, that many of them cannot so much as understand the liturgy of their synagogues, but have it translated into *Portuguese*. However, both have had some learned rabbies, and, among the latter, the late *R. Netto* was justly esteemed a man well versed, not only in *Jewish*, but in *R. Netto*. every other kind of learning. But the generality of them are more used to merchandize and traffick, than to the study of their doctors. The rich among them are very generous and charitable, not only to their own poor, but to those of the Christians; and some of them have diffused their beneficence among their neighbours, round their country seats, to such a degree, and in such a discrete manner, as the noblest Christians might be proud to imitate. As to those of lower rank, especially such as deal in the peddling mercantile way, one may say of them, what the *Spaniards* say of the *Andalusians*:

*El Andaluz haze la Cruz.*

How they were re-admitted into this kingdom, after having been so long kept out of it by <sup>Their new</sup> severe laws, we have already hinted, in speaking of *Manasse ben Israel*; and this privilege hath <sup>epoch from</sup> appeared so considerable to them, that they have made a new epocha of it, which they cause <sup>their admission</sup> to be engraven on their monuments, and date their most considerable writings from it. And <sup>into England.</sup> having obtained leave to build a synagogue, they stiled it *Holy Assembly*, and *Jewish Parnassus*<sup>e</sup>. They are here much more affable, familiar, and conversible, than in most other countries; and will not decline a dispute about religion, where it is only done by way of conversation, and will express their minds with great freedom. But when it is meant in order to convert some of the flock, the very priests and cachams will refuse it. Such a case the late learned bishop *Kidder* tells us happened unto him, who having desired a conference with one of them, in behalf of a young *Jewess*, who had already received some knowledge and relish for Christianity; the cacham not only declined it, but advised her parents to shut her up<sup>h</sup>. For, what- <sup>Hatred against</sup> ever kind allowance the strictest of them may make for those who renounce *Judaism*, to avoid <sup>Christian con-</sup> death, persecution, banishment, or even the loss of their goods, in which cases some of their <sup>verts.</sup> thalmudist doctors affirm, that the law doth allow them to dissemble; yet it is certain, that even the most remiss and loosest among them detest all that turn Christians on any other account; neither do any of these ever think it safe to go among, or converse with them afterwards.

We have now brought the history of the eastern and western *Jews* down to the close of the <sup>Their present</sup> seventeenth century; there remains only that we give our readers a short account of their <sup>state in all</sup> present state in all the parts of the world. Several eminent hands, both of their nation and <sup>parts of the</sup> among the Christians, have endeavoured to come to some tolerable knowledge of their number; <sup>world.</sup>

<sup>e</sup> BARRIOS Epist. ad. Kahal Kadosh, (Holy Assembly) de Londres, an. 1683. p. 22. of the Messiah.

<sup>h</sup> Demonstration

de Middelburg, dans la Zelande, l'an. du monde 5403, that is, A. C. 1643.

He afterwards enlarged and improved it, and translated it into *Hebrew*, and gave it the title of *Tabnith Hekal*, the Figure of the Temple. It was greatly admired by the learned, and the duke of *Brunswick* ordered a *Latin* version to be made of it, with proper cuts, that he might judge the better of it. *Judab* added to it a description of the tabernacle, and a treatise about

the ark and the cherubims, and an exposition of the Psalms, in which he undertook to explain the metaphorical expressions of the thalmud, which he said cost him no small pains and study. He likewise wrote an account of some conferences which he had held with Christian doctors; but these two last works, and a third, in which he designed to shew the manner in which the *Jewish* morning and evening sacrifices were offered, have never been printed (30).

(30) *Wolf*, ubi sup. N. 1048. p. 593. *Basnag*. ubi sup. §. 18.



among whom we shall only select some few, who seem to us to have made the best enquiries after it.

R. Luzati's  
account of  
them.

ONE of their late writers, who taught at *Venice*<sup>1</sup>, owns “it to be very difficult to come at the precise number of them, they being at this time dispersed over so many parts of the world. We can get no intelligence concerning the ten tribes carried away captive by *Shalmanezar*, nor of the country where they were settled, though the globe is now so well known. If we begin with the East, we know that there is a vast quantity of *Jews* in the kingdom of *Persia*, though they enjoy but little liberty there. The *Turkish* empire is their chief retreat, not only as they have been long since settled in it, but because a very great number of those that were expelled out of *Portugal* and *Spain* retired thither. They are more numerous in *Constantinople* and *Salonichi* (*Theffalonica*), than in any other part, and are reckoned to amount to above 80,000 in those two cities, and upwards of a million in the whole empire. A vast concourse of pilgrims flock to *Jerusalem* from all parts of the world, and bring thither great sums for the maintenance of their academies and numerous poor.

THEY are likewise dispersed all over *Germany*, especially in the emperor's dominions; but are still more numerous in *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and *Russia*; and it is there we have our academies, and several thousands of disciples, who study our laws both civil and canonical, because they there enjoy the privilege of judging all causes civil and criminal among themselves. They are not so numerous in the protestant states, which are severed from the church of *Rome*, though they are treated with greater charity and mildness, in the *Low Countries*, at *Rotterdam*, *Amsterdam*, *Hamburg*, and other free towns, where commerce is open to all strangers.

ALL the *Italian* princes tolerate and favour the *Jews*, and inviolably maintain them in their privileges, without any alteration; and I reckon that there are about 25,000 in that country. In *Fez*, *Morocco*, and other states, which are not subject to the *Turks*, they are so much the more numerous, as they can so easily pass thither from *Spain* and *Portugal*. There are many other places in *Afric*, along the sea-coasts, which are mostly peopled by *Jews*; but as they are not known to us, it is very difficult to fix the number of them.” Thus far our *Venetian* rabbi, concerning the present state of the *Jewish* nation.

That of  
Manasse  
Ben Israel.

ON the other hand, *R. Manasse Ben Israel*, lately mentioned, who believed the return of all the *Jews* to be near at hand, thought it clearly signified by the prophet *Isaiab* (N); and justly observed<sup>k</sup> that noble prophecy could not be meant of the return from the *Babylonish* captivity, because God did not then call all the twelve tribes, much less all the dispersed of *Israel*, from all the countries of their captivity. He observes, in the next place, that this promised deliverance is stiled a second, because that universal one out of *Egypt* had preceded it; whereas that from *Babylon* was only confined to part of the two tribes of *Judah* and *Levi*, as was hinted in the last note: and when the *Israelites* left *Affyria*, to enter into the land of *Judea*, they did not go over any river, either of *Egypt* or *Ethiopia*, as God promises they shall do, at their second or general return, when the waters of the *Nile* and *Euphrates* shall be parted, to open a dry passage to the tribes, as had been done at the *Red Sea* and the *Jordan* (O).

BOTH

<sup>1</sup> R. SIMON LUZATI Discors. circa il stato de gli Hebrei. c. 18.

<sup>k</sup> MENASS. Esperanza de Israel.

(N) In that day, says the prophet (31), the Lord shall set his hand again, the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from *Affyria*, and from *Egypt*, and from *Pathros*, and from *Cush* (*Ethiopia*), and from *Elam* (*Persia*), and from *Shinar* (*Babylon*), and from *Hamath* (the East), and from the isles of the sea (the West). And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the out-casts of *Israel*, and gather together the dispersed of *Judah*, from the four corners of the earth, &c. And in another place (32) he adds, And in that day the Lord shall beat, or shake down from the chanel of the river (*Euphrates*), unto the stream of *Egypt* (the *Nile*), and ye shall be gathered, one by one, O ye children of *Israel*, &c.

There are many other such passages in *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, and other prophets, which expressly mention a much more extensive recall of the *Israelites* than that from the *Babylonish* captivity ever was, in which not near one third part of even the tribes of *Judah* and *Levi*, or, as the thalmudists word it, only the bran or refuse, of them returned into *Judea*, as we have elsewhere shewn †. So that of course we must expect a

more universal one, and more conformable to these prophecies, and which the *Jews* understand literally of a return of all the twelve tribes, and from all the countries of their dispersion, under the *Messiah*, and of their literally re-inhabiting of *Palestine*, the seat of their forefathers; but the generality of *Christians*, only of their conversion to *Christianity*. The truth seems to us to be between those two extremes, as we have had occasion to hint more than once, and may still, in the close of this chapter.

(O) According to this learned rabbi, the prophet chiefly mentions, 1. *Affyria* and *Egypt*, because it will be in those two provinces that the *Israelites* will be gathered together. 2. He speaks expressly of *Pathros*; by which must not be understood either *Pelusium* or *Petra*, but the *Parthians* near the *Caspian Sea*, where some of their doctors place the river *Sabbation*, on the other side of which a vast number of *Jews* are settled. 3. *Cush* is *Ethiopia*, where there are several tribes, especially in *Abyssinia*. 4. *Elam* is properly a province of *Persia*, on the other side of the *Euphrates*, full of dreadful

(31) *Isai.* xi. 11, & seq.

(32) *Ch.* xxvii. 12.

(†) See vol. iv. p. 3, & seq. & notes.

deserts,



- a BOTH rabbies differ only in this one point, that *Luzatti* gives up the ten tribes as long since lost, or so blended, that they cannot be discovered with any tolerable certainty; the other affirms them to be concealed in *America*, and other parts, where they have been miraculously preserved, by the Divine Providence, against this glorious recall, when they shall come forth from their respective settlements, and be re-united to the rest of their brethren in *Affyria*, whence the whole nation shall take their flight to *Jerusalem*, as birds to their nests. He grounds his opinion on several probable conjectures; as first, that some of the people of *America* are unknown to us, and seem to have no relation with the other nations of it. Secondly, the *Spaniards* affirm, that, upon their landing in *Peru*, they found a large stately edifice, dedicated to the Creator of the world; which cannot be supposed to have been built by the *Indians*, who were idolaters, and wholly then unacquainted with the use of iron tools, such as appeared to have been used in the building of it; so that it must of course be supposed to have been a synagogue, erected by the *Jews*. And, thirdly, this seems farther confirmed by a tradition of the *Indians*, that this palace, as they termed it, had been built by a whole nation, that wore beards, and were ancients than their *Incas* <sup>1</sup>.
- b R. MENASSE doth likewise quote an inscription found on a tomb in the island of *St. Michel*, which is one of the *Azores*, and mentioned by *Genebrard* <sup>m</sup>, and which, though somewhat difficult to be decyphered, unless it be by the transposition of letters, yet, by the character and words, appears plainly enough to have been done by some *Jews*, who were come into this island. To all which he adds the sentiments of a good number of Christians, who have helped to confirm him in his conjecture, concerning the ten tribes <sup>n</sup>. But all this put together will never outweigh what is urged against it (P). We have shewn in a former volume <sup>†</sup>, that those tribes were settled in the East, and in the neighbourhood of the river *Euphrates*, or rather along the *Chaboras* that falls into it; so that God seems to have brought them back into the very country whence he brought out their patriarch. We have likewise taken notice formerly <sup>\*</sup>, that a great number of them came back into *Judea*, along with the *Jewish* captivity of *Babylon*, though they were from that time blended with them; and a late learned author, who hath endeavoured to vindicate *Aristea's* history of the *Septuagint* version, hath proved it still
- Opinion of the ten tribes being in America.*  
*A Jewish inscription at one of the Azores.*  
*Menasse's notion confuted.*  
*Ten tribes nowhere.*

<sup>1</sup> *Esperanza de Israel*, p. 114, & seq. vol. i. p. 891, & notes.

<sup>m</sup> *Ibid.* p. 44.

<sup>\*</sup> *Id. ibid. vid. & vol. iv. p. 4.*

<sup>n</sup> *Ibid.* p. 26, & seq. & 116.

<sup>†</sup> See

deserts, in which some part of the *Jewish* tribes are concealed. 5. *Shinar* is another province near *Babylon*, where *Moses* places the plain of that name; and *Daniel* mentions the sacred vessels of the temple to have been transported by the king of *Babylon* into the land of *Shinar*. 6. The land of *Hamath* is often mentioned in the sacred writings, and is rendered by the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, and those that follow him, the city of *Antioch*, by which he conjectures *Antiochia Asiatica en Tartaria* to be meant; for there were twelve cities of that name. 7. The *Septuagint* have rendered the word *Hamah*, or *Hamath*, the *Sun*, which it often signifies, in the prophetic writings, and doth therefore imply the East. So that the prophet speaks here of the *Jews* dispersed eastward of *Palestine*, that is in *Asia Major*, in the *East Indies*, *China*, &c. 8. The prophet foretells the coming of the *Israelites* out of the islands of the sea, which ought rather to have been rendered the isles or countries of the West (32), by which our rabbi understands all the countries west of *Judea*, or the *Jews* which are now settled in some parts of *America*.

Ninthly, and lastly, The prophet affirms that God will bring back the banished (or, as the word more properly implies, the cut-off or excommunicated) *Israelites*, because the ten tribes, severed from the rest, not only inhabit countries vastly distant from *Judea*, but lie concealed in the remotest parts of the earth, and among the Gentiles; but as to the *Jews*, the prophet says, that God will recall them from the four corners of the world; because, in fact, the tribe of *Judah* is dispersed into divers countries; and as it hath synagogues in *America*, it will return from all parts of the world; though there will then be no division or jealousy between it and the rest; for, adds the prophet, *Ephraim shall not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim*. And accordingly *Ezekiel* affirms, that they shall then have

but one king, and shall not be any longer two nations nor two kingdoms (33).

(P) Much less will that which he adds of their being there concealed by a miracle, and their being conducted thither by the streights of *Anian*, which were not formed till after their passage, and in order to divide them from the rest. His pretending that they have had their kings, ancient laws, and are in possession of vast territories, &c. may be justly reckoned a *Jewish* fable, invented on purpose to raise the glory of their nation, and their being thus miraculously preserved and concealed from other nations till the coming of the Messiah, as an evasion against the universal testimony of travellers and historians to the contrary.

For whatever stress he may put on some of those he quotes, there is scarce one of them that speaks of the ten tribes, or of this pretended *Jewish* colony passing into *America*. The *Spaniards*, who have been so long masters of the greatest part of it, mention nothing of it, or, at most, offer only some dark and vague conjectures about it. In a word, this settlement of theirs hath been sought for in vain hitherto, some placing it in *Peru*, others in *Brasil*, others along that long ridge of mountains called *Las Cordelleras*; and where-ever they have found any people that differed ever so little from the native *Indians*, they have imagined them to be the *Jews* we are speaking of. So that we may safely conclude, that it is in the East, and not there, that we must seek for these tribes. *Jews* there are, indeed, in several parts of *America*; but as they form no body, but are dispersed in every place where gain invites them, they must be supposed to have come thither, since the discovery of that continent; for it would be strange, if the *Jews*, of all others, should have overlooked so rich a country, and not tried to share in the spoils of that new world.

(32) *De hoc, vid. Genes. xxviii. 44. in the original.*

(33) *Esperanza de Israel*, p. 103, & seq.



more fully °. As for those that staid behind, they not only spread themselves still farther as a they multiplied, but kept constantly sending their deputies and oblations at proper seasons to *Jerusalem*, as long as the temple stood. They appear to have continued there till the 11th century; since, as we have seen through the course of this chapter, they had all that time their chiefs of the captivity, synagogues, and academies; and though they have since been greatly decayed, through the various persecutions that were raised against them, and revolutions of that empire, yet they did still subsist in great numbers, during the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, and do so to this day. So that we need not go to *America* to seek them out, nor suppose them either lost or concealed in some remote quarter of the globe. And if they are so blended one tribe with another, that they cannot now be possibly distinguished, it could hardly, without a miracle, have happened otherwise, during so long a series of ages, and b such various vicissitudes as they have undergone (Q).

Jews in China  
not of that  
number.

Alvarez's  
account of  
them.

SEVERAL authors, both *Jews* and *Christians*, have likewise affirmed, that the ten tribes were still preserved in *China* °. And one of the former tells us that there was a synagogue at *Peking*, the repairing of which had cost them 10,000 crowns, and that they had been settled in that province above 500 years, and still kept one of the volumes of the law. He adds, that in the city of *Ham-cheu*, capital of the province of *Che-kyang*, they had a great number of synagogues, and *Israelitish* families; for that is the name they call themselves by; because, says he, being descended from the ten tribes, they know nothing of that of *Jews*. *Alvarez*, who had lived in *China* a considerable time, affirms, that they had been settled there above 600 years, and had obtained several privileges, on account of their services and fidelity c to king *Hun*: that they were very numerous in some provinces, and have synagogues in most of their great cities, but more especially in that of *Ho-nan*, and in its metropolis *Kai-tong-fu*, where they have a fair synagogue, a repository for the sacred volume, adorned with rich curtains, and in which they preserve an ancient Bible in *Hebrew* characters, but refuse to let any one see it. These *Jews*, however, we are told, know nothing of *Hebrew*, and only mention the names of *David*, *Abraham*, and *Isaac*; are very ignorant and remiss in their law, even to the neglecting of circumcision, because the *Chinese* upbraid them with the cruelty of performing that ceremony on innocent babes ° (R).

That of other  
authors.

THAT author tells us moreover, that they have no notion of the Christian Messiah °: whence he infers, that they were settled there before the time of Christ; though this rather proves d their ignorance, than their boasted antiquity, if it was not rather a *Jewish* evasion, and such as they have since made use of to another of the same fraternity, who had the curiosity to go

° Vindication of the Septuag. p. 121, & seq. expeditione, apud Sinas suscepta. China, c. 30. p. 212.

p MENASSE, Esperanza de Israel, Trigant de Christiana  
° ALVAREZ's Hist. of China, part i.

r ALVAREZ's Hist.

(Q) The two *Jewish* travellers we have quoted under the 12th century, have indeed represented those eastern *Jews*, and their princes or chiefs, as descended from the tribe of *Judab*, rather than from the ten tribes; and it is not unlikely, that great numbers of them might not only seek shelter there among their brethren, after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, but in process of time gain some kind of superiority over the rest, on account of the sceptre and other prerogatives intailed on that tribe. But that will be no argument against what we have said of the other ten continuing still settled in these parts with them, and spreading themselves still farther eastward and northward; and what confirms it still farther, is, that many of the remotest of them still preserved the name of *Israelites*, and knew little or nothing of what happened to that of *Judab*, after their being carried away by *Shalmanezzer*.

(R) It is not easy to reconcile this with what he there adds, that though they marry with *Chinese* women, they do not give their daughters to the *Chinese*, for fear they should follow the religion of their husbands; that they live at a distance from slaughter-houses and butchers-shops, on account of their selling of swine's flesh; and that they have their own butchers to kill their beasts after the *Jewish* manner, and keep a strict eye over them. Another author tells us, that they neither use statues or pictures, but worship the Deity under the title of *Tien Chamlin*, the name by which the *Chinese* express

the *Creator of the Universe* (34). This is not the only thing they have taken from the *Chinese*; for they do, like them, pay some honours to their *Chinghims*, or great doctors of their law, and burn perfumes to their memory, but do not use images or statues of them, as being forbid by their religion; having only a kind of incense pots of different sizes, the biggest of which are for *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jaacob*, *Moses*, and *David*. A table likewise they have over the chair, on which is written the emperor's name, and is instead of his picture or arms.

They do moreover pay an honour to the great *Confucius*, as all the *Chinese* do; and, when questioned about it, readily owned, "That they honoured him in the same manner, as all the literati of *China* did, and that they assited with them at the solemn ceremonies, which are performed in the hall of their great men. They added, that they likewise paid honour to their ancestors, as the *Chinese* were used to do, in spring and autumn; but that they did not offer to them any swine's flesh, but that of other creatures; and that in their ordinary ceremonies, they contented themselves with presenting them with china vessels full of sweet-meats, and other such refreshments; and as to those that are accompanied with profound bowing, &c. they were not performed in the synagogue, but in the hall adjoining to it."



- a and visit that synagogue, *an.* 1704. This last, whose account we shall subjoin in the next paragraph, having asked one of their chiefs, whether they had ever heard of the promised Messiah, who, he told them, was called *Jesus Christ*? received this illusory answer: Our Scriptures mentioned only one holy man of that name, *viz.* *Jesus* the son of *Sirach*; and that they knew of no other but him<sup>s</sup>. The reader may find not only the like equivocating answer given to the same Jesuit, upon his asking them, how numerous they were in that empire, in a former volume<sup>†</sup>; but such a one as not only contradicts all the other accounts we have hitherto quoted from other authors; and was, beyond all question, designed to conceal from him their flourishing state in that country, whether out of suspicion, or hatred to his society, we will not determine.
- b THE farther account he gives of those of this city is, that they had a stately synagogue *Jews numerous* with divers apartments, in the heart of which was a high desk, on which they placed the *in Honan.* volume of the law on festival days. They pretended to him, that they had a very ancient copy of it; but that the river *Hoembo*, or, *Yellow River*, one of the largest in *China*, having overflowed the city of *Caifom*, capital of that province, they had, with much difficulty, saved it; but the leaves of it being wetted, and the letters effaced, they had caused twelve new copies to be written, which were preserved in twelve different tabernacles. There is no room to doubt, but that these were real *Jews*, since they not only distinguished the five books of *Moses* by their *Hebrew* titles, but mentioned likewise the antient judges and monarchs of their nation; and the testimony of that missionary is the less to be suspected, since, being ignorant of the *Hebrew* tongue, he relates those matters exactly as they were told to him. But those *Their pretend-* *Jews* do most likely give themselves a much greater antiquity than is consistent with truth; *ed antiquity.* seeing they pretend to have been settled there under the government of the fifth dynasty, or royal family called *Han*, computed to have reigned from 206 years before the Christian æra, to the 220th after it. One might indeed imagine from thence, that they retired thither some time before or after the destruction of *Jerusalem*; but the difficulty is, how to suppose that they could go so far for a retreat, or reach it so soon, considering the little acquaintance, if any, they had of that remote part of the world. But we shall refer all further disquisition about them here, having given a fuller account of it from the same author in the history of *China*, to which we refer the reader<sup>\*</sup>.
- d WE are still more at a loss what to think of a letter, written in *Hebrew*, which the *Jews* of *A Letter from* *Cochin* are said to have sent, some time ago, to the synagogue of *Amsterdam*<sup>†</sup>; for they there *those of Cochin* tell them, "That they retired into the *Indies*, when the *Romans* conquered the *Holy Land*." *to those of* "They pretend to have had seventy-two kings, who succeeded each other within the space of *Amsterdam.* 1000 years; but that afterwards, the jealousy of two brothers having kindled a war between them, whilst they were contesting for the crown, the neighbouring princes subdued them. Since which time they have continued in subjection to the *Indian* kings; but have, however, given such proofs of their fidelity to them, that *Samuel Castoel*, who died *an.* 1640, was governor of *Cochin*, and left his government to a man of the same name and religion." It were hard to decide whether this letter be true or false, as we have no proofs against the *Jewish* historians; yet that succession of seventy-two monarchs, founded on their retreat to *Cochin*, ever since the reduction of *Judea* by *Titus*, seems rather invented to raise the glory of the *Jewish* nation. And we are only referred to distant times, and to unknown histories, because their present state hath nothing worth our admiration<sup>‡</sup>.
- ALL that we can infer from the various accounts above-mentioned is, that the *Jews* are dis- *In the East* *Indies.* persed about in the *East Indies*; that they are settled at *Cochin*, at *Goa*, *Malabar*, *China*, and even in *America*; but that none of these are descended from the ten tribes, whom we have shewn to be seated near the *Euphrates* in *Persia*, and other neighbouring countries, where though very poor, yet they have still maintained themselves to this time. The others are only families whom commerce hath attracted into those parts since their dispersion, but which can only be distinguished by some uncertain, not to say false, tradition. Neither doth it appear that they have had any monarchs or supreme government in any country. They live in the *Every-where* *East*, and in *America*, as they do in *Europe*, under the dominion of other princes, whether *in subjection.* Christians or Gentiles; and those in *America*, especially in the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* dominions, are often made to pay dear for their avarice and dissimulation; being frequently detected and severely punished by the tribunal of the inquisition, as we have elsewhere hinted. In *Turkey*, *Fez*, *Barbary*, and *Egypt*, indeed, they are somewhat more than tolerated, and are

<sup>\*</sup> Recueil de lettres edifiantes & curieuses, vol. vii. let. i. ad fin.

<sup>†</sup> See before, vol. iii. p. 572, & seq.

<sup>‡</sup> BARRIOS's Hist. Universal. Jud.

<sup>†</sup> See before, vol. iii. p. 574.

<sup>‡</sup> BASNAG. ubi sup.

ch. 38. §. 13.



sometimes admitted into public functions (S), especially in *Egypt* \*. The *Ottoman* princes do even send them on some embassies; at which times they value themselves upon making a more than ordinary appearance for the credit of their nation; and their flourishing condition under that government makes them so numerous, that they are reckoned to amount to a million: so that, upon the whole, one may allow them to have about 1,300,000 dispersed all over the East, and upwards of three millions in all the world.

Jews among  
the Papists  
and Protest-  
ants;

their parti-  
ality to the  
former.

Great freedom  
in Poland.

Complaint  
against the  
Protestants.

High value for  
themselves.

Great expecta-  
tion of the  
Messiah.

THE *Jewish* writers, whom we lately quoted, divide the West into two sovereignties, or rather into the two principal religions that reign in it, viz. the Roman Catholic and the Protestant; and by an odd perverseness, or perhaps flattery, are not ashamed to extol the kind protection and favour they receive from the former, and to complain of the unkind treatment they meet with from the latter. *Roma pontificia*, says *Barrios*, *sempre los ha patrocinado desde, quea destruye Jerusalem su general Tito* \*: “Popish Rome,” says he, “hath always protected them, ever since its general *Titus* destroyed *Jerusalem* (T).” It is true, the generality of the popes have been their patrons and protectors; but it is no less certain, that some of them have likewise been their enemies and persecutors; and the same may be said of the other princes and states of *Italy*; though, upon the whole, they have received more good than harm from them, as we have shewn through this chapter. But how can this be said of *France*, *Portugal*, and *Spain*, from which they have been so long banished; and where those that have ventured to stay, were forced to do it at the expence of their religion; and where they live under the worst of dissimulations, and in continual danger of being discovered and burnt? They meet with kinder usage in the emperor’s dominions, and especially in *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and *Russia*; but though their learning and academies thrive there more than in other places, they are still kept poor, or, at least, they fall far short of the flourishing condition of those in *England* and *Holland*; and this might, one would think, make them give the preference to these, in point of encouragement and hospitality: yet so it is, that they complain against the Protestants without exception, as not treating them with so much humanity as they could wish: though, as we have already observed, they enjoy under them all the liberty, both of religion and commerce, and live in all the quietness and safety they can reasonably desire. But, it must be owned, they are excessively proud of their origin, and value themselves so much upon being *the witnesses to the whole world of the unity of God*, the favourite people of his providence, and the royal offspring of the friend of God, that they think it injurious to them, *to suspect them either of baseness or treachery*. On these accounts they highly resent, not only every slight they meet with, and every restraint that is laid on them, but are very uneasy and impatient under their present state of servitude and subjection to other nations; whom they look upon as their inferiors, in point of antiquity, religion, and national pre-eminence.

UNDER all these grating disadvantages they comfort themselves with the assurance, that the so long promised Messiah’s appearance cannot be far off, who will turn the tables in their favour; and, in the most triumphant manner, gather them up from all the four corners of the earth, and settle them in the land of their fathers, where they shall, with inexpressible joy and wonder, see their holy temple and city rebuilt more gloriously than ever, their religion embraced by all the sons of *Adam*, and the whole globe submitted to his sceptre. These are their hopes; which not only they, but a great number of Christians, firmly believe are founded on the clearest and most express prophecies of the Old and New Testament (V). But as to

\* MENASSE BEN ISRAEL, *Esperanza*, p. 103, & seq. BASNAG. ubi sup. §. 15.  
P. 3.

\* BARRIOS, ubi sup.

(S) A modern historian affirms, on what grounds is not easy to guess, that *Soliman* granted them a city with all its dependencies, at the petition of one *Miches*, who was in high favour with that *Soltan*’s son (35). But, as neither *Jewish* nor any other writer that we know of takes notice of any such grant, and we do not find that they ever had any peculiar town given to them, we may suppose it to be either a mistake of *Strada*, or else that it was but a short-lived grant.

(T) By this our readers may judge what an expert historian he was, that could imagine *Titus* to be the pope’s general; and yet he is far enough from being the worst of them, as appears by what we have observed of some of the rest at the beginning of this history (†).

(V) To sum up here all these express texts and prophecies, about their final conversion, would be only to repeat what we have, upon all proper occasions, taken care to inculcate through the first and second part of their history (\*); and what cannot fail of occurring to every attentive reader both of the Old and New Testament. Whoever considers part of the prophetic song of the good old *Simeon* concerning Christ, that he was to be *the Glory of his People Israel* (36), or what the Apostle says of the latter being again to be received into God’s favour and saving fold (37), and can persuade himself, that these promises have been as yet fulfilled; let those who think so, tell us, what blessings or glory the *Jewish* nation have gained by the coming

(35) *Strada de Bell. Belgic. lib. iv. p. 285.*

(†) *Anc. Hist. vol. i. & iv. pass.*

(\*) *Id. ibid.*

(36) *Luke ii. 32.*

(37) *Vid. int. al. Rom. xi. pass.*



- a to the time of their being fulfilled, both sides have been so often out in their calculations, that neither dare now pretend to guess; and the former have even forbid, under the severest anathema, the very enquiring after it. However, both they and we believe, and not without good grounds, that it will not be long before we see some forerunner of those glorious days, when that long-promised sun shall shine, which will at once enlighten both hemispheres. But as these are points that belong more to divines than to historians to discuss, we shall dive no farther into them here. Only thus much we beg leave to observe, from their wonderful preservation to this day, under all difficulties, hatred, persecutions, and other disadvantages we have seen them labour under, not only from their deliverance out of *Egypt*, and their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, but more especially from their last and universal dispersion by the *Romans* into all nations and countries, without either kings or princes, without temple, altar, priests, sacrifices, or any of those more sensible parts of religion, for which they had always such a natural fondness, and which kept them united in their own once happy land; or any comfortable prospect, much less assurance, of their seeing an end to their miserable slavery, to their doubts and fears that the time of the Messiah's coming have been long elapsed; that nothing but a visible and miraculous Providence could effect it, or could have supported their faith and hope, and kept them steady to their religion, during above seventeen centuries, under such difficulties and discouragements.
- b AND, on the other hand, when we reflect on their numbers, the great misery of some, and opulence of other countries, their earnest wishes for a deliverer, their readiness to close in with every impostor that assumed that title, and the many and strenuous efforts they have made under some of them, in order to recover their liberty, and raise themselves above the powers that oppress them, and how strangely they have been disappointed in them all, we cannot but conclude, that a Divine Providence must have displayed itself as much in their disappointment, as it hath in their preservation, till He shall accomplish all his gracious designs and promises both towards them and all the rest of mankind.
- c

*Their preservation miraculous.*

*Vain attempts to recover their liberty as wonderful.*

of Christ? "That miserable nation," to use the words of a learned divine (38), "hath been scattered over the face of the earth, is looked upon as the curse and scourging of it, and groans under a servitude and captivity of near two thousand years; and can it be supposed, that they shall continue so to the end of the world, and perish in their misery? If the case be so, we must look upon all those prophecies in their favour as mere illusions; and that they have been deceived by false oracles, and with vain hopes; for it would be a mere ridicule on the Sacred Writings to tell us, that those promises have been fulfilled in those few *Jews* who embraced Christianity; a great part of whom proved such half converts, that they only served to introduce the cursed sect and heresy of the *Ebionites* and *Nazarites*. We must then say, that those great and singular promises will meet with their completion before the end of the world.

"And it is in fact one of the Christian doctrines, founded on a great number of divine prophecies, that the *Jews* shall be recalled; and the miraculous manner wherein they have been hitherto preserved, seems to be an unanswerable proof it: for it is a fact without example, and at the same time, beyond conception, that God should preserve them these seventeen centuries, dispersed as they are among all nations, without being blended with them, or adopting their religion or manners as other dispersed nations have done: which seems plainly to hint, that God reserves them for some great end. Let us now suppose, that they shall be converted, if the end of the world happens so soon after it, that neither they nor their children shall enjoy those glorious advantages which have been promised to them, how can they be said to see the fulfilling of so many oracles in their favour. Shall such a vast many millions of souls be lost, during these 1700 years, whilst only few, in comparison, shall be saved at the end of the world? And will these be sufficient to answer the high idea which those glorious promises, made to that nation, plainly give us?

"And here let us further observe, that it was to them that the Messiah was promised; and that they were from the beginning nurtured up in the sure hope of his coming, and to look upon him as the greatest blessing that Heaven could pour upon them. He came accordingly; and the only accomplishment of those great promises which they found, was to see their temple and city burnt to the ground, its worship abolished, and themselves and children scattered over the world, and become the contempt and abhorrence of the rest of mankind: so that, instead of such signal and extraordinary blessings, as they hoped from him, he brings them nothing but a long series of shame and misery, and such as never befel any other nation. But at length, about the end of the world, some few millions of them will be converted, and share a better fate than the rest; and this will be all the advantage they shall reap from all those magnificent prophecies. If that be their case, there can be no reconciling the divine conduct with his promises. A time therefore must either come, in which that Messiah shall reign over the *Jewish* nation, and raise it above all others in the world, according to these express predictions, or else they must be looked upon as false and deceitful, and only given to be a snare unto them." Thus far our author; and we may add, that these are not difficulties raised by an enthusiastic millenarian, but the reflections of a sound and unbiassed divine; and such as, we doubt not, he had either heard from, or read in, the *Jewish* writings he had been conversant with, and any other man may have heard objected by all the learned *Jews* he meets with. It will be therefore in vain to hope to make any sincere converts among them, till all these difficulties be more effectually removed than they have hitherto been; or indeed by any other way than by allowing to them this second coming and reign of Christ. But for this, we shall refer our readers to what we have hinted in a former volume (\*), and to the additional remarks with which we shall conclude this.

(38) *Jurieu accomplissement des propheties*, tom. ii. p. 205, & seq. & 307. p. 613.

(\*) See *Anc. Hist.* vol. i.



*Aversion to  
Christianity.*

IF it should be objected, that we are here hardening them in their unbelief, and persuade <sup>a</sup> them to put off their conversion till that promised time, let it be considered how few real converts have been made either here or abroad, since the first ages of Christianity, by mere dint of argument; how averse their doctors are to enter into a fair conference with Christians of any denomination, and how fearful their unlearned ought to be to attempt it without them; how many of those pretended and zealous converts have at length apostatized (of which we have given so many pregnant instances through the course of this chapter, and could have added as many more as would fill a volume); what rancour they have shewn, what horrid blasphemies they have vented, against Christ and his Gospel, after their return into *Judaism*; and what dreadful curses they all vomit against those of their nation that embrace it upon any laudable and sincere motive; and we shall have little cause to fear, that what we have said <sup>b</sup> above will hinder their real, much less their general, conversion; and be apt to think, with our learned *Joseph Mede*, and many other eminent divines, that this last will not be effected without a miraculous intervention of the same Divine Providence, which so visibly displayed <sup>c</sup> itself at the first planting and propagation of the Gospel.

*Final conver-  
sion miraculous.*

*An enquiry  
into the true  
causes of the  
Jews unbelief.*

As we are therefore drawing near the conclusion, not only of the *Jewish* history, but like- <sup>c</sup> wise of the history of *Asia*, our readers, we hope, will not be displeased, if (setting aside all theological conjectures concerning the time and wondrous manner of their universal recall, whether into the ancient land of *Palestine*, or their admission into the spiritual church of Christ, which can claim no room in a work like this) we close up the history of their dispersion with a few curious and interesting remarks, which could not be well inserted in the body, without interrupting the thread and series of it: and herein we shall confine ourselves to such only, as will afford them the greatest light that can be possibly struck out of all the numerous volumes which have been written on that dark and so much controverted subject, and at the same time reconcile that unhappy wavering nation to the certainty and infallibility of the divine promises in favour of it, of which their mistaken notions about the time and manner of their completion, have made the major part of it, in a great measure, to despond, if not wholly to despair; inasmuch that, to our certain knowledge, and their own confession, very many of those in *England* and *Holland*, carried on by the rapid stream of infidelity now reigning, are sunk into a downright disbelief of the divine authority of their sacred books. <sup>d</sup>

*The rock on  
which they  
have chiefly  
split.*

It will not therefore appear foreign to our subject, to point out, both to our *Jewish* and Christian readers, the fatal rock on which the former have unhappily split, and lost all the benefit of those great and singular promises; and the wrong methods which have been taken by the latter to convince them of their error, and which have only served to confirm them the more in their fatal prejudices, against the person, character, and doctrine, of our Divine Messiah. These two points we think the more proper to be fairly stated, as they will at once fully account for the invincible obstinacy of the one, and for the ill-success of the other, in spite of the most soothing attractives, and the most affecting determents, made use of in every age and country, and by no nation more than by those who professed Christianity, to induce or oblige them to abjure a religion so diametrically opposite to their present interest <sup>e</sup> and peace, and so destructive to all their future prospects and ill-grounded hopes.

*Their long  
duration next  
to miraculous;*

EVERY thinking reader, who hath seriously reflected on this invincible attachment of a whole nation, dispersed as they are over every part of the world, without king or high-priest, without authority, or any bands of society to keep them united, and what is still worse, despised, oppressed, and persecuted, yet persevering in it during above sixteen whole centuries, under all the imaginable discouragements, uncertainties, and anxiety of mind, and destitute of even the least glimmering prospect of their so long, so earnestly wished-for restoration; whoever, we say, seriously reflects on this their surprising attachment to a religion, which hath hitherto not only deluded all their fond hopes of a Messiah to come, but hath exposed them to the contempt and scorn of the world, will be forced to own, that some stronger tie than <sup>f</sup> the bare prejudice of education must have supported them in it, or else there would have been long since a total end of *Jewish* faith and hopes, as well as of all distinction between them and other nations, and they had long enough ago been blended with, and embraced the religion of, such as had given them the greatest encouragement to settle amongst them, had not the Divine Providence, for wise ends, no less in favour of them than for the confirmation of the gospel, prevented their total apostacy, and preserved a more than sufficient number of them every-where, to be standing unexceptionable evidences of the divine authority of the sacred *Hebrew* code, either until the end of the world, or, as is most probable, till the pre-ordained time of the complete conversion of the Gentiles, when they shall be admitted into the same fold with them, and readily acknowledge the divine authority of the New: so that <sup>g</sup> what was once a great stumbling-block to them, viz. the incorporation of the heathen into the Christian church, shall, by a divine effect of Providence, be turned into a means of their admission into it, and both become glad partakers of the same universal benefit.

*and a standing  
evidence of the  
truth of the  
holy scriptures.*



- a THAT it was in favour of the former, that the same All-wise Goodness conducted the *Septuagint* version, or translation of the sacred *Hebrew* books, into *Greek*, the language then most known, and in use over the greatest part of the world, some centuries before the completion of the most signal prophecies contained in it, we have fully shewn in a former part of this work <sup>b</sup>, and they alone received the benefit of it; whilst the incredulous *Jews*, even those among them who had expressed the greatest zeal for it, as having in a great measure lost their *Hebrew* tongue, being now enraged at the successful use which the primitive preachers made of it, to convert the Gentile world, left no stone unturned, or foul means untried, to sink it into the lowest discredit <sup>c</sup>. It could not enter into their hearts, that the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, ever designed to be the God of the Gentiles also, in the same
- b sense as he was theirs, or would set them on a level with them. Whatever promises and prophecies they had that intimated any thing like it, such as, that *in Abraham's seed all nations should be blessed* <sup>d</sup>; that they should all in time be gathered under the banner, and be partakers of the light and blessing of the Messiah <sup>e</sup>, they understood in no higher sense than that of a temporal conquest, which should bring them all under his obedience, yet in such a manner, that those who readily submitted to his sceptre, should esteem themselves highly blessed in the service of so illustrious a conqueror, and of a nation so peculiarly chosen, and so highly favoured by the Almighty; whilst those who either unwillingly submitted to the yoke, or behaved contemptuously or cruelly against them, should become the unhappy objects of their resentment, and be doomed to undergo a more dreadful tyranny under them, than they themselves underwent in *Egypt*, *Babylon*, or since their last dispersion. This was their notion of the reign of the promised Messiah, at the time of Christ appearing among them; and how opposite to the nature of the Divine Being, *who is no respecter of persons*, &c. <sup>f</sup>; how contrary to all his express declarations by his prophets; and much more manifestly, and, if we may be allowed the expression, how feelingly opposite to their completion; which, to their dread and amazement, ended in their rejection, and the utter ruin of that small share of power and authority they had left. Nor was this fatal prejudice rooted out of their hearts by this severe shock, but hath been, with the most surprising obstinacy, propagated and cherished by the whole nation from that time to this; and to this day they still retain the same notions of a temporal conquering Messiah, who shall subdue the whole earth, rebuild the holy city and temple, restore the ancient *Mosaic* worship of it, and oblige all nations and people to forsake their various religions, and observe the *Mosaic* law under the severest penalties.
- c THIS, therefore, is their grand stumbling-block, the fatal rock of offence against which they have split: nor will they acknowledge a Messiah under any other character than that; how much less can they ever be prevailed on to submit to one who appeared, spoke, and acted, in a manner so very opposite to it, and to all their temporal views and expectations? As for the difficulties which are justly objected out of the sacred writings, against this their vain expectation, such as, that no other Messiah hath appeared since in such a splendid character, much less within the time limited by the most celebrated prophecies that foretold his coming; that is, *before the sceptre was departed from Judah* <sup>g</sup>; 2dly, before the completion of *Daniel's* weeks <sup>h</sup>; and, 3dly, during the standing of the second temple <sup>i</sup>; these, and many more of the like nature, irrefragable as they are, and unanswered as they know them to have been by any of their rabbinic tribe, they have found some artful subterfuges and chicanery to evade; but such as, whatever impression they may make on the mind and conscience of a prejudiced Jew, rather betray a tacit desire to disguise their inability to remove them, as we have elsewhere proved against them <sup>k</sup>. And thus, by their false glosses upon, or unfair cavilling about, the most pregnant prophecies against them, they have made shift these sixteen hundred years to keep up the drooping and bewildered hopes of their nation, that whatever delay their sins, and those of their forefathers, may have occasioned with relation to the coming of the Messiah, nothing but a total apostacy of their nation can possibly prevent his appearing in God's time, and in the glorious manner they have been taught to expect him; by which means, they have been enabled to linger out that long series of centuries in this dreadful state of uncertainty, ever eager to catch at the least shadow of hope, and to listen to every impostor, though at the hazard of the most mortifying disappointment, and addition to their anxieties.
- d
- e
- f

OF this we have given a sufficient number of instances during the course of this chapter, and many more we might have added to them, had our stated boundaries permitted it. One, however, we cannot pass by, which happened soon after the pretended discovery of *Prestor John's* kingdom, or empire of *Abissinia*, of which we shall speak in the next volume. No sooner had the news reached *Europe*, that some *Portuguese* had discovered that much

<sup>b</sup> See Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 40, & seq.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. 39, & seq.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xxi. 18.

<sup>e</sup> Isai.

xlii. 6. xlix. 6, & alib. plur.

<sup>f</sup> Acts x. 34, & seq.

<sup>g</sup> Genes. xlix. 10. See also Anc. Hist.

vol. i. p. 462 (G), iv. p. 256.

<sup>h</sup> See Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 153 (P).

<sup>i</sup> Haggai, ii. 9, & seq.

<sup>k</sup> See the last quoted places out of the Anc. Hist.



sought-for kingdom, and found it to be governed by a monarch lineally descended from king *a*  
*Solomon*, the son of *David*, that he and all his subjects were circumcised, that they observed  
the sabbath, and abstained from swine's-flesh, and other unclean meats, &c. than the *Jews*,  
both in *Europe* and *Asia*, were elevated beyond measure at the report; and took it for  
granted, that both the *Ethiopian* monarch and his subjects were *Jews*; and that the promised  
sceptre of *Judah* was preserved among them by a Divine Providence. The vastness of his  
dominions, the magnificence of his court, and other particulars relating to that newly disco-  
covered empire, were greatly exaggerated by the two *Portuguese Jews* who were sent upon  
that discovery. The learned rabbi *Abravanel*, of whom, and of whose works we have given  
an account a little higher <sup>1</sup>, and who was then at *Lisbon*, took occasion, from this agreeable  
piece of news, to extol the glory and numerousness of the *Jewish* nation, in one of his com- *b*  
ments on the minor prophets. About the same time a letter was trumped up, and printed by  
those of *Constantinople*, and dispersed amongst those of their nation, far and near, in the  
*Hebrew* tongue and character, and pretended to be written and sent to them by the *Abissinian*  
emperor. They had caused it to be translated into most *European* languages, and sent to the  
whole *Jewish* brotherhood, backed by sundry other artful circumstances, which failed not to  
raise, as usual, the spirits, if not the triumph, of the tribe of *Judah*, where-ever the news  
had reached.

Forge a letter  
from that em-  
peror to them.

It proved, however, but a short-lived one; and the *Portuguese* had no sooner penetrated  
into the *Abissinian* empire, than they found it to be all Christian, monarch as well as subjects;  
and that though they still retained the old *Jewish* rites above-mentioned, yet they had, by their *c*  
own confession, been converted to Christianity ever since the time of the apostles, as we shall  
more fully shew when we come to that part of their history. This new discovery not only  
put an end at once to all the joy and hopes of the *Jewish* nation, but filled them with con-  
fusion and despondency: and since this so much wished and sought-for sceptre of *Judah* could  
not be found in any of the three old known parts of the world, they quickly resolved to go  
in quest of it among the many vast and newly discovered tracts of *America*, and try their for-  
tune in that new world; where we shall rejoin them again at the close of this chapter, and see  
to what a height of triumph one of their great rabbies improved a few dark and vague hints,  
sent to him from thence in favour of the royal dignity and of the *Jewish* nation: so deter-  
minate are they, at all adventures, to compass sea and land in quest of it, or even to believe *d*  
it still flourishing in the clouds, or depths of the sea, rather than allow it to have been absorbed  
in, or, to speak more truly, dignified and exalted into a spiritual sceptre and kingdom, by  
that very person, whom their grand sanhedrim condemned to the most ignominious of deaths,  
for impiously arrogating that extraordinary dignity to himself; and which, had it really  
belonged to him, that supreme court ought, and would, without all doubt, have been the  
first and readiest to acknowledge and proclaim it to the whole world. For so they actually  
judge, one and all, of that whole transaction; and cannot, without the utmost abhorrence,  
imagine the bare possibility, that the grand council of their nation, unerring as they conceive  
it then was, to have been so fatally blinded in a matter of the greatest consequence, and to  
have ever been capable of passing so unjust a sentence on a person of his extraordinary merit *e*  
and character. This reflexion, just and affecting as it is, must of course give an additional  
weight to their averfeness to the gospel, which represents them as guilty of that atrocious  
fact, and as rejected by God, their city and temple demolished, the whole *Jewish* nation as  
groaning under the most grievous captivity on that account, and the Gentiles as admitted in  
their stead into Christ's spiritual kingdom. And what a series of the most mortifying truths  
are these, for that once so favoured a people to believe and acknowledge, before they can be  
admitted into it themselves; and what discouragement must it be, moreover, to so carnal a  
people, to forego and renounce all their expectations of a temporal and glorious one, as their  
learned men had, with so much care and pains, delineated to themselves, out of the figurative  
and pompous expressions of the prophets, and described as abounding with every thing that is *f*  
magnificent and attractive, for the sake of one that was founded in the deepest humility and self-  
denial, and promised no other earthly satisfaction, but what resulted from the practice of the sub-  
limest moral and social virtues, and the prospect of a future life. But more especially still, as that  
is in fact giving up the whole authority of their thalmud, which, we have shewn elsewhere,  
they hold to be greater than that of the *Hebrew* text <sup>m</sup>, and casting a heinous reflection on the  
writers and compilers of it, who have been most lavish in their descriptions of the earthly  
pomp and glory of it, as having represented it in a manner quite opposite to the meaning of  
the sacred volumes, and to what Christ now peremptorily affirmed it was to be. And can we  
wonder at their crying out with one voice, as in the parable, WE WILL NOT HAVE THIS MAN

Disbelief of a  
spiritual  
sceptre and  
kingdom.

Send in quest of  
it to America.

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 576 (C), & seq.

<sup>m</sup> See before, Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 596 (B).



a TO REIGN OVER US", or at those who have come after them, for continuing in the same obdurate averfeness to a religion, which exacts so much, and offers so little, of what they have been so long inured to esteem the greatest blessings of Heaven, peace and riches, power and plenty, a numerous posterity and dominion over all the world? All which, and many more, they expect will flow on all hands like a torrent upon them, under the reign of their Messiah.

BUT, on the other hand, seeing such hath been their fatal blindness, to prefer the uncertain and temporal blessings of the old law, before the more sure, valuable, and lasting ones of the glorious gospel (uncertain we call the former, because, as we have had occasion to observe *Bewildered about the temporal one.*

b prefixed by the sacred oracles, hath thrown them into the greatest uncertainty<sup>o</sup>), and that preference founded only on an erroneous notion, that the *Mosaic* dispensation, and consequently its promises, as well as precepts, were of an eternal and unalterable nature; what more effectual method could the Divine Providence take to undeceive them in both respects, after they had rejected the Messiah whom he had sent to them, in his predicted time and character, than, first, to cause his temple at *Jerusalem*, the centre of the *Mosaic* worship, to be utterly destroyed, and to lie in ruins ever since, to convince them of the abolition of the one, and then to scatter them over the world, and make them undergo the longest and hardest slavery, under those very *Gentiles*, over whom they expected to gain an absolute and irreverfible dominion, under their vainly expected Messiah, till it had brought them to the acknowledgement of the true one. Such an affecting argument against them, should, one might have reasonably expected, been more than sufficient to have drove them to it; and to have convinced them long ago, not only of the vanity but absurdity of their expectations; how derogatory to the Divine Justice and Goodness, and how opposite they were to the true interest and happiness of mankind; had not this partial, selfish prejudice, in favour of their own nation, too manifestly verified the charge of the prophet against them<sup>p</sup>; that their hearts *The just cause of their blindness,* were become gross and carnal; so that, having eyes they saw not, ears but heard not, and hearts incapable of understanding what was of the utmost consequence to them to know; namely, that the blessings designed by the Divine Wisdom to adorn and signalize the Messiah, were of a far nobler, sublimer, and more lasting nature, than all that worldly pomp and grandeur d they so stupidly dreamed of, and their carnal hearts were so strongly set upon. But since all these severe methods, the properest, if not the only ones, that could, without infringement *and oppressed state.* upon their rational liberty, rectify this strong and long contracted bias, have hitherto proved ineffectual; need we wonder at the Divine Providence continuing them still under the same discipline and regimen, till their end is fully answered, and their cure effectually wrought. But we shall here refer our readers, for a farther display of this dispensation of God towards them, to that most learned and elegant account which the apostle hath given us of it in his epistle to the *Romans*<sup>q</sup>; and where he will see the source of their incredulity, as well as their wonderful preservation to the happy time of their general conversion, to be standing monuments of the truth of the antient prophecies, fully accounted for, and the Divine Justice and Goodness, with respect to his designs and dealings towards them, clearly vindicated, and duly magnified.

NOR hath this fatal prejudice, in favour of a conquering Messiah, and his supposed glorious reign, stopped here. They have not only renounced, and still persist to do so, and vilify the promised and more signal redemption, which Christ offered to them from sin and punishment, as contrary to their expectation, that he was to deliver them from the *Roman* yoke, and subdue those tyrants and the rest of the world under their subjection (though this notion of a temporal deliverance appears to have been only taken up about this time, when they had smarted so long under the *Romans*; the more ancient of their doctors entertained a much more sublime notion of it (W), and dreamed of nothing less than such imaginary conquests and universal dominion); but, in order to justify their unjust and impious deeds, and suppress as much as possible the murmuring and discontent of those few amongst them who condemned it; not

<sup>n</sup> Luke xix. 14.  
Acts, ult. 26, & seq.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. int. al. p. 609, & seq.

<sup>q</sup> Chap. xi. pass. & alib. plur.

<sup>p</sup> Isai. vi. 9, & seq. & alib. Matth. xiii. 14.

(W) Of this we need no stronger evidence than the author of the *Targum* of *Jerusalem*, who, repeating the words of *Jaacob* at his blessing his twelve sons (1), "I wait for thy salvation, O Lord," paraphrases that pious ejaculation in these terms, "Lord, I wait for thy salvation; I look not for such a redemption as that wrought by *Gideon* the son of *Joash*, for that was a

"temporary one; nor for such a one as that of *Sampson*, for that is a transient one; but I look for the redemption to be wrought by the Messiah, the son of *David*, who is to come and gather together the children of *Israel*. This is the redemption my soul waits and longs for, and impatiently expects."

(1) *Targum Hierosol.* in Gen. xlix. 18.



*Impious forgeries against Christ's pedigree.*

*His miracles.*

*Doctrine and disciples.*

*Their just punishment.*

*Small numbers converted to Christianity.*

*Impudence of their opposers.*

*Jewish nation of their Messiah's reign.*

content to have persecuted him with the utmost malice and cruelty during his life, they have, <sup>a</sup> by the vilest arts, and blackest slanders, aspersed his Divine Character and Doctrine, and rendered his memory odious, and even execrable to their nation. Instead of his lineal descent from the tribe of *Judah*, and the lineage of *David*, so clearly set forth by two evangelists (in which genealogies, though there be found some seeming difference and inconsistency, yet a careful and candid reader will easily observe it to be of such a nature, as rather confirms than invalidates their mutual authority, as we have fully proved in a former part of this work \*), they have substituted a false and spurious pedigree, and made him the offspring of adultery and incest <sup>†</sup>. His miracles, the vast number and variety of which they could not deny, but do even confess in their thalmud, they have maliciously, and with the most absurd effrontery, ascribed to a diabolical power, and to the magic art, which they pretend he learned during his <sup>b</sup> abode in *Egypt*, though but a child both on his going and coming out of it. Those of his disciples met, indeed, with no better reception at first, from their grand council and chief-priest, though with a milder treatment afterwards. But when they perceived what a powerful impression they worked upon the people, especially as they came always backed with the irrefragable testimony of the sacred writings and prophecies, and accompanied with such manifest tokens of the sincerest conversion, and a devout simplicity of life, as astonished the very heathens who beheld it, both in the preachers and their proselytes; when, to their great surprize and perplexity, they found, that neither authority, threats, or punishments, were capable to silence the one, or discourage the other, but rather added fuel to their zeal, and daily increased the number of their converts; when, lastly, they heard themselves charged <sup>c</sup> by poor simple fishermen with having impiously rejected and condemned the true Messiah, and that with such undeniable evidence, as the wisest of them were not able to gainsay, and yet persisted in the same obstinate opposition of the establishment of his spiritual kingdom, and prepossession and preference of an imaginary temporal one (as if it had been indeed more glorious, or brought greater honour and advantage to the *Jewish* nation, to send them such a temporal conqueror, than a Divine Redeemer; one who could only subdue the world for them, than one who had dominion over this and the next, and could bestow on them the blessings of both in a most eminent degree); when, we say, all was reduced to this desperate state of infidelity and ingratitude, what less could be expected by them, than the speedy accomplishment of that dreadful prediction and sentence pronounced against them; that their city and <sup>d</sup> temple should be reduced to a heap of ruins, and themselves be dispersed and sold for slaves among all nations <sup>‡</sup>; as they were soon after accordingly, and have continued ever since, and must still do, till a due sense and acknowledgement of their fault (the express condition of their recall <sup>§</sup>), obtains the long wished-for revocation of it.

HERE then we may see the fatal cause of their long and severe captivity, as well as of the small number of them, on whom so dreadful an instance of the divine displeasure hath hitherto been sufficient to make a salutary impression, in comparison of those who have remained inflexibly attached to their old prejudices, under a most doleful and comfortless exile of near seventeen centuries, have still supported themselves through all persecutions and calamities, hatred and contempt of the rest of the world, by the bare and faint hopes of that imaginary <sup>e</sup> temporaal Messiah and kingdom; and rejected the offers of the true and promised one, against all the clearest evidence of scripture and reason.

THIS surprising and so long continued obstinacy, hath been variously accounted for and combated, by their Christian opposers of all ages, ever since their dispersion, according as their various tempers and systems of religion led them: some of them ascribing it, though with more zeal than knowlege or charity, to a total rejection, as guilty of the unpardonable sin and blasphemy against the Holy Ghost <sup>¶</sup>; which charge, if true, was the more absurdly urged against them, because it excluded all possibility of their being either converted or forgiven: whilst others have, with more reason and equity, ascribed it to an ill-grounded confidence on the peculiar covenant made by God with *Abraham*, which they deem eternal and <sup>f</sup> unalienable; that, *in his seed*, that is, as we interpret it, in the Messiah, *all the nations of the earth should be blessed* <sup>‡</sup>; that is, as they firmly believe, should be brought to the knowlege of the one true God, admitted into the covenant by the seal of circumcision, and, in consequence of it, to the privileges annexed to the observation of the *Mosaic* law, and live happily and peaceably under his obedience and auspicious reign. In consequence of which covenant, the land of *Canaan* was promised to him, and, in due time, given to his posterity, as their perpetual inheritance; a temple built, which was to be the centre of their religion; and *Jerusalem* that of their future monarchy, and the chief residence of that promised Messiah: all which

\* See Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 155. & seq. (Q).  
hac catastroph. vid. Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 282, & seq.  
31, & seq.

<sup>¶</sup> Gen. xxii. 18.

<sup>†</sup> See the book. intitled, Tholedoth Jesu.

<sup>‡</sup> Vid. Deut. xxx. 1, & seq.

<sup>§</sup> De  
<sup>¶</sup> Match. xii.



- a is exactly consistent with their notion of a temporal conqueror and deliverer ; but in their opinion absolutely incompatible with that of a spiritual deliverance or kingdom, and much more still of an obscure, rejected, and suffering redeemer. How mean his character and appearance, to that in which the prophets have delineated him to us ! how obscure and different his pretended reign, to the glorious description they have given us of it how dreadfully abject and miserable hath been our condition ever since his appearing among us, to that peace and happiness, opulence and dominion, we were promised to enjoy under his conduct and government ! In a word, how should such a Messiah be able to deliver his whole nation from captivity, who could not save himself from an ignominious death \* ? Whatever, therefore, be the occasion of our long and dreadful captivity, and to what length soever it may please the Divine Providence to prolong it, we are sure he cannot be the object to whom the Scripture directs us to look up for our deliverance, whom God permitted our grand sanhedrim to condemn and punish, as the vilest of impostors ; and we must either give up the authority of his sacred oracles, and the infallibility of his often repeated promises, or we must look for one of a quite opposite character, under whose banners all *Israel* shall be gathered ; who shall tread down and destroy all that oppose our re-entrance into our once happy land, cause our city and temple to be rebuilt, our sanctuary and worship restored, and the whole earth submitted to his sceptre.
- b

It will not doubtless be expected, that we should go so far out of our province, as to mention here, by how many learned pens and irrefragable arguments all this specious reasoning, and temporal kingdom of the Messiah, have been long enough ago exploded ; the promise of another and better covenant, the abolition of the *Mosaic* rites, and the appearance of the Messiah, under the two-fold character of his humiliation and sufferings, and of his exaltation and glory, have been demonstratively proved against them by the ablest divines, ancients and moderns, of every church and age of the Christian æra †, and from those very prophetic writings on which the *Jewish* doctors have fetched the materials on which they pretend to found their imaginary system of a temporal and conquering Messiah. Our chief design, as hath been already hinted, is to confine ourselves, as much as possible, to such historical facts, as may best inform our readers of the various ways, and artful methods, which the doctors of that nation have made use of since their dispersion, to prevent the utter defection of the whole nation, which seemed but too likely to ensue the destruction of their city and temple, the only place appointed by God for the exercise of his legal worship, and which must therefore cease of course, whilst those two lay in ruins, and in a little time wholly obliterate the very remembrance of it amongst those unhappy exiles, unless some quick and effectual expedient was not found out to prevent it.

No sooner therefore were they recovered from the universal consternation and confusion, which must be supposed to have followed them in every place and country of their captivity, than they set about it with all the zeal and industry they were masters of. Schools, and afterwards universities, were immediately resolved upon, as the likeliest means to revive their drooping spirits, and expectation of a happy deliverance from above ; and these were accordingly reared with surprising speed, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter ‡ ; and the most learned of their nation sought far and near to preside in them. These were quickly supplied with men of the greatest abilities, and crowded with scholars from all parts of their dispersion, and met with all possible encouragement, both with respect to their rich endowments, and the pompous titles and great honours which were shewn to their professors and proficientes ; so that from them issued out yearly great numbers of disciples, who went and dispensed fresh light and hopes among their desponding brethren. But though they came out sufficiently qualified for that work, being first furnished with such arguments, drawn from the sacred books, as could best contribute to confirm them in their old prejudices, they found themselves greatly deficient, whenever they were obliged to encounter with the Christian converts, especially such as came more completely armed and able to oppose an irrefragable evidence against them from the same divine repository, and such as they could safely challenge the most learned of their rabbies to confute. This proved for some time a mortifying obstacle, both to their professors and their disciples ; against which, the speediest and most effectual remedy they could find, was to forbid the latter holding any conferences with the Christians, and confining their mission and preaching to those only of their own religion, whilst they contented themselves with excommunicating all converts from it to Christianity, and treating them as vile and execrable apostates ; and accordingly loaded them with the most dreadful curses, both in their synagogues and at their private prayers.

*Their doctors revive their hopes.*

*Set up schools and universities,*

*and learned men to preside in them.*

*Excommunicate new converts.*

\* Vid. SEPHER, NIZACHON, in Matth. xxvii. & alib. pass.  
LA'BADIE, KIDDER, WILDE, et al. pl.

† De his, vid. int. al. GROT. LIMBORCH.

‡ See before, p. 486, & seq.



THIS expedient did indeed so far answer their end, as to deter vast multitudes, not only <sup>a</sup> from being converted, but even from listening to any thing which looked like an invitation or attempt towards it; but could not suppress the just and loud complaints of the Christian preachers against their foul proceedings, and frequently challenging them to public disputes, which, being as stiffly declined and avoided by their adversaries, obliged the most learned and zealous of them to expose and confute them in writing. The misfortune was, that they were forced, for want of a sufficient knowledge of the *Hebrew* and *Syriac* tongues, to make use of the *Septuagint* version, in their quotations out of the *Old Testament*, as they did likewise in their discourses, and other disputes. But this the *Jews* had, upon that very account, found means to cry down and condemn, as spurious and corrupt, and to substitute other versions to it, more suitable to their prejudices and designs <sup>b</sup>; and these illusive shifts gave still some palpable countenance to their obstinacy and jarring, whilst their disciples and agents were every-where employed in inventing or dispersing the most impious forgeries, and such defamatory libels against Christ and his doctrine, against his lineage and miracles, &c. as were most capable to inspire the people with the greatest contempt and abhorrence of him and his gospel <sup>b</sup>. We pass by a great number of other artifices and impostures made use of by them with the same view; such as corrupting and curtailing the *Hebrew* chronology, in order to make them believe, that his birth happened in the year of the world 3671; that is, 329 years sooner than it did, or than the time prefixed by the prophecies; the lying encomiums they have written on those of their doctors, who have inveighed most bitterly against the Christian religion; some of whom they have raised to the degree of saints, prophets, inspired penmen, <sup>c</sup> and workers of miracles, in order to give the greater sanction to their writings, and a kind of divine authority to those false glosses and interpretations, not to say wilful corruptions, of these prophecies and texts of scripture in dispute between us. These, and many more of the like nature, too absurd and bare-faced to deserve a farther mention, we gladly pass over, to come at some more interesting transactions relating to our subject, and which may be justly stiled the highest and most striking effort of *Jewish* policy and rabbinic craft.

Decline to dispute with Christians.  
Scandalous and impious forgeries against Christ.

THEY could not reasonably suppose, that so many learned and zealous antagonists as they had to deal with, would suffer themselves to be long baffled by their pretended cavils against the *Septuagint* version, in a matter of such high import, but that some of them would soon be induced to make themselves so far masters of the *Hebrew* text, as to be able to confute them, and beat them at their own weapons. It was therefore a thing of the utmost concern to them, to ward against a blow, which, once struck home, must prove fatal to their cause and nation, and expose their foul practices to all the world; for if those false traditions, glosses, and interpretations of the sacred writings, with which Christ, his apostles, and primitive fathers, had so justly and severely censured them; and more particularly of those which relate to that most important point of the divine œconomy, the character, sufferings, and doctrine of the Messiah, the time prefixed for his coming, and nature of his spiritual kingdom; if these, we say, came once to be fully and clearly proved against them, on the authority of the sacred *Hebrew* text, and by persons thoroughly versed in that language; what could they expect from such a conviction, but to become the scorn and abhorrence of mankind? <sup>d</sup>

Their new artifice to discredit the Hebrew text;

To avoid, therefore, as much as possible, the fatal consequences of a discovery (which they knew to be out of their power to prevent), had for some time engrossed the thoughts and study of their ablest doctors; the unanimous result of which was at length, that their Cabbala, or pretended oral tradition, was the most effectual rampart they could oppose against such a dreaded battery; and the most likely means, if not to repel the shafts of the enemy, yet at least to shield themselves and people from being either frightened or endangered by them. This Cabbala we have given an ample account of in a former part of this work <sup>e</sup>, and, as we hope, abundantly confuted, as a most artful and impious expedient, contrived and calculated by them to elude all the scripture proofs alleged against them out of the sacred books, by declaring, upon its own bare authority, the whole *Hebrew* text, and much more so every <sup>f</sup> version of it, a mere dead letter; the true genuine sense of which lies beyond all human reach, and is only to be found in the thalmudic books, whose compilers received it by an interrupted tradition from the mouth of the sanhedrin, or a great council of seventy, to whom alone *Moses* communicated it, in the same fulness and clearness he had received it from the mouth of God, during his forty days converse with him on the mount (X). To this were added, a multitude

by raising their Cabbala above it.

The pretended origin of its authority;

<sup>a</sup> See Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 37, & (O).  
Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 597.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. int. al. SEPHER, Tholedoth Jesu.

<sup>c</sup> See

(X) They add, that *Moses*, upon his coming down from the mount, sent for his brother *Aaron*, and seated him on his right-hand, to whom he recapitulated all that God had said and enjoined to him. After him were introduced *Eleazer* and *Itamar*, his sons, who being likewise seated on each side of them, he again repeated the

the



- a a multitude of other oral precepts, injunctions, expositions, not to be committed to writing, but transmitted in the same traditional way, lest, as they pretend, they should in time come to the knowledge of, and be prophaned by, the *Gentiles*: so that, according to them, this oral law had been preserved by a Divine Providence, pure and uncorrupted, during that long series of ages, till their frequent, and especially their last, dispersion; and the danger there was of any part or it being lost, made it necessary to have the whole collected into one body; which was accordingly done, as we have shewn before, by their famed *R. Jebuda Hakodesh*, or the Saint, and afterwards published under the name of *Mishnah* and *Talmud*<sup>d</sup>, consisting of two parts, viz. *Mishnah* and *Gemarah*; by his learned disciple *R. Jochanan*, under that of the *Jerusalem Talmud*, enriched with a large and learned comment, in which he was assisted by
- b a great number of the most eminent rabbies of that age<sup>e</sup>.

THIS was an effectual way to stop, if not the censures and complaints of the Christians against them, at least the ears of the *Jews* against all arguments and remonstrances from that quarter; and thus far succeeded accordingly; for after having once impiously stripped the sacred *Hebrew* text of its plain obvious sense and authority, and transferred it to this pretended collection of divine pandects, or rather to this collection of human, if not hellish forgeries, what could be urged or objected to them from the one, but could not be as readily exploded by the other? And now it was that the *Jews* began to triumph against all gainsayers, and to be more than ever confirmed in their old prejudices. What encomiums they bestowed, both on the work and its compiler, we have already shewn<sup>f</sup>; and though the latter really was a man of the most consummate pride and arrogance, have not scrupled to dub him a saint, an inspired writer, and a miracle-monger. The *Karaites*, a more honest and rational sect among them, of whom we have spoke in a former part<sup>g</sup>, were the only ones who opposed them, and condemned the imposture, decried all those pretended traditions as vile forgeries, and closely adhered, and do so to this day, to the plain and obvious sense of the sacred text; and hence arose the distinction of *Karaites* and *Talmudists*, between whom hath reigned the most irreconcilable hatred ever since.

FROM that fatal period, we may date the invincible obstinacy and blindness of the *Jewish* nation; their implacable hatred of Christ and his gospel; of their irreconcilable prejudice and aversion to the notion of a suffering Messiah, and a spiritual deliverance and reign; and their unshaken hopes and expectation of a temporal Messiah, opulent and glorious beyond all conception, and which is to extend itself over all the world, and to endure to the end of it. All these, suited as they are to their gross and carnal genius, and authorised to them under the unquestionable sanction of their *Talmud*, have been ever since so deeply rooted in their hearts and minds, that they have rendered them more than ever deaf and inflexible to all conviction, in all the various scenes of life, through which we have traced them in the course of this chapter. But we shall have less cause to be surprised at this obstinate constancy, when we consider, that besides the flattering prospect above-mentioned, which that book gives of the Messiah's reign, it furnishes them with such objections against Christianity, as those who own the pretended divinity of that book cannot but think irrefragable; and, on the other hand, denounces such dreadful curses against those who forsake the *Jewish* faith for it, as can hardly fail of deterring them from it. The greatest wonder therefore is, that any motive should ever have prevailed upon them to ascribe to that wretched performance an authority so far superior to that of the *Hebrew* text, for which all that went before them had preserved so profound and inviolable a regard. This wonder will still increase, if we reflect on the many gross absurdities, and monstrous fables, these compilers, and their commentators, have filled that spurious volume with, in order to display the pretended glories of that future reign, and the avidity with which

<sup>d</sup> See before, p. 493, & seq.  
493, & notes.

<sup>e</sup> Id. *ibid.* 498, & seq.

<sup>f</sup> See before, p. 483, & seq. sub not.

<sup>g</sup> *Anc. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 174, (F) (G) & (H) 176, & seq. & notes.

the whole *verbatim* to them. Next to these were admitted the seventy elders, who being also seated on each side of him, heard the same things recapitulated, and expounded by him in the same manner as he had done to his brother, and to his two sons. Last of all were admitted those of the people, who were willing to come and be instructed; and had the same truths repeated unto them: so that by this time *Aaron* had the same truths recapitulated to him four times; his sons, three times; the seventy, twice; and the people, once (2).

They have since introduced a more modern sort of

*Cabbala*, which teaches how, by the power and affinity of numerical letters, to discover deep secrets and mysteries in nature and religion; but is of too trifling and uncertain a nature to deserve any further notice. Only we cannot forbear observing here, that the adepts in it do greatly outdo lord *Peter* in their dextrous management of it; as whenever they cannot strike out the sense they search after, either *totidem verbis*, or *litteris* (3), they have found out a way of transposing and jumbling the latter together, so as to make them spell the word or name they want (4).

(2) *Vid. Maimon. Prefat. in Talmud. Vid. & Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 176, & seq. & alib. pass.*

(4) *Vid. Buxtorf, Basnag. & al. mult.*

(3) *Tals of*



but such as  
may in time  
open their eyes  
to the truth.

they are swallowed down by that infatuated people. It would take up a whole volume to a sketch out the portendous wars which the Messiah is to wage against his two grand enemies *Gog* and *Magog*; and the manifold and unheard-of prodigies he is to work, in order to subdue and destroy them and their numberless hosts; the many and vast mountains to be levelled; vallies filled up; rivers, lakes, and even seas, to be dried up; and every obstacle to be removed, that might obstruct or retard the *Jews* from repairing under his standards. But what are even these, to the astonishing care which the Almighty took, from the earliest days of the creation, to provide materials for a banquet suitable to his dignity, to crown his conquests, and regale his victorious *Israelites* (Y). But we shall readily dispense ourselves from the irksome and unprofitable task of exposing the monstrous absurdities of that book, and its infatuated commentators, which are so well known to every learned person, that is in the least conver- b sistant in the *Jewish* writings, and which some of their ablest men have endeavoured to allegorize into a more reasonable sense; whilst others, conscious of the impossibility of doing it, have been inspired with a singular contempt of both. And may not this, in God's own time, prove an effectual means of opening the eyes of the whole nation, and make them at length sensible of the dreadful effects of departing from the plain and obvious sense of the Divine oracles, to follow the dictates of their own carnal prejudices; of attempting to measure the unfathomable depths of God's councils, by their own short and carnal line; and imagin- ing, that all the glorious dispensations of the old and new covenant aimed at nothing more than the exalting of their nation above all others, and setting up a people to reign paramount over the whole world; who, of all others, if we may rely on the authority of an unerring Judge c of mankind <sup>h</sup>, shewed themselves the most unworthy of it, and made the most ungrateful use of all his blessings and special promises?

Averseness to  
a spiritual  
Messiah and  
kingdom.

A TRUE sense and acknowledgement of this, seems indeed to be all that is intimated in the scriptures to be wanting in them to hasten their conversion and recall: but how can they be ever induced to it, as long as that pernicious prejudice, in favour of their talmudic notion of a temporal and conquering Messiah, remains rooted and cherished in their minds? How shall they be convinced, that the promised Messiah really appeared in the true character, exact time, and true office, in which he had been delineated by the ancient oracles (and yet all other methods of converting them must appear ridiculous and ineffectual, till that capital point is fully proved to them), whilst their own melancholy state, and a wretched exile and servitude d of near two thousand years, so sadly convinces them of the contrary; and that the greatest part of those extraordinary promises, so clearly revealed by the prophetic, and so gloriously displayed in almost every page of the talmudic writings, and were to make up the most distinguishing parts of the Messiah's reign, not only unfulfilled by every circumstance of their long captivity, but contradicted and confuted; the *Jewish* nation become the scorn and contempt, instead of the lords and rulers of the whole world; their city, instead of becoming the joy and glory of the whole earth, by the magnificence of the Messiah's court, and the vast enlargement of its walls and territories, reduced to a miserable slavery and merciless tribute, under a long series of insulting tyrants, and her once blest inhabitants scattered and vagabonds e over the whole surface of it; the temple and sanctuary, instead of being become the centre of God's worship, and the joyful concourse of all nations, laid level with the dust, and the very ground on which it stood prophaned by the false respect paid to it by their worst enemies the Christians and *Turks*, instead of that additional extent and unparalleled improvements which were promised to it under the eye and direction of the Messiah, and are so minutely described by the prophet *Ezekiel*, and elegantly delineated by the Talmud?

THIS last particular, relating to the temple of *Jerusalem*, and the additional extent, and other extraordinary embellishments it was to receive in that reign, we purposely mention, not only as it is one of the strongest intrenchments the *Jews* fly to when hardly pressed upon, but as it will obviate an objection which may start into our reader's mind; viz. if this pretended authority of the Talmud be the main foundation of the *Jewish* obstinacy, and rejection of a

<sup>h</sup> See Matth. xi. 21, & seq.

(Y) They tell us, that God, in the beginning, created seven things before he made the world; these were, *Paradise*, or the *Garden of Eden*, the *Lavv*, the *Righteous*, *Israel*, the *Throne of Glory*, *Jerusalem*, and the *Messiah*. And that among other living creatures that were created on the fifth day, two of them were of an immense size, one of each sex: that to prevent their ingendring, he killed the one and salted it, and let the other live upon the earth, and gave it a thousand moun-

tains for its pasturage; that this also will be slaughtered in the reign of the Messiah, and both the one and the other be dressed and served up at that banquet, to him, and all that have fought under his banner.

They likewise believe, there shall then be a general resurrection of all the righteous seed of *Abraham*, who shall also be admitted to partake of it; and this hope is so firmly rooted in their minds, that they frequently swear by their title to a share of it (4).

(4) Vid. *Munf.* in *Gen.* i. & in *Ezekiel* 38, & seq. 2 *Ezdr.* vi. 46, & seq. *Caimet*, sub voc. *Ezdr.* & al. pl.

spiritual



a spiritual reign and deliverance, how came the Karaites, lately mentioned, who express so great an abhorrence to that book, to persist in the same infidelity with them, and not rather yield to the testimony of the *Hebrew* text, and acknowledge the Christian Messiah, on the irrefragable evidence which he gave of his being really such, and of his having amply fulfilled all that the law and the prophets had written concerning him? *Karaites not yet converted.*

But here it must be observed, that though those Karaites did wholly reject all the pretended traditions and legends of the Talmudists, in other respects they were as rank *Jews*, that is, as carnal, and as strongly prepossessed with the prejudice of a temporal Messiah, and of the peculiar blessings which their nation was to enjoy under his reign, as the most zealous Talmudists; and though they did not understand the prophecies concerning it in that gross and carnal sense that these did, yet a temporal and glorious Messiah they did and do still expect, who was to bring the whole world under his obedience, and fill it with the knowledge of God, of his laws, and his worship; and, upon their due observance of these, was to dispense to them a fulness of all spiritual and temporal blessings, whilst the stubborn and recusants were to be punished with a total exclusion from both. *Carnal fondness for a temporal reign;*

This is the sense in which they understood that future reign, and the glory with which it was to be accompanied; but this did not hinder their adhering to the old prejudice, that their nation would paramount above all others, reinhabit the portion of their forefathers, be nearest of all to the city of *Jerusalem*, enlarge their borders in proportion to their increase, and be abundantly supplied with every thing that was necessary for life, delight, or grandeur, by the voluntary tribute of all the nations round about them: but above all, they firmly believed, and still do with the Talmudists, that the temple and sanctuary shall be rebuilt and enlarged, in proportion to the vast increase of its votaries; the sacrifices and festivals, and other *Mosaic* rites, be revived, and resorted to by all the people of the earth, and perpetuated to the end of time. In the full hope and expectation of all changes and blessings, they think themselves sufficiently supported by the sacred text; particularly by the writings of the prophets, especially *Ezekiel*<sup>1</sup>, without having recourse to the fabulous legends of the Talmud, much less to that pretended superior authority which is impiously ascribed to it by its adherers, and was calculated merely to invalidate that of the *Hebrew* text, and the proofs drawn from it against them and their temporal reign; from which *Mohammed* hath, in all probability, fetched the greatest part of the materials of his carnal paradise. Our readers, therefore, we hope, will not be displeased, if we here subjoin a short sketch of the said temple and its dimensions, its œconomy, worship, and offerings of the tribes, their situation about, and with respect to, *Jerusalem*, &c. according to the prophetic delineation of it, divested of all its talmudic embellishments and rabbinic reveries; and in the order in which not only the Karaite *Jews*, but many very learned, and, in other respects, orthodox Christians, believe they will be disposed by the Messiah, at his first coming, according to the former; but at his second, according to the latter, or, as these term it, his millenarian reign upon earth. And we think, moreover, this system or opinion, so much the more worthy a place in this close of the *History of the Jews Dispersion*, inasmuch as the pains which some zealous Christians have taken to explode it, and every argument they have urged against it out of the New Testament, hath proved an insurmountable obstacle to their conversion, and been treated by them as a manifest contradiction to some of the plainest prophecies of the Old. It was doubtless this consideration, which induced so many fathers of the church, who were neither sectaries nor heretics, but men of piety, judgment, and learning, to embrace and defend that notion, long enough before the compiling of the Talmud; and which, tho' then very rife among the *Jews*, as may be seen by some of their apocryphal books<sup>k</sup>, they were far enough from embracing out of complaisance to them, much less from founding it upon their authority, as has been unjustly suggested, but chiefly believed it on that of the prophetic ones of the Old and New Testament, we mean *Ezekiel* and the *Apocalypse*<sup>l</sup>, and other collateral proofs from the canonical books of both. The misfortune was, that *Papias*, bishop of *Hierapolis*, and formerly a disciple of St. *John*, who is supposed the first who wrote in defence of that second reign, adopted into it, probably in order to allure the *Jews* to acknowledge Christ to be the true Messiah, sundry of their selfish prejudices and carnal notions; which being found mostly antisciptural, or at best, founded only on the allegorical expressions concerning it, brought the very notion of it into contempt among the Christians, and by the fatal spirit of opposition, drove the opposers of it into the other extreme; and, in spite of all his arguments in favour of it, and pretensions that he had received it from the apostles, to deride, and treat it as chimerical, and a forgery of the arch heretic *Cerintus*<sup>m</sup>; tho', in fact, had they examined it with that candour and impartiality which the subject deserved, they would have found, that it wanted nothing but to be stripped of all *Founded on the scriptural prophecies;*

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. & Isai. ubi sup.<sup>k</sup> Vid. int. al. 2 Esdras, iv. 35, & seq. vi. 18, & seq. Tobit, xiii. 9, & seq.<sup>l</sup> Ezek. xxxix, & seq. Isai. ii. pass. Apocal. xx. 2, & seq. & alib. pass.<sup>m</sup> Vid. EUSEB. Ecc. eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 28. & 30. Vid. & DUPIN dissert. in Apocal. & al. pl.



those traditionary *Jewish* conceits to make it appear more truly scriptural, and better founded than that of his opponents and censurers, as will more fully appear by the following delineation of the most remarkable transactions relating to and foretold of it.

and displayed  
by Ezekiel.

and the com-  
plete return of  
the Israelites.

Division of  
the land.

Portion of the  
priests, &c.

FIRST then, if we seriously examine that notable prophecy, wherein Christ's reign is so elegantly displayed, and the complete return of *Judah* and *Israel* (Z) into their own land, and under his conduct, so distinctly specified, we shall be forced to own, that it cannot, without the greatest violence to its plain and obvious meaning, be restrained to those small numbers which came back from the *Babylonish* captivity; and was by the *Jews* themselves compared, with respect to the rest, to the bran of the nation, and the flour to those that staid behind<sup>a</sup>: much less still can those few stragglers from among the ten other tribes, which are supposed to have come up with them<sup>o</sup>, be supposed, in any sense, to include all that the prophet meant by the return of the complete tribes of the *Israelites*; or the fluctuating state the *Jewish* church and common-wealth hath been in ever since that time, answer the glorious and permanent one, which God expressly promises them in that chapter<sup>p</sup>. We must therefore either look for the completion of that promise to some future period, or elude the force of it by such allegorical explication, as will hardly be admitted by any candid Christian, and must be despised by a *Jew*.

THE same may be said with respect to the other particulars, which were to dignify the Messiah's reign; such as dividing the land between the twelve tribes, and assigning to them particular lots and stations, with respect to their city and temple: according to which disposition, that of the priests was to be on the north, and that of the Levites on the south; and between these two was the temple to be built, and, at a due distance round about it, the city of *Jerusalem*. This portion, which the prophet styles *תרומה* *terumah*, and our version rightly translates *oblation*<sup>q</sup>, was to compose a square of 20,000 measures; which, if we reckon by the cubit only, will amount to above eight miles on every side (A); of which portion, that of the priests on the north is to be 25,000 long, and 10,000 broad; or above eight miles in length, and about three and a quarter in breadth, and will be equal to that of all the rest of the tribe of *Levi* on the south, in which stood mount *Zion*, the place on which the temple is to be built. The other intermediate space between those two, will probably be the city of *Jerusalem*, and its suburbs, each according to their respective dimensions, mentioned in the prophecy, as well as the portion of land by which its inhabitants, who are to consist of a proportionable number out of the Christian tribes, are to be maintained<sup>r</sup>.

THE city, which is likewise to be of a square form, is to have twelve gates, three on every side, according to the number of tribes that inhabit it, and which are to be called by their names. The streets, which will probably run in strait lines, like those of *Babylon*, from gate to gate, will divide the city into sixteen squares, each having streets running to all the gates, will render it exceedingly airy, healthy, and commodious, not only to its inhabitants, as well as to that vast concourse of the other *Israelites* from all parts of *Palestine*, to the solemn festivals of the temple, but much more still for that multiplicity of nations that were to resort thither, at proper seasons, from all parts of the world, to the worship of the true God<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Jerem. xxv. 3, & alib. pass.

<sup>o</sup> De his, vid. Zechar. viii. 20, & seq. xiv. ib. & al.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. & seq.

<sup>q</sup> Ezek. xlv. 2, & seq.

<sup>p</sup> Ezek. xxvii. 24, & seq. Vid. & Isa. xl.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. ch. xlviii. 15, & seq.

(Z) The words of the prophet are these (5), after having prefaced that wonderful transaction under the most beautiful allusion of a resurrection of dry bones, reclothed with skin and flesh (6), "Thus saith the Lord God; behold, I will take the children of *Israel* from among the heathen, whither they are gone; and I will gather them on every side, or from every place, and bring them into their own land. And I will make them one nation in the land, upon the mountains of *Israel*, and one king shall reign over them all; and they shall be no longer two nations, nor be divided into two kingdoms any more. Neither shall they defile themselves any more with their idols, &c.—And *David* my servant shall be their king, and they all shall have one shepherd (7); and they shall dwell in the land that I gave unto *Jaacob*—wherein your fathers have dwelt—they and their children for ever; and my servant *David* shall be their prince for ever.

"Moreover, I will make an everlasting covenant of peace with them, and I will settle and multiply them, and set up my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore.—And the heathen shall know, that I the Lord do sanctify *Israel*, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore (8)."

(A) The text doth not specify which, whether feet, cubits, or reeds: our *English* version supposes it by the last; which, if right, will increase the largeness of the square in proportion: but we think a cubit is more probably meant, seeing, that even according to the *Jewish* measure, which is twenty inches and three-quarters, the whole will extend to above eight miles on every side, which may be deemed a sufficient allotment; whereas reeds, or even yards, would stretch it to an immoderate largeness (9).

(5) Ch. xxxvii. pass. ver. 26, ad fin.

(6) Ibid. ver. 1. et seq.

(9) De hoc cubit. vid. Ezek. xl. 5. xliii. 13, et alib.

(7) Ibid. ver. 21, et seq.

(8) Ibid.

THUS



- a Thus far we have seen how the first division of the land was to be made, and what portion the priests and *Levites* were to have in it in this reign of the Messiah. We should be led too far, were we to go through the same examen of the portions of the other tribes, of which that of *Judah*, (which was to lay north of that of the priests, as that of *Benjamin* was to be on the south of that of the *Levites*) was to be by far the largest, excepting that of the Messiah, which was to be by much the most considerable of all; as extending itself westward the whole length of the kingdom, quite to the great, or *Mediterranean* sea; and on the east quite to the river *Jordan*. The remainder of the land was next to be divided between the other tribes, in proportion to their numerousness; and with this proviso, that there was likewise a sufficient quantity to be set apart for the encouragement and benefit of their proselytes of either class.
- b THIS distribution of the land, according to the divine appointment, by which every man or master of a family was to know the extent of his possessions, was to be settled by the principal article of all, the building of the temple, according to the plan and dimensions given to the prophet by God<sup>u</sup>; but not now upon mount *Moriab*, where those of *Solomon* and *Zorobabel* had stood, but upon mount *Zion*, the place he had now made choice of for the habitation of his glory, and to which all nations were to repair, to pay their vows and adoration to him<sup>w</sup>, in common with the twelve tribes; whence it is elegantly stiled by the Psalmist, the joy and wonder of the whole earth<sup>x</sup>; and is by him, and several other prophets, marked out for the center of his future religion and worship, for all nations and people to repair to. It was moreover the highest hill in *Jerusalem*, and consequently the fittest to display the magnificence of that structure, which was to be erected upon it, to the greatest advantage. We shall, however, dispense with troubling our readers with the farther particulars of it, as delineated by the prophet, which they may see at large in the authors quoted in the margin<sup>y</sup>, it being sufficient to our present purpose, that no such edifice hath been erected on that mount; and we may add, nor any part of the prophecy above-mentioned, either with respect to the complete return of the twelve tribes, the division of the land among them, &c. has been ever literally fulfilled, from the time of their prediction to this day: much less was it after the return of the *Jews* from *Babylon*, to which this whole prophecy is pretended to relate; for during that period, the tribe of *Judah*, to whom the poor remains of the regal dignity belonged, was so far from having the largest portion allotted to it, that it scarcely enjoyed the shadow of it, and that too under a hard servitude to the *Babylonians*; and, to sum up all, was even stripped of that shadow by the warlike *Maccabees*, and never recovered it from that time; and as to what degree of obscurity and poverty the house and descendants of *David*, from whom the Messiah was to spring, were reduced, by jealousy and hatred of the *Idumean* tyrants, especially *Herod the Great*, the abject condition into which the whole kindred of that Divine Redeemer was plunged at the time of his birth, sufficiently shews. So that this large promised portion of the tribe of *Judah*, and of that principal branch of it, the house of *David*, plainly appears to have been wholly possessed, and swallowed up, during this whole period, (that is, from their return from *Babylon* to the birth of Christ) one while by the priestly tribe, and during the remainder of it, by utter strangers.
- c BUT what doth farther demonstrate, beyond all contradiction, that this restoration of the *Israelitish* church and commonwealth, so amply described by the prophet, cannot in any sense be applied to their return from *Babylon*, is, that he ushers it in with a complete victory gained over some inveterate and powerful tyrant, whom he names *Gog*<sup>z</sup>, in the land of *Magog*, and stiles chief prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*; which victory was to pave a way, not to their entrance and re-possession of their land, but to that peace and happiness which they were to enjoy in consequence of it, and to those blessed changes, and glorious improvements which were to establish their religion and commonwealth on a most lasting basis<sup>a</sup> under the Messiah. We shall not here enter into a tedious enquiry about the prince and country, intimated by the names of *Gog* and *Magog*, *Tubal* and *Meshech* (B); it being sufficient for our present purpose, to observe

<sup>u</sup> De his, vid. Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 664, & seq. (M). See also Ezek. xlvii. 22, & seq. <sup>w</sup> Ezek. xliii. 1—10. xlv. 1—5. <sup>x</sup> Pf. l. 2. lxxv. i. xlviii. 2. <sup>y</sup> Pf. lxxvi. 2. & seq. lxxviii. 69, & seq. lxxxvii. pass. & alib. plur. See also Micah iv. 7. Joel iii. 17. 21. Zech. viii. 3. Isai. iv. 5, & al. pl. <sup>z</sup> NEWTON Chronol. WHISTON, preface to his Vers. of Joseph. & al. <sup>a</sup> Ezek. xxxviii. 2, & seq. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. ch. xxxix, et seq. pass.

(B) It will not, however, be foreign to our subject, to observe, that in the language of the Old Testament, those nations, commonly called the northern *Celts* and *Scythians*, are understood by the descendants of *Gomer*, the eldest son of *Japhet*, and of *Magog* his second son (10), as we have plainly shewn in a former part of this

work (11), whilst *Madai*, *Javan*, *Tubal*, *Meshech*, &c. formed other branches of that numerous family, which first inhabited those northern regions of *Tartary*, *Scythia*, and extended themselves quite through *Muscovy*, *Sarmatia*, &c. according to their seniority, and left everywhere some footsteps of their ancient names and la-

(10) *Genes.* x. 2.

(11) See *Anc. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 211, et seq. et alib. pass.



observe, that the *Jews*, at their return from *Babylon*, were neither under a necessity, nor indeed in a condition, to wage a war against so powerful an enemy, but were dismissed from their captivity, and sent back into their own country by an imperial decree <sup>b</sup>, which absolutely forbade and excluded all opposition to their entrance into it, and re-possessed it accordingly without any obstruction, but what was afterwards occasioned by their refusal to admit the *Samaritans* to join with them in the service of God, and rebuilding of the temple <sup>c</sup>. But this squabble can have no relation to their war with *Gog*, hinted at by the prophet; the one being a fervile obscure people, under the same subjection with the *Jews*, and the other a powerful prince, and inveterate enemy, to whom they gave a total and final overthrow, whilst the former never ceased plaguing and annoying them with the bitterest hostilities, all the time they continued in their neighbourhood.

MANY, therefore, have understood this victory and restoration of that glorious state, which the *Jews* enjoyed under the *Maccabees*, and the many signal victories which they gained over *Antiochus*, and other enemies of their nation <sup>d</sup>, as well as that over their great persecutor *Ptolemy Philopater*; and that they were the enemies intimated by the prophet, under the name of *Gog* <sup>e</sup>. But besides that, neither those *Syrian* and *Egyptian* tyrants rightly square with the scriptural meaning of the names, and other expressions in the prophecy, as we have shewn in the last note, there is one irrefragable objection against that supposition, viz. that the tribe of *Judah*, according to the prophecy, was to be paramount above all the rest, and to have by far the largest allotment; whereas, as we lately observed, in the period above supposed, they were stripped of both by the *Maccabite* princes, and languished in an obscure and servile subjection to those politic chiefs. Upon all these accounts, the generality of Christian commentators, both ancient and modern, have chosen to take the words *Gog* and *Magog*, in this place, and the *Apocalypse* <sup>f</sup>, in an allegorical sense, and to signify the enemies of the *Jewish* and Christian church; whilst the whole *Jewish* nation, being more attached to the letter of it, as being more suited to their carnal minds and worldly views, firmly believe the nation meant by *Gog*, &c. to be that of the *Turks*, long since in possession of their wished-for *Canaan*, and holding them under a severe subjection, and wait impatiently for the happy completion of the latter part, by the total subversion of that powerful empire, by the irresistible arm of their Messiah; who having once wholly destroyed those enemies of their nation and law, will then complete the remainder of the prophet's prediction, and raise their church and commonwealth to that summit of power and glory, opulence and perpetuity, which is there promised by God <sup>g</sup>.

THIS is the general belief and firm expectation, not only of all the Talmudists, but of all the learned and sober *Jews*; and what hath supported them through such unheard-of persecutions, and other misfortunes, ever since their dispersion. From what we have hitherto said on that subject, our readers will easily judge, that it is not founded on the authority of an uncertain and exploded tradition, much less on the legendary dreams of its numerous herd of biassed interpreters and commentators, but upon the indisputable evidence of an express prophecy, explained and interpreted in all its various circumstances, according to the plain and obvious sense of the sacred text. The only misfortune is, that a too fond and selfish prejudice, in favour of a temporal and conquering Messiah, hath sadly misled them to understand all the many promised blessings of his reign in too literal and carnal a sense, instead of that more noble and exalted one, which the genius of their language, and the nature of those prophetic allegories, they are couched under, both in this and other prophetic writers, might be justly deemed to imply. And it was from this, and other such gross prejudices and conceits, that Christ, the true Messiah, the Light of the world, and minister of the new promised spiritual covenant <sup>h</sup>, strove in vain to deliver them, upon the testimony of the scripture, as well as by his own authority and example; though this last, which should have proved the most powerful antidote against it, had they paid a due regard to either, served only to harden them the more in it.

<sup>b</sup> De hoc, vid. Ezra, i pass.

seq. vid. & Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 50, & seq.

ESPERANZA D'ISRAEL, and the generality of Jewish comments on the above prophecy. Jos. MEDE, on the Apocalypse, ad fin. et al. plur.

<sup>c</sup> See Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 6, & seq. & (L).

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 126, & seq.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Maccab. iv. &

<sup>f</sup> Ch. xx 7.

<sup>g</sup> Vid.

<sup>h</sup> Deuter. xviii. 15. John i. 9, & seq.

milies, through which the learned and indefatigable Bochart hath been at the pains to trace them (12). The generality of the learned *Jews*, who are not infected with the romantic legends of their Talmud, are of the same mind; and as the *Turks* are now universally allow-

ed to be the descendants of these northern patriarchs (13), they understand by this defeat of *Gog*, the total overthrow of the *Othman* empire (under whose yoke they have so long groaned) in the reign of their promised Messiah, as we shall shew in the sequel.

(12) Phaleg.

before, vol. ii. p. 114, & seq.

(13) See Anc. Hist. vol. vi. p. 531, & seq. Additions to Ditto, p. 159, & seq. See also



- a NEITHER indeed could it happen otherwise, seeing the least degree of conviction, of his being that promised Messiah, must have effectually deterred them from accomplishing the determinate council of God, in condemning him to an ignominious death<sup>i</sup>. But then, as nothing but a firm persuasion of the contrary could have emboldened them to pronounce that unjust sentence against him, to which their fatal prejudice furnished them with a sufficient number of pretences; so their blindness and ignorance of the profound mystery of his suffering, was to be no longer pleaded as an excuse for it, than till that was more fully proved by the event, and confirmed by such irrefragable proofs, as it actually was after his resurrection, by himself and his apostles; for if, after all this additional evidence, they still refused to acknowledge him in his suffering character; if, still allured by the glaring prospect of a glorious temporal kingdom, or disgusted by their carnal prejudice, from accepting of that more exalted and spiritual one that was offered them, they became equally guilty, as if they had wilfully and knowingly murdered him, and actually ratified (as they continue still to do to this very day) the sentence they had pronounced against themselves, *His blood be upon us and our children*<sup>k</sup>, by breeding and confirming these by all possible, and even by the foulest means, in the same fatal unbelief, and abhorrence of him and his gospel<sup>l</sup>.

We have now gone through with our promised enquiry into the true causes of the *Jews* unbelief; and have, we hope, set forth their principal objections, prejudices, and other obstacles to their conversion, with all the candour and impartiality that the subject demands, and with that brevity which our stated bounds oblige us to. Some others we might have added, no less obstructive to it; such as their over bearing confidence on their election, and being the off-spring of *Abraham*<sup>m</sup>, and of their being justified by the works of the law, and not by the righteousness of faith<sup>n</sup>; and this, even to the monstrous neglect of the moral law, justice, mercy, charity, &c.<sup>o</sup>. But of all these, they are so clearly charged and censured in the gospel, that it were needless for us to insist longer upon them: and therefore, to those stubborn obstacles, already mentioned, we shall now, in justice to them, add a few more, no less powerful and cogent, which have been as unhappily as injudiciously laid in their way, from the time of their last dispersion, by those fathers and doctors of the Christian church, who have most zealously endeavoured to convert them.

- VARIOUS were the ways and methods which these pious primitive preachers tried, according  
 d as their temper, genius, and course of studies, led them, to reconcile both the bulk of the *Jewish* nation, and especially their new converts, to the person and character of Christ, and the true nature of his spiritual reign and sublime doctrine, from the earliest ages of Christianity; but few, if any, which did not rather tend to confirm them in their innate hatred against the one, and contempt of the other. They soon began to be divided likewise about the treatment they ought to use towards them; more especially after their dispersion; the warmer sort observing them to persist in their inveterate obstinacy, and looking upon them as rebels to God, betrayers and murderers of his Son, the blasphemers of his name and gospel, the aspersers of his character, memory, lineage, and miracles, by the blackest calumnies and forgeries, looked upon all the miseries which attended their exile as just judgments for their  
 e unbelief, and obstructing the propagation of Christianity, and thought they could not be treated with too great severity, contempt, and even abhorrence. Some went so far as to charge them with the irremissible sin against the Holy Ghost, and of course pronounced them irrecoverably lost, and doomed to the divine displeasure both here and for ever. In consequence of which, and in violation of the divine and human laws, they declared them, in regard to the rest of mankind, unworthy of enjoying either liberty, or any social right; especially that of bringing up their own children; which ought in charity to be snatched from them, as brands out of the fire, and be educated in the principles of Christianity; no mercy was to be shewn to parents that refused to deliver them up for that purpose, or secreted them to avoid it, seeing that was the only likely means to put an end to their incredulity, and to bring, in time, their whole  
 f posterity into the Christian church.

OTHERS, on the contrary, weighing the matter with more becoming charity and impartial coolness, and reflecting seriously on those prophecies, not only of the Old Testament, but on the prediction of Christ and his apostles, particularly *St. Paul*, which promised them a recall, and universal conversion to the gospel, and that all *Israel* at length should be saved (C),  
 did

<sup>i</sup> Conf. Acts ii. 23. iii. 17, & seq.

<sup>k</sup> Matth. xxvii. 25.

<sup>m</sup> Rom. ii. pass. 28, & seq. viii. 3, & seq. ix. 31, & seq. et alib. 11.  
 & seq. Luke xi. 39, & seq. et alib. pass.

<sup>l</sup> See before, p. 625, & alib. pass.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Matth. xxiii. 23,

(C) We have had occasion to mention already some that express and irrefragable one of *Ezekiel*, concerning their return and re-establishment in *Judea* (14).

(14) *Ezek. ch. xxxvii. & seq. 1st. See before, p. 631, & 67.*



did not only condemn, with a true Christian zeal, all such violent and unjust treatment, as point- a  
blank opposite to the spirit of the gospel, but clearly confuted the false and uncharitable sur-  
mises of their pretended total rejection, from the plain and obvious sense of those predictions ;  
in consequence of which, they judged, on the contrary, that no kind usage, caresses, or encou-  
ragements, ought to be neglected, to allure them to the gospel.

THESE opposite opinions and methods were strenuously maintained and put in practice by  
their respective partisans ; and each side had for some time the pleasure of being attended with  
a surprising success ; and that the desperate state the whole *Jewish* nation then groaned under,  
had so far rendered them equally susceptible of both, that each greatly contributed to the daily  
increase of their new converts ; and those which could not be deterred by the threats and severity  
of the one, were yet easily allured by the caresses and generous treatment of the other, into a b  
seemingly zealous conversion to Christianity.

IT was not long, however, before both sides had the mortification to see their pretended  
Neophytes degenerate, some into vile and embittered apostates, and others into blasphemous  
scoffers of every thing that was held sacred and holy by the Christians ; and that more especially,  
whenever the Church, whether the *Latin* or *Greek*, laboured under the displeasure of, or a  
persecution from, the secular power ; and they gladly beheld themselves at full liberty, not  
only to relapse and apostatize, but to vent their most inveterate rancour against Christ and his  
religion, by such horrid curses and blasphemies, as easily convinced the world that they still  
retained, under the specious cloke of proselytism, the same obdurate and invincible averseness  
against the gospel and its professors.

THIS plain and open perfidy of theirs, of which we have given so many pregnant instances  
through the course of this chapter, and to which they were either driven by the severe, or  
allured by the generous, treatment which they met with from both clergy and laity, could not  
fail of awaking their diffidence, and dislike of all such forced and indirect conversions. Accord-  
ingly, some councils were convened, both by the *Latin* and *Greek* patriarchs, and sundry wise  
precautions enacted by both, to prevent all such scandalous abuses for the future. One of them  
was, that they should not be admitted to baptism, but kept as catechumens, till they had given  
sufficient proof of the sincerity of their conversion ; and another, that some bounds should be  
put to that profuse liberality, which usually accompanied their admission into the church, lest  
that should still prove an inducement to a poisonous vermin to creep into her bosom. In other d  
respects they were ordered to treat them with kindness, and a compassionate regard to their  
ignorance and prejudices of education, and to avoid every thing that might give them a disgust  
to the gospel, or revive their native fondness for the more pompous and delightful rites of  
the *Mosaic* law. But these wholesome injunctions did not long continue in force, before their  
old jealousies awakened again, too probably, by the untoward behaviour of their proselytes,  
and obliged them, especially those of the *Greek* church, to have recourse to different measures,  
and such as, how expedient soever they might then think them, will, we doubt not, appear  
very injudiciously calculated, either to assure the church of their sincerity, or to confirm them  
in the faith they were going to profess, as the reader will see by the sketch we shall here sub-  
join of them, taken out of their own formularies (D).

#### I. THEY

That of the prophet *Hosea* is no less pregnant of the  
same kind of promises ; where, after having elegantly  
described their long and dreadful captivity, under the  
figure of a people destitute of their king, priests, sacri-  
fices, and altars, and other exterior marks of worship,  
concludes at length with these words : *Afterwards shall*  
*the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God,*  
*and DAVID their king* (15). By which last both *Jews*  
and Christians rightly understand the Messiah, or pro-  
mised deliverer.

Accordingly, the apostle having affirmed that all  
*Israel* should be saved, after their long rejection to make  
room for the Gentiles (16), adds in the same verse,  
that their promised deliverer should come out of *Zion* ;  
or, as some understand it, as more apposite to the  
apostle's designs (17), should come to *Zion*, the moun-  
tain now on which (and not that of *Moriah* as formerly)  
the new temple, whether to be understood spiritually  
or literally, was to remain, during the Messiah's reign,  
as we lately shewed : which Messiah, St. *Peter* tells the  
*Jews* of his time (18), *the heavens must receive, until the*  
*time of the restitution of all things, when the time of re-*

*freshing shall come from the presence of the Lord ; when*  
*he shall send Jesus Christ, which had been formerly preached*  
*unto you* (19) ; and then will that prediction of the re-  
deemer be accomplished. *Verily, verily, I say unto you,*  
*you shall see me no more, until the time come when ye shall*  
*say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord* (20).  
Many other places may be quoted to prove this resto-  
ration, but these we hope will be sufficient for our  
purpose.

(D) *Cotelerius* mentions two of these formularies, the  
one inserted in the *Greek* ritual, and another he found  
in the *French* king's library, which is of a later date,  
and contains some articles of abjuration which are not  
in the former (21) ; and amongst them, that mentioned  
above, under the head of their disculpating themselves  
from having incurred any civil punishment. But the  
most remarkable is that whereby they oblige the con-  
vert to profess his full and sincere belief of transub-  
stantiation, in the following terms : “ I believe that the  
“ bread and wine, mystically consecrated by the Chris-  
“ tians, are the body and blood of Christ, which are  
“ thus changed by his Divine Power, intellectually and

(15) *Hosea* iii. 4 & 5.

(18) *Acts* iii. 21.

*Catechism. ex Hebræis ap. Goar.*

(16) *Rom.* xi. 25, & seq.

(19) *Acts* iii. 19, & seq.

(17) *J. Mede, Jurica. Basnag. & al.*

(20) *Luke* xiii. 35, & seq.

(21) *Ordo &*

“ invisibly,



**a** THEY were first of all to make them protest in the most solemn manner, that their desire to become Christians was entirely free from all worldly views, and uninfluenced by any secular hopes or fears; that neither poverty nor violence, nor the desire of riches or honours, or any sinister motive, had any share in their conversion. **2.** They were in the same solemn manner to protest themselves guiltless of any crime or misdemeanour which might render them obnoxious to the punishment of the law, and make them seek to avoid it by their change of religion. **3.** They were obliged to abjure every branch of the *Jewish* worship; the observation of the passover, unleavened bread, the sabbath, and other *Jewish* festivals, their fasts, &c. **4.** They obliged them to anathematise all the various sects of the *Jews*, not excepting that of the Pharisees; together with their superstitious washing of pots, and other vessels, and all their other traditions. They made them likewise anathematise all that observed the feast of *Purim*, or of *Esther*<sup>p</sup>, and the author of another called *Monopodana*, or more probably some *Jewish* dance in that way. To these they added the names of four other infamous villains of their nation; and above all, that of the Messiah whom the *Jews* expect; that is, according to their sense of it, Antichrist, that is to appear at the end of the world. **5.** The Neophyte was to make a public confession of his Christian faith, to which they added or changed some of the articles, as the time or the present occasion required. **6.** The whole ceremony was concluded with a protestation of his sincerity; and wishing that if he was not really so, if he entertained the least desire in his heart of returning to his old *Judaism*, or held any converse with those that persisted in it, either by going to their synagogues, or even eating and drinking with them, that all the curses of the law, the guilt and trembling of *Cain*, the leprosy of *Gebazi*, &c. might fall upon his head, and that his soul might go to the devil.

**c** THE *Latin* made likewise sundry wholesome regulations concerning their converts, in several of their synodical councils; yet all too weak to put an effectual stop to those abuses, and to the just suspicion which their behaviour frequently gave them of their sincerity: and hence proceeded those pathetic complaints and bitter indictments exhibited against them on the one hand, and the severe treatment which they brought upon themselves by their perfidy and hypocrisy on the other. They found indeed, in some countries, a more effectual expedient to assure themselves of the sincerity of those converts, particularly in *France* and *England*, where, immediately after their baptism, they were stripped of all their goods, and reduced to live upon the charity of the clergy and laity, and often forced to beg their bread<sup>q</sup>; the king and peers of the realm not only countenancing that injustice, but being partakers of the fruits of it; if that was not done rather to deter them from embracing Christianity, as it is likely too many did merely from such sinister motives (E).

**d** UPON the whole, the experience of above sixteen centuries hath sufficiently shewn, what right unbiassed reason might have suggested to every thinking Christian, concerning these two opposite ways of converting this hardened and carnal people; *viz.* that how well and piously soever designed they might be, they would prove little better than incentives to the generality of them, to the most abominable hypocrisy and flagrant impiety, and a means of alluring or frightening them into the feigned worship of a divine Messiah; whom, far from believing to be such, they abhorred and cursed in their hearts, and would be ready to do so openly, whenever they found themselves in circumstances to do it with impunity.

**e** WE come now to some others, which have been tried for the same charitable ends, and which have proved no less unsuccessful and obstructive to their conversion. One of these, which was attempted by some learned doctors of the church, was the pretending to prove to them the mysteries of Christianity by the writings of heathen philosophers; such as those of the Trinity, Incarnation, and death of the WORD, or Messiah, &c. for if those philosophers, who knew nothing of revelation, and followed only the dictates of reason, could yet discover and believe those mysteries, they concluded from thence, that there could be nothing in them contrary to reason, and consequently, that the *Jews* could have no objection to the belief of

<sup>p</sup> De hac, vid. Anc. Hist. vol. i. 607. Basnag. ubi sup. ch. 33. (X).

<sup>q</sup> De hoc, vid. CAROLI vii. letter, ap. Mabil. annal. &

“ invisibly, and above all possible conception, and only “ known unto himself.” From these two articles, but especially from the last, of which there is not the least hint in the old *Greek* ritual, it may be reasonably inferred, that new ones were added to the old ones, according to the exigence of the time (22).

(E) This abuse, it seems, was a practice amongst them, of as long standing as it was universal; inso-

much that the emperor *Arcadius*, having observed that the greatest part of them became profelytes merely to screen themselves from justice, either for crimes, debts, or law-suits, enacted a law, forbidding the admission of them into the church, till they had made full satisfaction in all those respects (23); which law was, in all probability, in force in *Balsamon*'s time, who makes particular mention of it (24).

(22) De his, vid. Basnag. Hist. des Juifs, lib. ix. c. xlix. §. 8. in nomine Phot. tom. iv. p. 71. ap. Basnag. ubi sup.

(23) Arcad. Cod. Theod. of.

(24) Balz.



them: which way of reasoning, whatever impression it might make upon a candid Deist, a could be of no weight to a *Jew*: for besides the singular contempt, which, as we have elsewhere shewn, that nation hath always discovered for prophane learning<sup>r</sup>, it is not from reason, but from the scriptures, that they fetch their objections against those mysteries; and from a multitude of texts, both in the Pentateuch, and other books of the Old Testament, wherein the unity of God is indicated in the strongest and most express terms. And they are too gross and stupid, as well as averse to human learning, to understand, much less to admit of, the solutions and arguments which have been urged in vindication of those Divine Mysteries: so that the calling in the heathen philosophers in confirmation of them, from whatever quarter they might have received those extraordinary lights, (which we have not room to inquire into) hath had this malignant effect upon the whole *Jewish* nation, that it hath confirmed them in a belief that most of the other superstitious ceremonies which they see practised in the *Latin* and *Greek* churches, such as the worship of images, praying to saints, reliques, pilgrimages, and a great number of others, were, like the mysteries above-mentioned, of heathenish extract; and, as such, were, with the utmost vehemence and zeal, cried down by the unanimous voices of all the *Jews* who assisted at that grand consultation, of which we have lately given an account<sup>s</sup>.

THE same ill success the great *Picus de Mirandola*, and other learned Christians, have likewise met with, who have had recourse to the *Jewish* Cabbala for proofs of those mysteries, as if the authority of the New Testament was not sufficient to support itself, and them, without the assistance of such precarious props. How much easier and effectual, if any thing can be so, against a people so strongly biassed by temporal views and expectations, to have proved to them the Divine Authority of the New Testament; which is in a great measure founded on that of the Old; and comes farther confirmed by the numberless miracles of its Divine Author and his disciples, as well as by the irrefragable evidence of his predictions; of which their long dispersion, and the ruins of their city and temple, are standing and unquestionable monuments. By this method (without the help of such lame auxiliaries as the precarious notions of a *Pythagoras*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Hierocles*, or of the *Sibyline*, and other heathen oracles, and much more of an enthusiastic Cabbala) they might have cut the controversy short, and proved the chief and fundamental point beyond all reply, That the Messiah was really come at the predicted time, and that the Christ acknowledged by Christians as our Redeemer, is that very Divine Deliverer, so promised and foretold, both in the law and the prophets.

BUT the most injudicious, as well as the most unlikely method made use of to convert them by the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, but especially by the latter, was the appealing to their own peculiar miracles; such as were done, or pretended to be wrought, by the intercession of their saints, by crucifixes, reliques, images, and other consecrated places and things; especially by their miraculous host, or consecrated wafer, of which we have given many instances through the course of this chapter; not considering that if they were ever so real, or even were they to see them with their own eyes, they would still retort to them, what the *Egyptians* did to *Moses* upon the like occasion, “Thou bringest coals to *Newcastle*, when thou pretendest to “work thy miracles in a country so plentifully stored with magicians:” for as we have shewn already more than once, there is scarcely a nation in the world that lays a greater claim to them, whether for number or greatness, than the *Jewish* (F), to counterbalance all that can be alleged against them from any other quarter. Should any one exact from them a greater regard to be paid to the authority of the church legends, than to their fabulous rabbies, they will, besides the obvious retortion one may justly expect to such a demand, immediately recur to that passage in *Deuteronomy*, wherein they are not only forbid expressly to be seduced by any miracle, how specious or apparently real soever, from the worship of the true God, but even to put that prophet, or worker of the miracle, to death; alleging, that God permits such things to be done in order to prove their faith and obedience<sup>t</sup>. And it is in consequence of this command that their Talmud, which acknowledges the miracles of Christ, justifies the

<sup>r</sup> See Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 730.

<sup>s</sup> See before, p. 609, & seq.

<sup>t</sup> Ch. ix. 1, & seq.

(F) We have had occasion to mention a great number of them, pretended to have been wrought, if not by, yet in favour of, some of their great saints and eminent doctors, as a testimony from heaven of their exemplary sanctity, and of the profound regard that was due to their writings. Such was moreover that which they report to have been wrought at the school of their famed rabbi *Joseph Karcs*; not once or twice, but daily;

not in the dark, but in open day; not in a corner, but in the presence of a number of other learned rabbies, and of his scholars, who constantly heard a voice from heaven, explaining to them the deepest mysteries of their religion, and were so many authentic witnesses of the miracle; for which, and for his singular piety, and vast erudition, he was titled *Mosheh Hador*, a prodigy of the age (25).

(25) *De hoc, vid. sup. p. 583. Vid. Et Yad, Khazakah, Shalshelet, R. Ganiz, Wolf, Bibl. Rabbin. sub voc. Joseph.*



a repulse and severe treatment he met with from the Sanhedrin; and that the whole nation is taught to reject all such as false evidences, and as designed to allure them from the true worship of God to their own ruin.

We shall pass over several other methods which have been tried to convert them; such as the founding of seminaries for instructing clergymen how to handle a controversy against them, preaching weekly lectures against them, and obliging them to be present, under some penalties, and others of the like kind; all which either proved abortive, or served only to confirm them the more in their prejudices<sup>a</sup>. But upon the whole, we hope we have clearly shewn, that of all the obstacles which our Christian divines, of almost every church, have laid in the way to their conversion, that of their so stiffly denying the second advent of Christ, b and their universal restoration, in that glorious manner in which we have seen it described by *Ezekiel*, and confirmed by other prophecies and predictions both of the Old and New Testament, hath proved the most deterring and insurmountable to them; inasmuch as it not only deprives them of all those blessed prospects they are taught to expect from his future reign, but leads them to utter despair of ever receiving the least benefit from his coming, much less of ever seeing the accomplishment of those glorious promises, so solemnly made, and so often repeated, in the sacred writings. Instead of which, (if all expectations of his second coming, before the great day of judgment, must be excluded) their retrospection of all their past miseries serves only to make them look upon him as a most severe, and all their future ones, as a merciless and inexorable judge. This is, at least, the light they imagine all Christians c behold their whole nation in, and the sad and desperate condition, to which those that deny a second coming and reign of Christ, apparently doom them, that do not embrace his gospel: and can we wonder at their averiness to it, and using all possible means to discredit and oppose it, not only among themselves, but with all other nations? But is that indeed the doctrine of Christ and his apostles? And doth it really exclude all hopes, all probability, of a recall and restoration under him in any sense? Let those look to it, be they of what church or sect soever they will, who maintain so uncharitable and antisciptural a notion; and, by pretending to found it on the authority of the New Testament, have added one obstacle more to all the d disputed point set in a true light, may, among many others, consult the authors mentioned in the margin<sup>w</sup>. As for us, whose province and narrow limits exempt us from entering into the merits of that controversy, we think it sufficient to have pointed out the main causes of their unbelief, and the means by which they have, in spite of so many disadvantages and discouragements as have attended their long dispersion, been able to preserve amongst them so firm and general an expectation of a temporal Messiah. Difficulties and discouragements, we say, not only from the Christians and other nations, but much more from their own doubts and anxieties about that capital point, Whether he was still to come, or was already come.

FOR however confident of the former they may outwardly appear, when they converse with Christians, or strangers, (which plainly shews how glad they are to catch at a shadow e of hope, rather than live under the dismal apprehensions, which the contrary opinion, as held by the generality of Christian divines, must of course fill them with) yet there can be no greater proof of their extreme perplexity about it, than the debates and unhappy result of that grand assembly of theirs on the plain of *Ageda* in *Hungary*<sup>x</sup>, formerly mentioned; especially if we add to it, the strenuous, and hitherto fruitless pains they have been at, to discover the royal sceptre of *Judah* still subsisting in some part or other of the globe, as the only stay they have left to support their expectations. We lately took notice both of their triumph and disgrace, upon their hopes of having found it in so flourishing a state as the *Abissinian* empire; the result of which disappointment was, that since it could not, with all their laborious searches, be found in the old world, they had now no other way left, than to f send in quest of it in the new. They accordingly dispatched some of their own nation into those but lately discovered countries, with proper orders and directions for that purpose; but with as little success or satisfaction to the rest; and it was not till *Cromwell's* time, that they received some intelligence that any *Israelites*, much less any *Jews*, were settled there<sup>y</sup>. This at first came by a letter directed to the rabbi *Menasse Ben Israel*, from *Aaron Levi*, alias *Montefinos*, or *Montefini*, then travelling in some of those parts, and through the province of *Quis*, under the conduct of an *Indian*, as he thought him, but whom he afterwards found to be a *Jew*; and who assured him that there were vast numbers of them who lived concealed behind the long ridge of mountains called *Las Cordilleras*. He added, that his curiosity inducing him to pursue his journey farther towards them, he came at length to the banks

<sup>a</sup> De his, vid. sup. p. 407. & seq. & alib. pass.

Judeos 1701. JURIEU's prophecies, vol. ii. MEDE in Apocalypf. restaur. of Israel, Lond. 1747.

before, p. 609, & seq.

<sup>y</sup> De hoc, vid. p. 624, & seq.

<sup>x</sup> See



of a river, where, upon a signal given by his guide, they perceived a great number of them <sup>a</sup> on the other side, and heard them pronounce these words distinctly in the *Hebrew* tongue : “ Hear, O *Israel* ; The LORD thy God is one LORD .” The farther account they gave of themselves was, that they were brought thither by a kind of a miraculous Providence, and had had frequent wars with the idolatrous natives, and as often overthrew them. They added, that they were the descendants of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and of the tribe of *Reuben* ; and that the reason of the *Indians* being so often at war with them, was, that their magi, or priests, had revealed to them, that the God of *Israel* was the true and only God, and that his people would become masters of the whole world, about the latter end of it. Thus far the letter <sup>a</sup> ; wherein, however, there is not a word about the other tribes, much less of that of *Judah* ; which one might have expected would have been preferably mentioned before <sup>b</sup> that of *Reuben*, if the relation had been a forgery, either of *Montesini*, or of rabbi *Menasse*, as some learned men have suspected it <sup>b</sup> ; though others have taken some pains to vindicate and back it with probable conjectures <sup>c</sup>.

HOWEVER that be, the latter seems to have laid such stress upon it, that it induced him to publish his *Esperanza de Israel*, a book often quoted in this chapter ; wherein he not only attempts to prove the vast number and power of the *Israelitish* nation, from those that are found in *America*, but hath been at the pains to find out a new, and till then unthought of, route, to bring them out of *Asia* into that new part of the globe, by affirming, that these two were anciently joined, and made but one large continent ; but were parted asunder by a miraculous providence at the streights of *Anian*, after his people were got safe on the other <sup>c</sup> side, from which they retired farther into the inland and mountainous parts for their greater security. This was a strange way of extolling the glory of his nation : but as he was then soliciting the *English* parliament, who were all enthusiasts, for their re-establishment in this country, he might think that a proper plea enough to obtain their consent, and with that view dedicated his book to them : and we have seen already how well he succeeded, since he obtained not only their approbation and thanks, but a grant to his request.

MENASSE was not the only person who hath attempted to prove this early settlement of the *Jews* in *America* ; many others have done the same, though without following his route, or pretending to assert any of their own, much less tacking a miracle to it. And it must be owned, that one finds in most parts of that spacious continent so many apparent traces of <sup>d</sup> *Judaism*, as might incline one to believe them to have been some, if not the very first, inhabitants of it <sup>d</sup> : but when one weighs them on the other hand with the vast multitude of strange heathenish rites and superstitions, barbarous and inhuman customs, with which they are everywhere blended, even where one finds the plainest traces of *Judaism*, one is at a loss how to reconcile them with that notion. But as we shall have occasion to resume this subject in our history of that country, we shall enlarge no farther upon it, than observing, that such abominable degeneracy is far from being inconsistent with that bent which the *Jewish* nation ever shewed to it, from their first coming out of *Egypt*. Witness that strange instance of it which the brave *Judas Maccabeus* discovered among his slain troops, so long after their return from *Babylon*, and after they had smarted so severely for their old heathenish superstitions, and <sup>e</sup> of which the reader will find an account in their history <sup>e</sup>.

FROM all the above-mentioned excursions and fruitless searches after the *Judaic* sceptre and royalty, our readers cannot but be fully convinced of the vanity and perverseness of the *Jewish* writers and doctors, who have hitherto endeavoured to obscure the glaring evidence of a divine oracle, which all their united force of learning and sophistry could never repel, by substituting in lieu of it, a variety of pretended dynasties, in *India*, *Tartary*, *Abissinia*, and other parts of the world, equally uncertain and impertinent. For, not to mention the short duration of those boasted dynasties, whereas that of the Messiah was to last to the end of time, it is plain, even from their own confession, that none of them did or could belong to the tribe of *Judah*, of which the oracle there speaks, but at the best only to some other of the ten *Israelitish* tribes, <sup>f</sup> formerly led captive, and dispersed through the *Assyrian* empire ; though, in process of time, they had been so blended and confounded with each other, that they had lost the very memory of their origin and distinction ; and been supposed to have been of *Israelitish* extract, on account of their circumcision, and some other rites no less known and practised by the other sons of *Abraham*, by *Keturah* <sup>f</sup>, whose posterity therefore they might as probably be as that of *Jaacob* : though, even according to this last supposition, had any one, or even every one,

<sup>a</sup> Deuter. vi. 4.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. R. PETACHIAH, Pereg. printed ann. 1644.

<sup>b</sup> SPIZEL, Relevat.

Prelat. MONTESINI, BASNAGE, CALMET, & al.

<sup>c</sup> ACOSTA examp. vit. hum. l. i. c. 16, & al.

<sup>d</sup> De

his, vid. Sir WILLIAM PENN's Letter of the Present State of the Americ. Colon. p. 143, 150, & seq. ZARAT's Discovery of Peru, l. i. c. 10. ACOSTA, ubi supra. LAES orig. Gent. Americ. p. 83, & seq. & al. plur.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Maccab. xii. 39, & seq. vid. & Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 68, & seq. & alib. pass. See this vol. p. 479, & seq.

<sup>f</sup> Genesis xxv. pass.



a of the tribes settled itself into a monarchy even from the earliest times of their captivity, and their government continued *in statu quo* unto this day, nothing of all this could have affected or interfered with the prophecy above-mentioned, which was to be accomplished only in the tribe of *Judah*, and in the person of the Messiah, the sole heir, and last possessor, of the *Jewish* sceptre, whose reign, in every respect more glorious and extensive than that of any of his ancestors, was to continue till the end of the world, and to be distinguished from them all by such extraordinary blessings as we have been describing above.

But we have dwelt long enough on that subject, and shall only add, with regard to the tribe of *Judah*, to whom that sceptre was promised, that it seems to have been preserved by a particular Providence, together with that of *Benjamin*, which alone adhered to it in the b rupture of the two kingdoms of *Judah* and *Israel* <sup>2</sup>, from being removed into those distant and unknown countries at their last dispersion, into which the other ten had formerly been <sup>h</sup>, and to have suffered them to be scattered only through several parts of *Europe*, where they have, for the most part, continued ever since, some only excepted; who, being banished out of *Spain*, went and settled on the opposite shore along the coast of *Barbary* <sup>1</sup>, where we are well assured they were so far from being in a condition of reviving their old pretensions to the *Judaic* sceptre, that the far greater part of them perished through want and misery, and the survivors have continued in a sad state of slavery ever since.

THAT *Europe*, especially the southern part of it, was that part of the world into which those two tribes were sold for slaves by the *Roman* emperor, is indeed denied by the most c celebrated *Jewish* writers, particularly by those of the *Talmud* <sup>k</sup>, and the authors of the *Beresbitb Rabbah*, or large comment on *Genesis* <sup>1</sup>, and of the *Sedar Holam* <sup>m</sup>, who pretend that they are dispersed over the whole globe. *Menasse Ben Israel* affirms the same thing; but adds, that he sent the most considerable chiefs of that tribe captives into *Spain* <sup>n</sup>; and it is not unlikely that that monarch did it with the same view that he is said to have destroyed all he could find of the seed of *David* <sup>o</sup>; namely, to prevent their too great distance from *Rome*'s encouraging them to reunite themselves into one government under some enterprising chief of their tribe; or to be nearer at hand to suppress it, if any such thing was attempted. However that be, whether confined to *Europe*, or dispersed through the world, we do not find that any *Jewish* writers of credit, or indeed any but the fabulous *Benjamin*, and one or d two other travellers of the same stamp, whom we have elsewhere sufficiently exploded <sup>p</sup>, have pretended that the *Jewish* sceptre or monarchy hath been any-where reclaimed, much less manifestly restored or continued. On the contrary, some of their more learned have in vain endeavoured to prove it sufficient to answer the design of the oracle, that it still subsisted under their chiefs of the captivity, and the heads of their most celebrated academies. Those of a more modern date, and of greater candour and impartiality, have freely confessed that it had long since ceased to subsist; *even*, says their great and learned *Maimonides*, *ever since they were driven out of their land, they have lost their judiciary power of life and death* <sup>q</sup>; for which he gives this remarkable reason, *that they were forbid (by the Mosaic law) to exercise it anywhere out of it*. What is still more worthy of our attention is, that this excellent Rabbi e flourished at the same time with the fabulous *Benjamin* above-mentioned; from which we may judge what credit he gave to his infamous legend of their *Jewish* kings, and their pretended extensive power and splendid court at *Baghdad*, and other fabulous dynasties of the *Jewish* nation, with which that author hath embellished his romance. For if their grand sanhedrim, in whom the supreme power was lodged, and to whom their very monarchs were subjected, even by the common consent of all the *Jewish* doctors, could not sit in judgment in any other place but in *Jerusalem*, as hath been formerly shewn, how could it be lawful for them to exercise that judiciary power out of *Judea*, and among foreign nations with whom they lived either in a state of captivity or tribute, or at best under the notion of strangers, and despicable exiles and vagabonds? What nation under the sun would be compassionate enough f to allow them such an extraordinary privilege? But we have sufficiently shewn, through the course of this chapter, how very opposite their condition hath been in every country and period since their dispersion, and shall only add one or two testimonies to that of *Maimonides*, from a great number of others of their later writers, who agree with him that this hath been their real state ever since that fatal æra. The learned *David Kimchi*, an account of whom and his works we have elsewhere given <sup>†</sup>, in his comment on the famed prophecy of *Hosea*, *that the Jews should continue a long time without king or prince, without sacrifice, &c.* gives

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings, xii. pass. before, p. 576, & seq.

<sup>h</sup> 2 Kings, xvii. 5, & seq. See also Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 462 (F).

<sup>1</sup> See

<sup>k</sup> Tractat. Sanhedrim ap. Elfenmeng. Endek. Indent. part ii. c. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Sect.

<sup>m</sup> ZUTTA, fol. 35. col. 2.

<sup>n</sup> ESPERANZ. D'ISRAEL, fol. 40. col. 2.

<sup>o</sup> JOSEPH. bell.

<sup>p</sup> See before, p. 537, & seq.

<sup>q</sup> Tract. BABA KAMA, ap. L'Emper. not. in eund.

<sup>†</sup> See before, p. 548, & seq.



this remarkable exposition of it \*. *These are the days of our exile and calamity, under which a we groan at this very time, having neither prince or king, but being in subjection to Gentile monarchs, and under the authority of their beathen potentates.* Even the famed Isaac Charbonel, when in the height of his prosperity, and high favour with the kings of Spain and Portugal, reckoned it *one of the three calamities that attended their exile, that they had now neither king nor kingdom, dominion, sceptre, nor judiciary power* †. But we have dwelt long enough upon this subject, and have reason to fear, our readers by this time, are tired with following that unhappy nation through such a variety of countries, and so long a series of time, and will be glad at length to sit down, and take a nearer as well as more interesting view of those that were settled within our own country; of whom, though we have already given some account in the course of this chapter, we have yet some farther remarks to add with respect to their b state and condition in it, and the several laws which have been from time to time enacted for and against them since the conquest, as they have been traced and extracted out of antient records by our learned antiquary *Selden*, and since abridged by the reverend *Samuel Purchas*, author of the *Pilgrims*, who hath preserved to us that curious collection among his other works ‡. A summary review of the most material of which we hope they will not be displeased with, at a time in which our nation hath been so divided in their opinion about the passing and repealing the late act for their naturalization, and in which several of their apocalyptic friends among us, as well as their own doctors, expected to see some eminent prognostics, and fore-runners of their final deliverance, and long-wished-for restoration (H).

WE lately took notice of a strange expedient which the government took, both in this and c in a neighbouring kingdom, to assure themselves of the sincerity of their *Jewish* converts, by confiscating all their goods, and reducing them to live upon charity ¶; the consequence of which was, whether owing to their ill behaviour after their conversion, or want of compassion in the clergy and laity, that many of them were reduced to the lowest degree of want and misery, and became a public detrement to the rest of their nation from following their example, and daily lessened the number of new converts.

THE motives of this severe treatment our author hath not thought fit to acquaint us with; though we doubt not but they were hinted at in the preamble of those edicts or statutes which enforced it. But as we find by one of the first of those of that kind, mentioned by him, relating to their toleration, and stiled *Statutum de Judaismo*, it plainly appears, that, both d before and since the conquest, the *Jews* were held here in a servile condition, and had no property of their own, except by the king's permission; *Judei, & omnia sua, regis sunt*, &c. which frequently subjected them to great oppressions and hardships, from which those might be exempted who became Christians. It is not improbable that this might encourage great numbers of them to embrace Christianity, more for the sake of that than any real conviction, or abating one grain of their prejudice and inveteracy against it.

HOWEVER, with respect to those in *England*, it is plain, from *Selden's* own words, who had all those statutes before him, that this severe precaution became not in force against them till

\* Hosea, x. 4.

† Comment. in Isaiah, iii. 8.

‡ Relat. of the World, lib. ii. c. 10. §. 7.

¶ Page 637.

(H) By those prognostics are not meant those ten surprising ones which *Buxtorf* hath collected out of the *Jewish* books (27), and which are of so dire and threatening a nature, as if they thought the phials of the divine vengeance against their nation so far from being exhausted by their long and severe exile, that he still kept these in reserve against them, as the most terrible of all, to be poured upon them successively before he sent to them the promised deliverance. Our reader may see them at full length in the author himself, or more succinctly displayed in his *English* abridger, published an. 1734, in two volumes octavo; where he will likewise find an equal number of extraordinary blessings, which are there added to counterbalance them, and are to begin and accompany the whole reign of the Messiah. In both which he will meet with such a surprising fund of rabbinical invention, together with such an artful perverseness in distorting every even the most distant texts of the sacred writings, in proof of their own carnal reveries, as can only be accounted for by those more explicit ones, which declare them to be given up to a judicial blindness.

But, 2dly, neither do we mean by those prognostic signs of their conversion, what several zealous enthusiasts, Christians as well as *Jews*, have with more confidence than probability ventured to obtrude for such; as the downfall of the *Othman* and *Roman* empires, of the papal power, and other like vague conjectures, in which those have been found most erroneous that were ushered in with the greatest assurance (28).

The signs here meant by the maintainers of a final and universal restoration of the *Jews*, are such as are plainly hinted at in the gospel, as the sure fore-runners of Christ's second coming; viz. a general defection from the faith (29), an inundation of unbelief and immorality, bloody wars, and horrid devastations (30), fraud, treachery, and every kind of oppression and cruelty (31), earthquakes, famine, and other awakening judgments and events, which, with respect to time and other dignostics, are not however so explicitly particularized, as not to leave room for men of different persuasions to interpret them according to their different systems and prejudices.

(27) *Buxt. tradit. Hebr. extr. ex lib. Abakort. Rachal. five pulvis aromat.*  
*L'Abadie. Whiston, London, & al.* (29) Luke xviii. 9, & seq. & alib. pass.  
 iii. 8, & seq. (31) *Ibid. vers. 22, & seq. Mark xiii. 5, & seq. & alib. pass.*

(28) *Vid. int. al. Jurieu*  
 (30) *Matt. ii. 9.*



a the 17th year of the reign of *Henry III.* and, consequently, not till a proper provision was made, and an edifice reared for the reception and maintenance of those converts, called, from them, *Domus conversorum*, (the same that is now called the *Rolls*); to the intent that they might live *sub quadam honesta vivendi regula, & certum haberent, in tota vita sua, tutumque domicilium, refugium, & sufficiens sustentamentum, sine servili labore & fœnoris emolumento*, as *Matthew Paris* expresses it.

THIS provision, however, proved but a cold encouragement to the generality of them; and the confinement to the rules and maintenance of the house, joined to their deprivation of all other property, did but little suit their wandering, mercantile, and avaritious temper; so that few but the idlest and poorest cared to accept of it; infomuch that, in the reign of *Edward I.* a new law was enacted in their favour, whereby one half of their effects was allotted to the maintenance of the house, and the other to themselves. This appears from the placid-ness of that monarch, wherein it is said that *Jo. de S<sup>o</sup> Dionysio, custos domus conversorum*, or master of the converts house, had a writ for the moiety of the goods of *Beleaguer* and *Huccoth*, two *Jewish* converts of *Oxford*; and the other half was allowed to them, &c.; and on this foot it seems to have remained till their total expulsion out of the kingdom, when the house above-mentioned was converted into a repository for the rolls, and hath continued so ever since. As to the unconverted *Jews*, we have already taken notice of the servile state and vassalage the statute *de Judaismo* laid them under to the king; which in the main was no other than what they were subjected to in all other Christian kingdoms. They were allowed their synagogues and burying-places, and the free use of their religion, laws, and customs, and such liberty of commerce as to enrich themselves by it, though most commonly by usury and extortion; which was the usual complaint raised against them by the people, and rose sometimes to such a height, as came little short of persecution; but which they had the address to avert by some large presents, or a good sum, either to the reigning monarch, or his prime ministers. They had one among them who held the office of *Presbyteratus omnium Judeorum totius Angliæ*, who was appointed over them by the king, as appears by the charter of king *John (I)*; which office Mr. *Selden* takes to mean the chief priesthood of their synagogues, and not a mere secular eldership, of which he doth not find the least mention in the pleas of the exchequer. In this charter is likewise mentioned a former one granted to them by king *Richard I.* by which certain justices were appointed *ad custodiam Judeorum*, before whom pleas between themselves, or between them and others, were held, and matters adjudged *secundum legem & consuetudinem Judaismi*, as the entry often words it.

IN most towns of note were two Christians and two *Jews*, or only one of each, appointed as public notaries for all their deeds and contracts; and those notaries had one chest with several keys, for the safe keeping of such deeds; and these were called *Chirographarii Christiani & Judei*, of such and such a town, and in the statute *de Judaismo, les bouches cyrografes*. And it was by these chirographers that the *Jewish* deeds, contracts, &c. which are stiled *Starra*, from the *Hebrew Shatar*, were to be tried, as *Solomon de Stanford agnovit by Starrum suum*. If any doubt or dispute intervened on account of those *Starra*, the common course was to issue out a process to the sheriff of the county, or to the constables of the castles of great towns, to make proclamation on three of their subsequent sabbaths, summoning all *Jews* of this or that synagogue to appear at their exchequer, to account with such as had raised the said doubts or dispute. These proclamations and *venire facias*'s were usually made or written in the *Latin* or *Hebrew* tongue, as appears from some recorded instances of that kind (K). In the like manner, says our author, did all other sheriffs and constables make their returns in *Hebrew* and *Latin*; both those tongues being then in use, not only in those *Jewish* deeds, the one on one side, and the other on the other, but likewise in records of law, as likewise of their *venire facias*, or summoning of *sex probos & legales homines, & sex legales Judeos*.

f WHAT form of swearing was prescribed to them at that time, our author could not find, among the many records he perused on that subject, but adds, that *R. Moses Mikkotzi*, who lived in *Henry III.*'s time, affirms, in his comment on the affirmative precepts, that the holding up of the roll of the Law or Pentateuch between their arms, was equivalent to the verbal calling to the God of *Israel* to witness to the truth of the given evidence; as that is esteemed amongst them the most sacred and authentic of all the books of the Old Testament.

(I) *Johannes Rex omnibus fidelibus suis, & omnibus & Judeis & Anglis salutem. Scite nos concessisse, & presenti chartâ nostrâ charta confirmasse Jacobo Judeo de Londoniis presbytero, Judeorum presbyteratum omnium Judeorum totius Angliæ habend' & tenend' quamdiu vixerit, libere & honorifice & quiete & integre, ita ut nemo ei super hoc molestiam aliquam aut gravamen inferre præsumat. Quare, &c. &c. Datum apud Rothomagum 31 die Julii, anno regni nostri primo.*

(K) Thus: *An. 52 Henr. 3. præceptum est vice-comiti Essex quod clamare faceret per scholas Judeorum Colcestriæ, per duo vel tria sabbata, si aliquis Judeus aut Judea, aliquod debitum exigere poterit de Rogero filio Petri. And again: Et vice-comes mandavit tam litera Latinâ quam Hæbraica quo nullus Judeus nec Judea aliquod debitum exigit de prædicto Rogero, &c.*



THE statute *de Judaismo*, as well as some others since enacted, obliged every one of them, a male or female, above seven years of age, to wear upon their upper garment a mark of distinction, whereby they might be known, not unlike that which had been enjoined them by the council of *Lateran*. This was afterwards ordered by the provincial council of *Oxford*, held under *Stephen* archbishop of *Canterbury*, an. 8<sup>o</sup> *Henr.* III. to consist of two pieces of cloth of a yellow or some other colour, different from their garment, of about two fingers breadth and four in length, sown upon the breast. They were moreover obliged to pay tythes and other taxes, and were forbid to build new synagogues. We have moreover seen them, through the course of this chapter, frequently fined heavily, and as often severely prosecuted, sometimes for real, but most commonly for pretended, high crimes and misdemeanors of a civil or religious nature. Of the former kind were their but too well known b extortions, usury, frauds in commerce, and such-like; in all which, and the like cases, the wealthy amongst them were often redressed and screened by an appeal to the king and council, backed by a good round sum. But it was far otherwise in those of a religious nature; such as the circumcising and crucifying of Christian children, for which many of them have been put to various and severe deaths; or for indignities offered by them to the holy wafer, to the cross, churches, clergy, &c. in all which cases they were excluded from appealing to the king's council; the cognizance of such belonging only, as was alleged by bishop *Ralegh*, to the church and synod. *Hæc ad ecclesiam spectant, non ad regalem curiam, cum de circumcissione, & de fidei læsione, quæstio ventiletur.* Notwithstanding all which severities, they became so obnoxious to the whole realm for their avarice and extortions, as well as for the many atrocious c indignities laid to their charge against Christ and his religion, that they were at once condemned to a perpetual banishment by *Edward I.* an. 1291, in the 19th year of his reign, their moveables only being allowed to them, or, as *Walsingham* affirms, only so much of them as would defray their passage. His example was followed soon after by *Philip the Fair* of *France*; and, a little above a century after, by *Ferdinand*, out of *Spain* and *Portugal*, as we have elsewhere shewn †; so that *England* was the first country of all *Christendom* out of which the *Jews* were totally banished, to the number, according to *Mathew* of *Westminster*, of 160,511. To this we may add, that even since their readmission into this realm, though they have behaved with much greater circumspection than it is likely they had done before their expulsion, and the spirit of prejudice and persecution had been greatly allayed by the d reformation; yet neither the one nor the other hath been able so totally to reconcile their nation to the bulk of this, as to acquiesce to their naturalization. And it was doubtless with this view of abating at least, if not of removing, this popular dislike to it, that the late famed Mr. *Toland* undertook to write a kind of apology for them, and attempted to prove, from arguments merely secular and lucrative, how much it might conduce to the interest of *England* to naturalize a people so industrious, so wholly given to, and so well experienced in, most branches of public commerce; especially as they were known to be so unconcerned, if not e averse to all civil as well as religious feuds and differences among us, that there could be no danger of their interfering either for or against any of them; and much less still of their rivaling our natives in any promotions in church or state. The small regard which that performance (which was published an. 1715, in 8vo) met with then, notwithstanding the credit which its author was in among a powerful set of men, and the general discontent and clamour raised against the late act in their favour, have sufficiently shewn how unacceptable all such attempts are to our nation, whether the general dislike be well or ill founded, which we shall not take upon us to discuss, but close up this *Jewish* history with a short abstract of that stupid and abominable romance of theirs, often quoted in this chapter, under the title of *Theolodoth Jesu* (L). A piece which, though fraught with such monstrous forgeries, and flagrant anachronisms,

† See before, p. 576, & seq.

(L) Or (as it runs more fully in the *Hebrew*, and in imitation of the beginning of St. *Mathew's* gospel) ספר תולדות ישו, *Sepher Hatholodoth Jesu*, *The Book of the Generation of Jesus*; though the author doth not, like our evangelist, attempt to mention any of his ancestors, but begins his fabulous account with the birth, and so goes on with the history of the life, actions, and death of his *Jesu*, in his own base and blasphemous way. The writer calls himself *Jonathan*, and pretends to have been an inhabitant of *Jerusalem*, and co-temporary with the person whose life he proposes to write, and to have been an eye-witness of several of his miracles.

There have appeared several *Jewish* books under

the same title of *Theolodoth Jesu*, differing in sundry circumstances of the same history, and not without a manifest necessity. The two most considerable are this of the pretended *Jonathan*, and one published by the learned doctor *Wagenfeil*, in the second volume of his *Tela ignea Satanæ*, but whose author was so little acquainted with prophane history, that he hath been guilty of the most monstrous anachronisms, such as would of themselves sufficiently explode his performance, was it not moreover interspersed with the most malicious and absurd forgeries. And this it was which, in all probability, obliged the *Jews* to trump up a new one under the same title, in which the chronology and order of events doth more regularly follow



- <sup>a</sup> anachronisms, that some of the most moderate and candid among their rabbies are ashamed to authorize it, though not so to own it to be of *Jewish* extract, is yet one of the main engines the rest of them make use of to confirm their vulgar in their contempt and hatred of Christ and his religion, by pretending to be fully convinced of the truth of every part of the forgery; and representing the whole as an authentic and unquestionable history, compiled by an inhabitant of *Jerusalem*, and an eye-witness of every fact; which they may the more confidently do, as they are so well assured of the readiness of their people to embrace the most extravagant legends against Christianity, or its odious founder, and to shut their eyes against, or overlook, the most glaring and palpable inconsistencies, which might otherwise stagger their belief.
- <sup>b</sup> We come now to give our readers the promised extract of the two chief books we mentioned in the last note, as the two most considerable that bear the title of *Tholedoth Jesu*, or *Generations of Jesus*; in which we shall confine ourselves to the most material transactions, as they have extracted, mutilated, and burlesqued out of the gospel, and pass by a great number of other puerile and ridiculous incidents, with which they both have interspersed their blasphemous narratives; adding only now and then a marginal note of such remarks as will best enable our *English* readers to judge of the ignorance and stupidity, as well as malice and impiety, of each performance.
- We begin with the former; *viz.* that published by the learned *Wagenfeil*<sup>a</sup>, which begins with the birth of Christ, and, instead of an immaculate virgin mother, makes him the spurious offspring of a young married woman, but debauched, as we have formerly hinted, by one *Pandera*, or *Panther*<sup>b</sup>, whom he gives him for his father; and adds, that he fled immediately to *Babylon*, and left his paramour to shift for herself. She was accordingly brought to bed of a son, who is the subject of his narrative, and named him *Jehoshuah* at his circumcision. She sent him early to school; but he proved so insolent a boy, that he scrupled not to uncover his head before his betters, and even in the presence of the priests, contrary to *Jewish* custom, which looks upon it as a mark of disregard, and obliges the disciples to veil their faces before their superiors. This singular boldness induced them to make some further enquiries into his extract; which being found and condemned as spurious and defiled, he went thence into *Galilee*; where having staid some short time, he removed thence to *Jerusalem*, with a full design to penetrate into the most sacred place of the temple, and to steal from thence the unutterable name of God (M); a theft so dreaded by the *Jews*, that, to prevent its being ever committed, they had, by the help of some magical power, formed a couple of large lions, and placed them on the right and left side of that most holy place, who, by their dreadful roar (which was such, that whoever was bold enough to attempt it, lost at once his memory and senses) were to guard that miraculous depositum from sacrilegious hands. This however, instead of deterring the young son of *Panther*, only put him upon an expedient to escape the danger; which he did, by raising the skin of his thigh, and sliding the ineffable name between it and the flesh; and having passed the entrance unmolested, made the best of his way to *Bethlehem*, where he immediately raised a dead body, and healed a leper; the fame of which soon gathered a vast concourse of people unto him, who having seated him on an ass, led him in triumph to *Jerusalem*. The arrival of this strange cavalcade soon alarmed the whole convened priesthood, who unanimously agreed to present an address to queen *Oloina*, or *Helena* (N), who at that time reigned in *Judea*, jointly with her son *Mombaze*, *al. Hyrcan*; beseeching

<sup>a</sup> *Tela ignea Satanæ*, vol. ii.

<sup>b</sup> See before, p. 626.

low that of the evangelists, though, in other respects, fraught with the most flagrant and impious forgeries. This last was published *an.* 1705, by the celebrated doctor *Huldrick*, with critical notes, which are so many eminent proofs of his skill in oriental learning (32). From that time those two have been distinguished among the learned by the titles of *Tholedoth Jesu* of *Wagenfeil*, and of *Huldrick*.

(M) We have formerly took occasion to mention and explode the superstitious regard which the *Jews* shew to the name *Jehovah* above all others of the Deity; and what miraculous virtues they attribute to the true pronounciation of it (33); and shall here observe the impiety of supposing that it still subsisted in the hands of such a notorious villain, who surreptitiously stole it, with no other view than to delude mankind with the blackest and most hellish impostures.

As to the additional circumstances of placing two lions by magic art to guard the entrance of the holy place, and to scare every attempter out of his senses by their dreadful roar, and the method which his *Jesus* took to avoid it (34), they are too puerile and ridiculous to deserve any further confutation than they carry along with them.

(N) Our author hath here displayed his ignorance of history in several instances relating to fact and time; and we are very sure that there was no such reigning queen at that time in *Judea*; whoever he might mean by his *Helena* and her son *Hyrcan*. A late critic, the more to expose the absurdity of the anachronism, hath endeavoured to prove that he meant the mother of *Constantine the Great* (35), whom, says he, he styles *queen of the whole universe*; which title can only belong to an empress; and as the *Jewish* fabulist represents

(32) *Basnag. hist. des Juifs*, tom. v. c. 13. §. ii. & seq.

(34) *Tholedoth Wagenf. ubi supra.*

Mon. Hist. Vol. V.

(35) *Le Bleyne dissert. in Jerem. xiii. p. 97.*

(33) *Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 484. & seq. (T).*



befeeching her to order *Jesus* to be apprehended and punished according to his desert. He <sup>a</sup> was accordingly brought before that princess; but, by means of some fresh miracles, which he wrought in her presence, he easily brought her to espouse his interest against the complaining priests; which obliged them to have recourse to some other means to stop the progress of this new miracle-monger. Whilst they were deliberating about it, in came to them one of the priests named *Judas*, and offered to do it effectually, and beat him at his own weapons, provided they would charge themselves with, or absolve him from, the guilt which he must incur in getting the divine unutterable name. They had no sooner complied with his proposal, but he made himself master of his master's secret immediately; after which followed a dreadful struggle between them; in which, by virtue of the sacred word, they both raised themselves to a great height in the air, from which *Judas* tried a good while in vain to give <sup>b</sup> him a terrible fall. At length, having bethought himself of an expedient, and having let fall some urine upon him, they both being defiled by it, came down upon the ground with a desperate force. *Jesus*, however, soon recovered himself from the fall, and ran to purify himself from his pollution in the river *Jordan*; by which means he was again in a capacity of working new wonders amongst his followers. *Judas*, the more effectually to be revenged on him, pretended to yield to him, and become one of his disciples, and, by that stratagem, easily dive into his inmost secrets, which he betrayed to the doctors and priests, particularly that of his having stolen the name of God out of the temple: upon which they ordered him to be apprehended, as he was entering into it, by some of their ministers and menials. Some <sup>c</sup> of his disciples were likewise seized; but the greater part took themselves to their heels, and fled into the high mountains of *Judea*. *Jesus* was accordingly brought before the sanhedrim, and condemned to be tied to a marble pillar belonging to the city, where he was severely whipped, and crowned with thorns; and, upon his complaining of thirst, was made to drink wine mixed with myrrh. The sanhedrim, not thinking that punishment equal to his crime, condemned him to be stoned to death; which was accordingly done: but when they came to hang him on a tree, they found, to their surprize, that the criminal, who foresaw what death he was to die, had, by virtue of the divine name, so enchanted all the trees, that they broke with the weight. Here *Judas* helped them again with a counter-charm; and having fetched a high cabbage-stalk out of his gardens, hanged his body on it fast and sure.

THEIR next fear was lest his disciples should steal it away, and pretend that he was risen from <sup>d</sup> the dead; against which *Judas* likewise found out a fresh expedient, by burying it privately in the chanel of a brook, after they had turned the course whilst the grave was digging and filling; after which they let the waters resume their course. They accordingly published it all over the country that he was risen; which was the more readily believed, as his body was no-where to be found; when *Judas* at once exploded the rumour, by producing it out of the place where he had interred him; upon which it was immediately fastened to a horse's tail, and dragged along to the very royal palace, where the queen, who had before owned her belief of his resurrection, knew not what to answer to this new discovery, and left his body to the mercy of the people, who tore his hair from his head (from which the monks have taken the custom of shaving their crowns) and to be insulted at their discretion. <sup>e</sup>

THIS ignominious treatment was soon followed by a total rupture of the *Nazarenes* (so he calls the Christians) and the *Jews*; the former of whom began to spread their doctrine far and near, chiefly by the ministry of twelve, who ran from kingdom to kingdom, preaching their master's fame and religion, with such surprising success, as could not but greatly alarm the *Jewish* doctors and wise men; who, after much consultation, made choice of one *Simon Kipha* to put a stop to their progress. This man, having first learned the miraculous name of *Jehovah*, immediately repaired to the metropolis of the *Nazarenes* (*Rome*); where having wrought such a number of miracles to convince them that he was an apostle sent by *Jesus* Christ, he easily engaged them to be wholly directed by him. He then advised them to oppose and ill-treat the *Jews* in every thing; to celebrate the festival of *Jesus's* death instead <sup>f</sup>

her as a great favourer of the Christians, on account of the miracles which, he says, Christ had wrought before her. But as, on the one hand, we do not find that he gives her any such pompous title, but styles her only the wife of *Janeus*, who took the reins of government after his death; and, on the other, the monstrousness of such anachronisms is hardly to be supposed, even in a *Jewish* writer, it is generally believed that he meant *Helena* queen of *Adiabene*, who, *Josephus* tells us, came and dwelt a considerable time in *Jerusalem*, and proved a great benefactress to the inhabitants in the time of

the famine which happened in *Claudius's* reign; and was not at that time a Christian, as *Orosius* affirms (36), though she became one afterwards, but a *Jewish* proselyte (37). But even this *Helena* did not exercise any regal authority in *Judea*, it being then become a *Roman* province; so that it is absurd to make the *Jews* address their complaints against Christ to her. Add to this, that it was long enough after his death that she came to settle in *Jerusalem*; since she lived long enough there to see the destruction of that metropolis under *Titus*.

(36) *Histor. lib. vii. c. 6.*

(37) *Ant. lib. xx. c. 2. See also Ant. Hist. vol. iii. p. 849, & seq.*



a of the passover, and the 40th day after, instead of their pentecost; all which they promised to comply with, upon condition that he consented to stay amongst them; to which he readily agreed. To this end they built a large tower, in which he shut himself up during the space of six years, at the end of which he died, having lived all that time upon bread and water only (O). Our author adds, that that tower was still to be seen at *Rome*, or at least a stone upon which he used to sit, and still bearing the name of *Peter*.

ELIJAH, or *Elias*, appeared soon after at *Rome*, and endeavoured to persuade the people of that city, that *Simon* was really an impostor, and that he had deceived them in pretending to have been sent from *Jesus*, for that himself was the person whom the Messiah had honoured with his commands; the first of which was to enjoin them to be circumcised, under the b penalty of being drowned; and the next, to observe the first instead of the seventh day as their sabbath. But whilst he was preaching these new orders to them, a stone fell upon his head and crushed him to death. Thus, concludes our author, *may all the enemies of God perish*. So far the first or elder book of the *Tholedoth*, published by *Wagenfeil*.

THE other, published by *Huldrick*, with his notes, hath adopted indeed the greater part of the other's forgeries, which we shall not, for that reason, repeat afresh, nor add any further remarks than upon those we have already; seeing the others are of so glaring and palpable a nature, that they hardly require any other confutation than the bare reading of them. What this second hath endeavoured chiefly to correct in his, is the monstrous anachronisms which his predecessor, and in general all the writers of his nation, have been more or less guilty of, in setting the c birth of Christ so far back (some of them above 300 centuries, as has been formerly shewn), beyond the Christian æra, not only in opposition to the sacred, but likewise to the concurrent testimony of prophane history. He accordingly, and judiciously, places the birth of Christ under the reign of *Herod the Great*, and tells us, that it was to that prince that the *Jews* preferred their complaint against the adulterous father of *Jesus*; and that, being highly provoked that such a criminal should have escaped his vengeance by his flight into *Egypt*, he went himself to *Bethlehem* †, and ordered all the children there to be massacred. And thus far, if we except the scandalous circumstances of Christ's mother, and the strange genealogy he gives us of her, and of her having been debauched into the sin of adultery, he hath followed more closely the evangelical narrative. But he is nevertheless guilty of a gross error in placing Christ's death d under the same reign, and pretending that that prince did not die till after he had condemned him to be stoned and hanged, seeing it was his death which hastened the return of the holy family from *Egypt*, and Christ did not suffer till the reign of *Tiberius*, and after *Archelaus* had been banished, and *Judea* left without any king; all which is no less evident, and beyond all dispute, even from prophane history.

ANOTHER blunder and anachronism, though in the opposite extreme, he is guilty of, is his making Christ to have been brought up at the feet of *Joshuab*, the son of *Petachiah*, a disciple of the great *Akiba* \*; whereas, as we have formerly shewn, this last did not flourish till the reign of the emperor *Adrian*, 100 years after the death of *Herod* and of *Jesus Christ* † (P).

BUT

† *Tholedoth*, p. 12 & 20.

\* *Ibid.* p. 119.

† See before, p. 491.

(O) It will hardly be needful to observe here, that our *Jewish* romancer hath taken this story from that of *Simon Magus*, mentioned in the *Acts*, and in our Ancient History, who was converted at *Samaria*, by *Philip*, after having for a long time bewitched that whole city with his sorceries (38). The scene is only removed from thence to *Rome* (or, as he calls it, the metropolis of the Christians, though they had not then, nor for many centuries after, any city that bore that title); this, we say, as well as some of the feats which he relates between *Judas* and his master, are fetched, by way of reprisal, out of the apocryphal Acts of St. *Peter*, and his pretended contest with *Simon Magus*, which several ancient fathers have adopted, and is to this effect: *Simon* being at *Rome*, by his magic tricks, in order to get himself acknowledged for the true Messiah, and, in confirmation of it, having attempted to ascend up into heaven, was got up a great way into the air, by the help of his demons, in a fiery chariot; the two apostles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, who were there at the same time, by their joint prayers so effectually drove away those demons, that he got his death

by the fall, not indeed upon the spot; but finding both his legs shattered by it, he caused himself to be conveyed to *Brundum* (a place supposed to be in some part of that city, since those fathers make him to have ended his life in it), and there, through shame and spite, threw himself headlong down from the top of the house, and expired on the pavement (39). One of these fathers adds, that the Gentiles would have put St. *Peter* to death for it, had he not, at the earnest request of the Christians, withdrawn himself out of the city, to escape their fury (40). Hence the reader may see whence this double story of the pretended *Judas* and *Simon* is taken and mangled by the *Jewish* writer of this forged narrative.

(P) We might here add, that he makes that celebrated *Jewish* doctor to take a journey to *Nazareth*, to inform himself more perfectly about the birth of Christ; and that, upon his promise of secrecy, confirmed by a solemn oath, his mother freely confessed to him, that that son of hers, who had so greatly distinguished himself at school above his school-fellows, was the off-spring of adultery. Upon hearing of which, he caused him to

(38) *Acts* viii. 9, & seq. *Anc. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 254, & seq. *Hierosol. cathec.* vi. *Ambros. lib.* iv. c. 9. *Salust. Sewer.* *Isidor. Hispal. Theodoret.* & al.

(39) *De loc.* vid. *Arnob. lib.* ii. *Cyril.*

(40) *Ambros. sermon.*



BUT what most palpably shews the stupidity and ignorance of this author, is the heap of a absurd circumstances which he has jumbled together concerning *Herod* and his son, who, he tells us, took up arms against the inhabitants of the desert of *Judea*, for defending Christ and his doctrine, and worshipping his and his mother's images. This obliged those idolaters to apply to the king of *Kaisarea* for assistance against *Herod's* son; who having assured that prince that there was no war between him and the *Israelites*, the inhabitants of *Ai* readily submitted to his father. Who this stupid writer can mean by the king of *Kaisarea*, and the inhabitants of *Ai*, the reader may see in the margin (Q). All we shall add here is, that they were become so powerful and insolent, according to him, as to come even up to *Jerusalem*, and stir up a sedition against *Herod*; till, for want of the expected assistance from the king of *Kaisarea*, they were obliged to lay down their arms and submit; whilst *Simon*, the promoter b of all this mischief, mounted his magical cloud, taking as many of his disciples into it as would or could get in, and hurried them away into their old desert, where he suddenly dropped them down, and dashed them in pieces with the fall. And thus ended, according to our author, this bloody contest between the disciples of *Jesus* and the *Jews*.

WE might here add another ridiculous circumstance concerning his supposed *Herod*; viz. that he was so cautious of delivering up *Jesus* to death, that *he issued out an order over all the earth, that if any one was minded to undertake his defence, he should repair to the sanhedrin at Jerusalem, and demand to be heard.* this is not unlike what the Thalmudists say in favour of that sanhedrin; that, to manifest the justice of their sentence against him, they ordered him to be publicly led through *Jerusalem*, during the space of forty days, with a herald proclaiming before him, *that if any one would undertake to plead his cause, or prove his innocence, he had free liberty to do it.* This is not quite so improbable as the other, because that court, though much abridged of its power by the *Romans*, could still try a criminal, and pronounce him guilty, though not put him to death without the concurrent sentence of the governor: whereas *Herod* was long since dead, and therefore that circumstance is manifestly false which is here related of him. c

be apprehended at his return, and condemned him to have his head shaved, and washed with a certain liquor which should prevent all further growth of his hair. That finding himself despised and shunned on that account, he gained a few straggling disciples, whom he obliged to be likewise shorn, and to whom he expounded the law in a manner contrary to the *Jewish* traditions. He likewise mentions some of those disciples under the mutilated names of the apostles; and adds, that they being quickly known by their tonsure, *Herod* caused them to be seized; but that they all had the good luck to escape, except one who was called *John*, whom he ordered to be beheaded; whilst *Jesus* and his other disciples, being retired into a desert, began to teach them, *That he was God, born of a virgin, who had conceived him by the Holy Ghost, and the true Redeemer; and that whoever believed on him, should obtain the bliss of the world to come.* He maintained moreover, *That the Mosaic law was to be abolished, because it had continued through 200 generations since the reign of David; which was the term that royal prophet had declared it should last* (41). We shall not trouble our readers with a confutation of this spurious heap; he may, if he pleases, see it fully done by the authors quoted in the margin (42).

(Q) We must apprise him here, that this fabulist, who was probably a *German Jew*, and knew that those of the city of *Worms* had formerly maintained to one of the emperors, that they had strenuously opposed the putting of Christ to death; hath taken it in his head, from that pretended plea, to build a most ridiculous story, and to insert it in his narrative as a fact; viz. that *Herod*, before he would proceed to put him to death, had consulted the *Jewish* senate of that city about it; but that they had unanimously opined against it, and advised that monarch to content himself with confining and nourishing him during his life; but that their counsel was rejected, and *Jesus* condemned to be nailed to the tree. All which is not only contrary to his predecessor's account, which says positively, that he caused

him to be seized by a posse of his armed men, who killed some of his disciples, and put the rest to flight; upon which the sanhedrin ordered him to be stoned to death, just before their feast of the passover; but absolutely improbable, considering the great distance between *Jerusalem* and the city of *Worms* in *Germany*, and the great unlikelihood there is that the sanhedrin of this latter should bear such great sway over that of the former at that time.

However, from the pretended war with those idolaters, and their application to the *Kaisarean* king for help and protection, one may justly conclude, that this writer lived somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Worms*, where seeing the images of Christ and his mother worshipped by the Christians of those parts, he took it into his head, that the primitive ones were guilty of the same idolatry, and might naturally apply to the *German* emperors for assistance to stop the persecution which *Herod* had raised against them on that account.

As for the inhabitants of *Ai*, said there to have submitted to *Herod*, they were according to him, a set of *Jesus's* disciples, who, to prevent his death, armed themselves against the *Jews* in the desert of that name, and not only killed 2000 of them, but kept all the passes to *Jerusalem* so closely shut up, that none dared to go thither at the usual festivals (43). All which, and many others of their hostilities against the *Jewish* nation and worship, was done in compliance to the advice, and by the direction, of *Simon Kipha*.

How inconsistent all this romantic stuff is, not only with the sacred but prophane history, needs hardly to be shewn; since we are well assured from both, that at that time *Judea* was not only without a king, but was likewise become a *Roman* province, and was also free from any wars under the peaceful reign of *Tiberius*. Neither were the primitive Christians at that time in a condition to raise such a bloody one against the *Jews*, if they had been ever so inclined to it (44).

(41) *Psal.* cv. 8. *Tholedoth Huldrick*, p. 43, & seq. tom. v. c. 15. §. ix.

(43) *Tholedoth Huldrick*, p. 96.

(42) *Huldrick* not. in loc. *Basnage Hist. des Juifs*,

(44) *Huldrick* notes. *Basnage*, ubi sup.



<sup>a</sup> We shall not need here to observe in how many other points this last author contradicts his predecessor in his relation of the death of Christ. First he makes him to have been condemned to death by *Herod*, and the other by the sanhedrin, against the consent of a fabulous queen named *Helena*, with the additional circumstances of his being tied to a pillar, scourged and crowned with thorns, which he makes no mention of. He next affirms, that he was nailed to a tree; whereas the other affirms, that he was stoned and hanged, and with this notable addition, on a monstrous cabbage-stalk, because no wood could bear his weight without breaking. The one mentions the bloody war which followed his death between his disciples and the *Jews*: the other only says, that the sanhedrin made choice of *Simon Kipha* to stop the progress of his doctrine; who, by virtue of the ineffable name, having transported himself to *Rome*, and convinced the *Nazarenes* (or Christians) by miracles, that he was sent by him, and by that means engaged them to be directed by him, absolutely forbade them to exercise any hostilities or ill offices against the *Jews*; and having soon after shut himself up in his tower, lived six years in it on bread and water, and then died. Even in those things in which they agree, in how many things do they run counter to all other history, both sacred and prophane? How many glaring anachronisms and other palpable inconsistencies have we had occasion to take notice of in these two short extracts; and how many more absurdities and puerilities might we have observed in each relation, had we followed them through every page? To say nothing of that monstrous as well as impious notion which runs through the whole, and is in a great measure the basis of each of their fabulous narratives; we mean the miraculous virtue ascribed to the right pronunciation of the word *JEHOVAH*, by what foul stratagems soever obtained; and which, however ill grounded, and derogatory to the Supreme Being, to whom that sacred name properly belongs, is nevertheless firmly believed by the bulk of the *Jews*. But we shall not repeat what we have formerly said against that senseless prejudice<sup>†</sup>; and hope we have sufficiently exposed the imposture of the two books above-mentioned, to convince our readers of the fatal blindness of the *Jewish* nation, as well as of the dishonesty of their guides; these, for having recourse to, and those for so readily swallowing, such abominable and diabolical forgeries, to keep alive their irreconcilable aversion to Christ and his religion.

<sup>c</sup> HAVING now gone through every material point relating to this interesting subject, we shall here, by way of conclusion, unite into one view, what, by reason of the circumstances of time and place, lieth scattered through this chapter, concerning the present doubtful and melancholy state of the *Jewish* nation, and the various artifices by which they have been kept up by their doctors from unbelief and utter despondency to this day, to the admiration not of Christians only, but all other countries were they are dispersed<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> 1. THEY have in general, been kept steadfast in their hopes and full expectation of a general recall, under their Messiah, in spite of the poor elusory shifts which their rabbies have been driven to, not so much to account for, as to cast a thick veil over, those insurmountable difficulties which naturally arose from his surprising delay, so many centuries beyond the time prefixed by the sacred oracles, and agreed to by all the *Jewish* writers before Christ<sup>b</sup>. For, whilst one set of them, in conformity to the twofold character of a Messiah, the one a great sufferer, the other a glorious conqueror, acknowledge *Jesus* the son of *Joseph* to be the first, and Messiah the son of *David* to be the latter; and another set, equally learned and numerous, wholly exclude the suffering, and will admit of none but a glorious one, who is to be their great deliverer and restorer, but whose appearance is retarded thus strangely on account of their sins; into what perplexity must such a contrariety of opinions drive the bulk of their nation: and who shall direct them which to chuse, or assure them that either of them may be safely embraced? The former being so opposite to the prejudices they have imbibed against *Jesus* the son of *Mary*<sup>c</sup>, and the odious character which their *Talmud* and most other books give of him; the other no less vague, uncertain, and contested. One party stiffly denying his having ever yet appeared; the other maintaining that he was actually born about the time of their dispersion under *Titus*<sup>d</sup>; but widely differ about the place where, and the manner in which, he lies concealed from them, on account of their impiety; some of the *Talmudists* believing that he lies hid among the bulk of lepers, sick, and lame, at the gates of *Rome*<sup>e</sup>, answerable to the description given of him by *Isaiah*<sup>f</sup>, and impatiently waiting for the day of his glorious appearance; whilst others affirm him to be detained in Paradise, bound with women's hair (R).

<sup>†</sup> Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 484, sub. not.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 626, & seq.

<sup>d</sup> Chap. liii. pass.

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 479, & seq.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 481, & seq. sub. not.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. SOL. JARCHI, & BUXTORF *Tiad. Hæbr.*

<sup>f</sup> Vid. *Tract. Sanhedr.*

(R) Thus they expound that verse in the canticles: *Thy head upon thee is like crimson, or Carmel, and the hair of thy head like purple strings, by which the king (Messiah) is kept bound in stately galleries, or, as others render it, in stately walk: the original word signifying properly a canal or aqueduct (1).*

(1) Vid. *Daw. Kimchi, Comm. in Cant. viii. 5. Vid. Mashev, & al. in loc.*



So fruitful is the fancy of the rabbinical tribe, in their expositions and expedients, to keep up a the drooping expectations of their laity, as well as themselves in countenance, by backing every notion and resverie with the appearance of scriptural authority. By this they have given a terrible check to the over-curious of their nation, by the anathema they have pronounced against all farther enquiries after this important point; implying no less than the utter bursting or rotting both of the soul and body, or flesh and spirit <sup>e</sup>.

BUT if we would judge at once of their peculiar dexterity in this art, and the most complete stupidity and implicit credulity of their disciples, we must recur once more to the scriptural demonstration they have given us of that sumptuous banquet, with which the Messiah is to entertain them, after he has completed all his conquests. Here, to counterbalance the terror of that anathema by alluring promises, equally suited to their carnal genius, we shall find a <sup>b</sup> great number of places of the sacred writings wrested to such a shameful sense, as comes little short of burlesque, to inhance the wonders and magnificence of that fantastical feast. We have lately given a short sketch, upon another occasion <sup>h</sup>, of the stupendous animals which are reserved to glut its happy guests. But as these rather shew the extravagance of their depraved taste, than their so much boasted understanding of the scriptures, for which they value themselves above all other nations, it will not be improper to give some few instances, by way of conclusion, how happily they have displayed that valuable talent in the choice of their proofs, and the sense they have given to every text which they bring to back and illustrate every particular of that banquet (S).

<sup>e</sup> Vid. BUXTORF Tradit. Hæbr. ubi sup.

<sup>h</sup> P. 630 (Y).

(S) To begin with the *Behemoth*: They have, by a wrested parallel in the Psalms, which ours and all other versions rightly translate, *The cattle upon a thousand hills*, (2) swelled that animal to a mountainous bulk, not only to afford a plentiful feast for that numerous company, but to entertain it before-hand with a long and dreadful engagement with the *Leviathan*, till the contest is ended (neither side being either tired or worsted) by the keen sword of the Messiah; who having slain them both, shall commit their carcasses to the care of a sufficient number of able cooks, to roast and divide among the guests. And this previous fight they prove from these words of the Psalmist (3), *There is that Behemoth and the great Leviathan, whom thou hast made to (not take, but) make sport in it.* Their being slain by the Messiah is taken out of *Isaiah* (4), *In that day the Lord shall, with his sore and strong sword, punish or slay, Leviathan, that crooked serpent.*

The elegance of this feast is taken out of the same prophet (5), *In this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things, &c.* And that there

will be such a superfluity and redundancy of all fish, flesh, fowls, &c. that vast remains of them will be publicly sold in the markets of *Jerusalem*; they judiciously infer from that passage in *Job*, which we rightly translate interrogatively, but they positively, concerning the *Leviathan* (6), *The companions shall make a banquet of him, and shall part him among the merchants.* We omit several other thalmodic monstrosities, to speak of the desert and superexcellent wine which are to crown this noble feast, both which are said to be the produce and vintage of *Paradise*, and preserved there ever since *Adam's* fall against this time. For in this sense they understand the passages quoted in the margin (7). The conclusion of the feast, or, as we may call it, the cup of thanks, is too ridiculous, not to call it by a worse name, to be here mentioned, as well as the dimensions of the cup, which, from the numerical letters of the participle *רַוְיָהּ*, *revajah*, *overflowing*, joined to it, in the 23d Psalm, makes up the amount 221, infer that that will be the number of measures it is to contain.

(2) *Psal.* l. 10. civ. 25, 26.

(3) *Pf.* lxxiv. 13.

(4) *Cb.* xxvii. 1.

(5) *Cb.* xxv. 6.

(6) *Job*, xli. 6.

(7) *Isai.* xxvii. 2, 3. lxiv. 4. *Pf.* xxiii. 5. lxxv. 8. cxvi. 13.



## B O O K XXI.

*The history of Africa, and of all the principal nations and states which inhabit it.*

## C H A P. I.

*A general description of Africa.*

**W**E are now entering into a new part of the world, in most respects vastly different from that which we have gone through in the foregoing volumes ; and of which we may truly say, we are much better acquainted with its situation, extent, compass, limits, length, and breadth, and other external particulars, than we are with most of those which relate to its internal. For the first we are beholden chiefly to the later and more exact astronomical observations which have been made around all its coasts, as well as on some parts of the inland ; and the more accurate maps which have been since published from them, particularly those of the late Mons. *D'Arville*. The other is partly owing to the vast extent of it, the variety of its climes, inhabitants, or to the little commerce we have with the greatest part of the inland ; to which we may add, the extreme jealousy which the inhabitants have, not without good grounds, conceived against the *Europeans*, whom they look upon as altogether combined in a design of robbing them of their gold mines, which are, in a great measure, their only treasure, and the chief branch of that commerce by which they are supplied with such foreign commodities as their country is destitute of, more through their stupidity and negligence, than any defect in that, as will be more plainly shewn in the sequel ; and more particularly when we come to speak of the conquests of the *Portuguese* around all the *African* coasts, and of their harsh treatment of the inhabitants.

*Africa very little known to us.*

*The extreme jealousy of the inhabitants not ill founded.*

HENCE it is that, in the far greater part of it which remains still unconquered, all strangers, under what disguise or pretence soever, are interdicted the liberty of travelling thro', or making any discoveries or even enquiries about, their country ; and this even upon their coasts, especially the eastern ones, where, though they admit them to a free commerce with them, it is chiefly for their own conveniency : the exchange of goods is either transacted upon the water, or, at most, on shore ; from which if any of them are caught straggling ever so little towards the inland, they must expect to be immediately assassinated by a whole posse of the natives. The like precaution is also used towards them by those inland monarchs, who, for the sake of trade, permit them to travel into their dominions, which is done only on some navigable rivers, from which they are not allowed to land on either side, on pain of death, nor even to stop at any village or town upon its banks, excepting only such as are appointed markets, and out of which they must not venture to stir till their departure, under the same penalties. We shall not mention here the natural stubbornness, and almost invincible taciturnity, of its inhabitants, even of those who are carried slaves into other countries, with respect to such questions as are asked of them concerning that part of the country they were born and brought up in, and which neither caresses nor threats, kind or rough treatment, can make them break ; or if they do, it is rather to amuse one with evasions, than to give one the least hint either about their

*Stubborn silence of the African slaves.*



their religion, customs, government, trade, &c. And hence it is, that we have hitherto been able to gain only so imperfect a knowledge of the inland parts of this vast continent, notwithstanding the number of authors who have attempted to give us more ample accounts of it; but who, by their pretended histories, descriptions, relations, memoirs, voyages, observations, and other as pompous as voluminous works<sup>a</sup>, have rather helped to bewilder and benight the readers, through a country which is almost wholly enlightened by the vertical rays of the sun.

African writers have taken too large a scope.

NOR is this so much to be wondered at, considering their extensive scope, and the scarcity of suitable materials, from the reasons above-mentioned: so that these authors have best succeeded in their accounts, who have confined themselves within the narrowest limits, and depended on their own observations rather than the credit of other relations. It is therefore on such authentic testimonies that we shall chiefly depend, when they can be had, and leave the numerous herd of *African* writers to follow one another, like so many sheep, and in many cases, on no better grounds than bare hearsay; unless, perhaps, whenever we meet with a proper occasion to expose their vanity, or confute their errors, from better authorities, especially in points of more than common importance.

Africa a large peninsula.

WHEN this vast continent, or, to style it more properly, this vast peninsula (A), was first distinguished with the title of a distinct or third part of the world, is not possible for us to guess<sup>b</sup>. *Strabo* knew so little of its extent, that he thought it much too inconsiderable to deserve that distinction<sup>c</sup>; which yet shews that it enjoyed it in his time, if it be not of much older and more authentic standing; concerning which the reader may see what hath been said of this threefold partition in our *Ancient History*<sup>d</sup>. However, *Strabo* might well speak of *Africa* as he did, seeing he knew of no more of it than the *Romans* had reduced under their power, which was scarcely a tenth part of it. *Ptolemy*, indeed, appears to have been much better acquainted with some other parts which were unknown to the *Romans*; yet by the division he hath made of it into 12 regions, one may plainly see, that he was still unacquainted with nearly one half of it<sup>e</sup>. If we come to the *African* and *Arab* geographers, we shall be still more surpris'd at their ignorance of their own country, and at their contracting it within a smaller compass than *Ptolemy*, by their inaccurate maps and descriptions; and, what is still more strange, by their striking all that lies between the *Nile* and the *Red Sea* from being a part of it, and making that river the boundary between *Asia* and *Africa* on that side<sup>f</sup>.

Greatly changed since Ptolemy.

Africans not well acquainted with it.

WHAT adds still to the difficulty of their geography, especially that of *Mozzawdi* and *Berber*, is the difference of names which they give to provinces, capes, gulphs, towns, &c. from those which we find in *Ptolemy* above-mentioned, as well as that of their longitude and latitude, which cast a great, and, in some measure, unavoidable obscurity on their cosmography, seeing they only make use of those new names which the *Arabs* gave them at their first coming into *Africa*, most probably with a view to obliterate the memory of the old inhabitants. To all which if we add the devastation of sundry provinces, the destruction of many antient cities, whose names and memory perished with them, and a great number of new ones, which have been built by those new comers, to say nothing of those much greater and dreadful ones, which happened in that part of the world under the tyranny of the *Vandals*, &c. of all which we shall give an account in its proper place; we shall have little cause to wonder at the obscurity and imperfection which still reigned in all the geographical descriptions of this part of the world, both with respect to its extent, true situation, coasts, and much more so of its spacious inland.

Leo Africanus knew not one half of it.

EVEN *Leo Africanus*, that learned *Moor* (B) and eminent *African* geographer, after all his studies, travels, and diligent researches, his application, and earnest desire to give the world a more

<sup>a</sup> See the numerous list of them in MORRERI's dictionary, sub voc. Afric. p. 178.

<sup>c</sup> Geography, lib. xvii. & alib. pass.

<sup>b</sup> See Anc. Hist. vol. vii.

<sup>d</sup> Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 156, & seq.

<sup>e</sup> Geo-

graphy. lib. iv. pass.

<sup>f</sup> Vide MARMOL Afric. lib. i. c. 3.

(A) As being every-where surrounded by the sea, excepting at the isthmus of *Suez*, which joins it to *Asia*, at the extreme northern verge of the *Red Sea*, and divides *Egypt* from *Arabia Petrea*. Which isthmus is not above 20 leagues in length, and is so called from the sea-port of that name, situate on a gulph at the south end of it, as will be further shewn in the sequel.

(B) He was a native of *Granada*, and one of those who were forced to flee into *Barbary*, under the reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. He at first settled at *Fez*, where he made himself master of the *Arabic* tongue, and had an opportunity of consulting all the *African* geographers who had written before him; after which, partly out of curiosity, and partly in a public character, under

some of the *African* princes, he took occasion to travel through a great part of *Africa*, and to observe what was most curious and remarkable in it; by which means he was enabled to write the description of this country, which goes under his name. Having had, among other misfortunes, that of being taken by some pirates, near the coast of *Tunis*, he was soon after brought to *Rome*, and presented to pope *Leo X.* who, being apprised of his great skill in geography, and of his having compiled a curious description of *Africa*, caused him to be instructed in the Christian religion, and afterwards to be baptized by the name of *John Leo*; that pontif having settled a handsome pension on him, he staid long enough at *Rome* to become master of the *Italian* language, and to trans-

late



- a a more perfect knowlege, and more ample and accurate description of this vast peninsula, than any who had wrote of it before him; and may be truly said, notwithstanding the succinctness and inequality of the performance to the vastness of the scope, to have, in many respects, greatly outdone them; yet, on the whole, to have gained but a maimed and imperfect knowlege of the far greater and most considerable part of it: at least the lame and truncated division which he, or rather his masters, give us of it into four parts only; viz. *Barbary*, *Numidia*, or *Biledulgerid*, *Libya*, and *Nigritia*, or, as it is commonly called, *Negroland*<sup>f</sup>, plainly proves that he excludes no less from it than the kingdom of *Egypt*, and the two *Ethiopias*, or, in other words, strikes out the biggest and most considerable part from the whole. These *Marmol* hath indeed added to the other four, and reckons them as the fifth and sixth parts
- b into which he divides the whole *African* continent; though these three last are so confusedly distinguished, that he seems to make a threefold *Ethiopia*; viz. the *Higher*, *Lower*, and a third, which he places above *Egypt*, and calls the kingdom of *Newba*, or *Nubia*; unless we suppose that he intended to include this last in his first or upper<sup>g</sup>.

FROM what hath been hitherto said, our readers may judge what imperfect knowlege the *Europeans*, not to say all other nations, the natives and other invaders not excluded, had of this rich and extensive continent, till the *Portuguese*, by their early and superior skill in, as well as by the noble encouragement they gave to, their navigation, were enabled not only to pursue their new discoveries around its western and eastern coasts, and penetrate even to the utmost verge of its northern ones along those of the *Arabic* or *Red Sea*, but by their conquests and settlements on the most convenient bays, harbours, and rivers, to open to themselves a way into the inland parts, as well as to fix their longitudes and latitudes by repeated observations, to that degree of accuracy and certainty, in which we now have them set down in our most correct *African* maps (C).

It must be owned, however, that there were maps which exhibited this third part of the world as surrounded by the sea, in the manner we have described it, long enough before the *Portuguese* completed their gradual circumnavigation; neither were they, in all likelihood, the first who undertook the like expedition with success, if what *Herodotus* says on a similar occasion may be relied on; viz. that *Nekus*, or, as the scripture calls him, *Pharaoh Necho*, king of *Egypt*, equipped some *Phœnician* ships on the *Red Sea*, which, sailing thence into the southern, or, as it is called, *African* ocean, returned back into *Egypt* by the *Columns of Hercules*<sup>h</sup>. It is true, that author, though in many cases over credulous, seems here quite on the other extreme; though the reason he gives for his disbelief (they affirming that they sailed round the *Libyan* or *African* coasts, with the sun on their right hand) be really a confirmation of the truth of their course, and of their having doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*. However, his mistrust of their report did not hinder his believing and affirming, in express terms, the continent of *Africa* to be a peninsula, joined only to *Asia* by a neck of land; which plainly shews that it was then the received notion they had of it; but whether founded on experience, or mere conjecture, or of how much longer standing, who can tell? However, with respect to the first question, it is not unlikely that the construction of the aforesaid old charts will give us some farther light; and as they are preserved as great curiosities in that kind, our readers will not be displeased with the account we shall now subjoin of them.

THE first and most considerable, as being above 200 years older than the first *Portuguese* expedition round the *Cape*, was compiled by that celebrated traveller, *Marco Paulo*, often mentioned in this work, and is preserved in the church of *St. Michael di Murano*, in the city of *Venice*<sup>i</sup>, and distinctly exhibits that southern cape, together with the coasts of *Zinzibar*, and the great island of *Madagascar*. The other was drawn up in the year 1306, by *Marinus Sanutus*, and published by *Bongarsius*<sup>k</sup>; but is rather such a deformed representation of that

<sup>f</sup> LEO AFRICANUS, l. i. c. 3.

<sup>g</sup> MARMOL Afric. l. i. c. 4.

<sup>h</sup> Melpomene, Eng. edit. p. 364.

<sup>i</sup> See the Giornat. di Lettere, an. 1686, p. 72. Geograph. reformada, p. 265.

<sup>k</sup> See his Gesta Dei,

per FRANCES, at the end.

late his *African* history out of the *Arabic*, in which he had wrote it, into *Italian* (1).

(C) We beg leave, however, to observe, that we do not here pretend to ascertain to the *Portuguese* the honour of having been the first discoverers of the western *African* coasts, or the first that ventured to sail beyond the cape *Non*, on the coast of *Biledulgerid*, so called from an old observation, that those who had so done had never come back (2); there are good grounds to believe that some other *European* nations, as the *Spaniards*, and more particularly the *Normans*, had not only penetrated much far-

ther, but had some companies which had already their factories on the *Niger*, *Cambia*, *Sierra Leona*, and other rivers and ports, so early as the year 1366, if one may credit the dates of their charter (3), and that was long enough before Don *Henriquez* of *Portugal* sent his adventurers to those coasts.

All we pretend to insinuate here is, that it is to the *Portuguese* conquests and settlements around this peninsula, that we owe those astronomical observations, which have ascertained the true site, extent, and other, till then unknown, particulars relating to *Africa*.

(1) Florian Epist. ad Melchoir. Schet. Corvino. prefix. in Lat. vers. ejusdem Leon. Afric. histor. lib. i. c. 36. Leo Afric. lib. i. c. 2. Et alib.

(2) Marmol, (3) De his, vid. Labat, Relat. de l'Afric. Occident. tom. i. c. 2.



one and not in  
the other.

Whence they  
probably took  
them.

Asiatics trade  
with Africa.

How far  
southward.

The chanel of  
Madagascar  
too boisterous  
for their slight  
vessels.

Vasco de Ga-  
ma first dou-  
bled the Cape  
of Good  
Hope.

African mis-  
sionaries;

country, as sufficiently displays the ignorance and rudeness of those times. It exhibits *Africa* as a peninsula, on the east part of which the coasts of *Zinzibar* are expressly mentioned, together with a large island on the east of them, which seems to be same with *Madagascar*, but here nominated *Pipis*. The southern limits shew nothing like the *Cape of Good Hope*, but are described as rounding off with a circular line, with a dent in the middle, more resembling the posteriors of a man than any thing else. In other respects, it is so like that of *Marco Paulo*, that, but for that difference, one might have imagined that *Sanutus* had copied it from him. It is not easy to guess from whence those two maps were compiled; whether from certain reports of some *Asiatics*, or, more probably perhaps, of some *Persians*, who might have doubled that southern cape, long before any *Europeans*; but, from the rudeness and incorrectness of them, it not only appears that neither *Sanutus* nor *Marco Paulo* delineated them at their own experience, but likewise that those from whom we suppose them to have been copied, whether *Persians* or others (D), had but a very imperfect knowledge of those southern coasts. The *Arabs* and *Persians* were indeed much better acquainted with the eastern, with which they kept a constant commerce for gold, elephants teeth, and other *African* commodities; and *Vasco de Gama*, and his successors, at their arrival thither, found them very expert in navigation, and provided with compasses and other instruments, as well as with pretty good charts, both of that coast, and of the islands adjacent to it; by the help of which, and some of their expert pilots, he was enabled to sail up northwards to the streights of *Babel Mandel*<sup>1</sup>: but it seems plain to us, that this commerce reached no farther southward than to the farther end of the *Zanguebarian* coasts, and the islands adjacent to them; their slight trading vessels not being able to sail through the streights of *Madagascar*, by reason of the violent storms and dangerous currents which reign all the way through that chanel, and have proved fatal to an incredible number even of the stoutest *European* ships, as will be farther shewn in the sequel. From all that hath been said hitherto, the reader may see how little of the far greater part of southern *Africa* was known to any nation, either with regard to its true site, extent, coasts, rivers, bays, promontories, &c. before the close of the 15th century; when the *Portuguese* king *Emanuel*, spurred on by a desire of discovering a way into the *East Indies* by sea, appointed the famed *Vasco de Gama* admiral of that expedition, who was the first *European* that doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, discovered, in his very first voyage, both the western and eastern coasts of it, and, by that means, gave an opportunity to his countrymen to make so many settlements on, and to establish such a commerce with, both sides, as hath helped them, and other *Europeans* since them, to that more perfect and satisfactory knowledge which we have of them.

WE are no less beholden to them for the far greatest share of what we know of the inland parts, and most considerable empires and kingdoms of it; particularly those of *Habesh*, or *Abissinia*, *Monomotapa*, *Munoemugi*, the eastern kingdoms; of *Kongo*, *Angola*, *Metamba*, *Loango*, &c. and others on the western; those of *Sofala*, *Mozambico*, *Quiloa*, *Mombazo*, *Melinda*, on the eastern coast; their various religions, government, laws, customs, products, commerce, and other particulars; for the greater part of which we are beholden to their missionaries, who have penetrated into those torrid and unwholesome climes, and amongst the most barbarous nations, with the utmost hazard, and through the greatest hardships and discouragements, to propagate the gospel amongst them: though it must be owned, that, in this last respect, *Africa* hath been much more neglected and left destitute than any other part of the world. The excessive heats, badness of diet, unwholesome waters, hardships in travelling, bad accommodations, dreadful distempers, and other disasters, which the first that were sent thither were forced to undergo, made such a deadly havock amongst them, that scarce

<sup>1</sup> See OSSORIO, l. ix. of the Portuguese conquests.

(D) We have had occasion to mention, in a former volume (4), a pretence of the antient *Chinese* to a high perfection in the art of navigation; and that they boast to have sailed so far as this famous cape, to which they gave the name of *Za-tan-chan*, or mountain of high waves; which answers well enough to the description which all navigators who have doubled it give us of it. And though this bold pretension hath met with little credit among the *Europeans*, and seems, indeed, very improbable, considering the present unfitness of their trading vessels for such a long and dangerous voyage (which unfitness may be owing to the laws by which their commerce hath been confined to much shorter ones; and they might, for aught that appears to the contrary, have

built them in those days in a more suitable manner); yet thus much may be gathered from it, that they had some knowledge of that cape, however they came by it, before the arrival of the *Europeans* into *China*. Some of the nearer *Asiatic* traders to the eastern coasts of *Africa* might have been driven by stress of weather, or other accidents, near enough towards that cape, as to spread the notion and description of it among the *Indian* traders as far as *China*. So that it is not at all improbable, that *Marco Paulo*, who resided so long amongst them (5), might receive his knowledge and description of the *African* coasts either by the one or the other; and *Sanutus*, from some imperfect draught of this.

(4) See before, vol. iii. p. 596.

(5) Ibid. p. 516 & (F). vol. iv. p. 108, & seq.



a one in ten outlived the first six months ; and those that did, became so weak and attenuated by frequent relapses, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could go through their spiritual functions. All these discouragements brought such an ill report of that mission, as quite cooled the zeal of the most religious and mortified orders among them ; insomuch, that the court of *Portugal*, though it wanted neither zeal nor other motives for promoting so laudable a work, nor for frequent and earnest application from thence for fresh supplies of labourers in that ecclesiastical vineyard, and these backed with solemn promises of a plentiful vintage, could yet with great difficulty supply them with the twentieth part of their wants, even with all the assistance which the pope and society *de propaganda fide* could give.

Great mortality amongst them.

Great difficulty of supplying them with new ones.

b From that time the scarcity of missionaries visibly increased through all their conquests, settlements, and factories ; to the great decay of Christianity and morality ; and the vast numbers of proselytes, so much boasted of by the first preachers, dwindled into nothing. If any Capuchins, or other of the mendicant brotherhood, (for we do not find any of the Jesuitical society amongst them) offered themselves volunteers for that mission, they were commonly men of no parts or learning, and remarkable only for their pious zeal, which made them so intent upon the conversion of the natives, that they neglected every other useful care or concern, even that of their health and lives, which were the sooner at an end on that very account : to say nothing of the frequent mortifications they met with from the scandalous and immoral lives of their lay countrymen, and the vast obstacle they proved to their success. This is the melancholy account which those good fathers give us of the almost total decay of Christianity in all the *Portuguese* settlements (E) in *Africa*, and which (as we shall have occasion to give frequent instances of through the course of this history of its several kingdoms and states) we shall now close with that which one of that fraternity hath not scrupled to prefix to his late relation of the western part of that continent<sup>m</sup>, that our readers may be able to judge of the true state of that mission.

Main cause of the decay of Christianity.

c " THIS point," says he, " hath been so much neglected, that we need not be surprised if God hath withheld his blessing from men who had paid so little regard to his worship. And I believe I am not mistaken, when I attribute the cause of all their disorders, and the ruin of so many successive companies, to their general as well as criminal negligence in this matter. For so far have they been from endeavouring to spread the light of the gospel through a vast continent, inhabited by such a variety of nations, immersed in the darkest mists of the grossest idolatry and diabolical superstitions, they have scarcely thought it worth their care to keep chaplains and preachers in their various settlements ; and those which they have amongst them, are, for the most part, persons without credit or authority from their bishops or principals, and who pay neither regard nor obedience to them ; most of them without learning, and whose conduct is the most unfit to procure them either confidence or regard from those whom Providence hath committed to their care."

The great neglect of the Portuguese censured.

d BUT how great soever their neglect may have been here of the concerns of religion, which were yet cried up as the main motives of their spreading their conquests in this as well as in other parts of the globe ; they must stand acquitted to all the world of having been guilty of the same indolence with regard to their secular affairs ; and it must be owned in their favour, that the many useful observations and discoveries they have made from time to time, and communicated to the public, both with regard to the *African* coasts, and of as many parts of the inland as they have been able to penetrate into, having given a much truer idea, and more ample knowledge of them than we could, in all likelihood, have gained without them. Having thus far paid our due acknowledgements to them, we may now proceed in order.

Their care of their secular affairs of great use to the public.

<sup>m</sup> LABAT, preface to his *Relat. de l'Afrique occidentale*. 1727. p. x. & seq. vide & GAVARRI, in *Congo & Angola*. PIGAFET. & al.

(E) Our readers will probably think it a strange paradox, that the excessive heats of *Africa* should be so much more fatal to the *Portuguese* missionaries than to the laity, who are dispersed and settled there in almost every climate, carry on their traffick both by land and water, from place to place, are exposed to the same inclemencies of the air, the same fatigues, difficulties, and dangers, in travelling, and, what is still worse, live more irregularly, and indulge in every kind of debauchery ; yet, after taking a little care at their first coming, to season themselves to the climates allotted to them, do, for the most part, live long and healthy, or at least exempt from that quick and destructive mortality which carries off their priests and monks. But whatever be the cause, it is plain, that there have been but few, if any, of

them sent from *Portugal* into any part of *Africa*, except only where they are masters, or at least strong enough to keep the natives in awe ; and those rather under the character of chaplains to their conquests and settlements, than as missionaries ; their function being confined to the service of those churches and chapels which were built for the use of their countrymen, and those few converts that live among them. It is therefore much more likely that the suppression of that mission was owing to the implacable hatred which the natives have conceived against them and their religion, which makes every attempt to convert them not only impracticable, but to the highest degree dangerous, than to the excessive heat and unwholesomeness of the country, air, or aliments.



## S E C T. I.

*The topographical description of Africa.*

*Africa described.*

*A large peninsula.*

*Its figure.*

*Extent in longitude and latitude.*

*Situation under the torrid zone.*

*Why supposed uninhabitable by the ancients; or only with strange fabulous creatures.*

*The contrary proved.*

*Why some parts thinly peopled.*

*Not wholly on account of its hot climate.*

WE have already hinted that this large continent is encompassed all round by the sea, <sup>a</sup> excepting the isthmus, or narrow neck of land, at *Suez*, which is computed to be about 70 miles in length, and divides the *Mediterranean* from the *Red Sea*, whilst it joins the continent of *Asia* to that of *Africa*, which is from thence styled a peninsula, and by far the largest in the world. Geographers have been pleased to compare the figure it makes on the maps, some to a heart, others to an irregular pyramid inverted, whose basis, which faces the north, and extends itself from the mouth of the *Nile* to the streight of *Gibraltar*, is washed by the *Mediterranean*, which is its boundary on that side. Part of its eastern side is bounded by the *Red Sea*, and all the rest by the eastern and western oceans, ending in one point at the *Cape of Good Hope*. Others again to a triangle or a bow, whose string reaches from *Cape Vert*, or from *Sierra Leona* to that of *Good Hope*, and on the middle of which is the little island <sup>b</sup> of *St. Thomas*. Its utmost extent from north to south, on both sides of the equinoxial, which is taken from the *Cape Bona*, in the *Mediterranean*, which lies under the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, to that of *Good Hope*, under the thirty-fifth and a half south, and contains seventy degrees and a half, or 1400 geometrical leagues, or of 20 to a degree. Its extent from east to west is taken from *Cape Vert*, to that of *Guarda Fui*, situate on the utmost verge of the streights of *Babel Mandel*, contains seventy-five degrees, which make an extent of 1500 leagues from east to west. Hence it appears that two thirds, or very near it, of *Africa* lie under the torrid zone, and is divided across by the equinoxial line, into two parts; of which, however, the northern is by far the most extensive of the two, as well as the most exposed to the vertical rays of the sun, which, being reverberated by the soil, which is, for the most <sup>c</sup> part, naturally sandy, occasion such excessive heat and sultry atmosphere, especially in the inland parts, as is scarcely supportable by any but the natives. And hence the notion of the ancients, both *Greeks* and *Romans*, that they were wholly uninhabited <sup>n</sup>; or, if any of them thought them otherwise, they colonied them with such fabulous and monstrous creatures, as they imagined the most suitable to the notions they had of these scorching fiery regions: witness the *Gymphasantes* of *Mela*, the *Pygmies*, *Cunocephali*, *Sciapodes*, *Blemmies*, and others of the like fabulous nature, with the *Troglodytes*, *Ichthyophagi*, *Elephantophagi*, *Spermatophagi*, *Cynomolgi*, and a number of others no less fabulous, inhabiting the maritime parts of *Ethiopia*, the coasts of the *Red Sea*, the *Mediterranean Sea*, and other *African* regions, of whom we have spoken in our antient history <sup>o</sup>; but as for the inland, they thought them destitute of human <sup>d</sup> inhabitants.

COMMERCE, navigation, and a farther insight into these last, have since convinced the world of the contrary; and that if these regions are more thinly peopled than others, it is not so much owing to excessive heat as to the barrenness of the soil, the scarcity and badness of the water in some, or the noisome fogs arising from their lakes and large rivers, ponds, and stagnated waters, many of which, as we shall see in the sequel, are, by the negligence of the natives, so strangely choaked up and covered with weeds, briars, and even boughs of trees, that they have neither sun nor wind enough to purify the air about them; whilst others, which are dried up during the summer season, send up and infect it with still more pestilential steams, which seldom fail of causing mortal diseases among the hardiest natives, and help to thin those coun- <sup>e</sup>tries of their inhabitants. To all these we may add the excessive rains which most parts of this country are subject to, and which fall down in such abundance, and extraordinary fierceness, at certain seasons of the year, that they frequently sweep away houses, trees, men, cattle, and all they meet in their way, from the high lands, and cause most prodigious inundations in the low; where being, after a long stagnation, gradually exhaled by the heat of the sun, they leave the air infected with such noisome damps, and pestilent steams, as seldom fail of being followed by the same pernicious effects. So that, upon the whole, the scarcity of inhabitants plainly appears to be rather owing to other concurring circumstances, than to the excessive heat they labour under.

BESIDES, so far is that notion of the ancients, that the climes nearest the equinoxial were the <sup>f</sup> hottest and most uninhabitable, from being verified, that reason and experience jointly help to explode it. For as, on the one hand, those regions which lie most under it enjoy a more equal length of days and nights than those which lie nearer the tropics, and are consequently

<sup>n</sup> HERODOTUS, STRABO, PLINY, PTOLEMY, & al. plur.

<sup>o</sup> Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 183, & seq.



a exposed to a proportionably longer time to the vertical sun, and a shorter one of the cooling shades, dews, and winds of the night; so, on the other, it is found, by experience, that some of the former, as *Negroland*, *Guiney*, and some others, are not only the most inhabited, but produce the best and stoutest men and women, as will be farther seen in the description of their country.

WE have formerly endeavoured to give our readers the best account we could of some names<sup>p</sup>, from which they may judge how vague and uncertain all such etymons are: nevertheless, as some of them are curious in such kind of matters, we shall add, for their satisfaction, all that were there omitted. The *Greeks* in particular, have given it the greatest variety of names, besides that of *Libya*, which is now but a province of it; such as *Olympia*,  
 b *Hesperia*, *Coripha*, *Ortygia*, *Ethiopia*, *Cyrene*, *Caryphe*, *Ophiusa*, *Cria*, *Ammonidis*, *Oria*, and such like<sup>q</sup>, whilst the *Romans* contented themselves with those of *Libya* and *Africa*,  
 though properly only the names of the provinces now so called. These they derived from no better fountain than from *Libya*, the fabulous daughter of *Jupiter*, and *Afer*, the son of *Her- cules*. *Josephus* fetches it from *Aphar*, or *Ophar*, a grandson of *Abraham* by his second wife *Keturah*, who was reported to have entered *Libya* with a strong army, and to have given his name to it after he had achieved the conquest of it<sup>r</sup>. Another author tells us, on the autho-  
 rity of an antient *Arabic* author, that the natives call it *Ifriki*, from a king of that name, who, being driven out of his kingdom in *Arabia Felix*, retired into some part of *Africa*, which took its name from him, and which strangers corrupted by changing the first letter into an  
 c *A*. Some authors pretend to derive it from the *Hebrew* *Aphar*, which signifies dust, and is expressive enough of great part of its dry and barren soil; whilst others, running into the other extreme, derive it from the *Arabic* *Feruch*, an ear of corn, on account of the great plenty which is produced in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and along the coast of *Barbary*<sup>s</sup>, or at least, so far as reaches from the desert of *Barca* to the *Egyptian* frontiers, which is that which *Abu'lfeda*<sup>t</sup> makes his third, or eastern division, and calls *Afrika*. The last we shall name is that of *Leo Africanus*, who derives the word *Ifrichia*, or *Iphrichia*, from the *Arabic* *Faraca*, implying a division, as it is parted by the river *Nile*, and from *Europe* by the *Mediterranean*<sup>u</sup>.

How this continent was antiently divided by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, so far as it was known  
 d to them, we have shewn in a former part<sup>x</sup>. Its various changes and fluctuations have since given birth to a fresh variety of division, as authors *Arab*, *Moorish*, and others, became better acquainted with it, but with which we shall not take up our reader's time, seeing they were all maimed and imperfect, as hath been hinted above, for want of a more perfect and extensive knowlege of it and of its real limits; insomuch, that *Leo Africanus*, who still flourished in  
 an. 1526, that is, long after the *Portuguese* had sailed round all its coasts, is fallen into the same error with the *Arabs*, in making the *Nile* one of its boundaries, and reducing all the rest within the compass of *Barbary*, *Numidia*, or *Biledulgerid*, *Libya*, and *Nigritia*<sup>y</sup>. Setting, therefore, aside that variety of divisions, which our modern geographers<sup>z</sup> have excogitated, and which would rather confound than inform or delight our readers, we shall confine our-  
 e selves to that which seems to us the most natural, easy, and succinct, and consequently the most suitable to such an extensive work.

AFRICA, therefore, may most conveniently be divided into four parts.

1. THE country of the whites, comprehending *Egypt*, *Barbary*, *Numidia*, or *Biledulgerid*,  
 and *Zaara*, or the desert. How most easily divided.

2. THAT of the blacks, comprehending *Nigritia*, *Guiney*, and *Nubia*.

3. ETHIOPIA, including all the rest of the continent, and which is most commonly divided into *Upper* and *Lower Ethiopia*. The former of which comprehends the vast empire of *Abissinia*, with the several states on the coast of the *Red Sea*, which have been since dismem-  
 f bered from it; and the latter, the kingdoms of *Kongo*, *Angola*, *Loango*, and *Caffraria*, along the western, or *Atlantic*; and those of *Monomotapa*, *Sofala*, and along the coasts of *Zanguebar* and *Ajan*, on the eastern or *Indian* ocean; together with the inland kingdoms of *Munoemugi*, *Manica*, *Chicova*, *Moca*, &c. and the various nations of *Gallas* and *Zangues*, dispersed through *Africa anterior*, of all which we shall speak in their proper places.

4. THE islands which lie around *Africa*, as well in the *Mediterranean* and *Red Sea*, as on the eastern and western coasts.

<sup>p</sup> Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 177, & seq.

<sup>q</sup> PTOLEMY'S Geograph. l. i. c. 2.

<sup>r</sup> JOSEPHUS'S Antiq.

l. i. c. 10.

<sup>s</sup> MARMOL Afric. l. i. c. 1. LEO AFRICANUS, l. i. c. 1.

<sup>t</sup> BOCHART Phaleg.

<sup>u</sup> Ex trad. GAGNER. Vide & SHAW'S Travels, p. 5.

<sup>x</sup> LEO AFRICANUS; l. i. c. 1.

<sup>y</sup> Anc.

Hist. vol. vi. p. 270, & seq. vol. vii. pass.

<sup>z</sup> LEO AFRICANUS, ubi supra, c. 3 & 4.

<sup>z</sup> LUYTZ

Introduit. ad Geograph. SANSON, DE L'ISLE, BAUDRAND, LA MARTINIERE, & al.



THE inhabitants of all this vast continent, though distinguished under a variety of denominations, according to their different situations, extracts, tribes, and governments, are nevertheless commonly included in that twofold distinction or *Africans* and *Arabs*, or else of whites and blacks; and this is the most common difference which geographers and other *African* writers make between that vast variety of nations which inhabit the *African* continent, upon a probable supposition that, if there were any of the antient inhabitants still in being, they have been long since blended with them. Nevertheless, to avoid as much as possible all confusion, it will be necessary to assign the different parts and cantons they are settled in, as well as their different extracts, occupations, way of living, manners, and other particulars relating to them (F).

The genius and temper of the Africans in general.

AND first, with respect to the former, or native *Africans*, who are by much the more numerous, one might reasonably expect to meet with, in such a vast extensive tract of land, and so great a variety of climates, nations, and governments, a proportionable diversity of inhabitants, in regard to their qualifications both of body and mind, strength, corpulency, agility, industry, and dexterity on the one hand, and ingenuity, learning, arts, and sciences, on the other. Our readers, therefore, will doubtless be much surprised to find, on the contrary, a general uniformity run through all those various regions and people; so that, if any difference be found between any of them, it is only in the degrees of the same qualities, and, what is more strange still, those of the worst kind; it being a common known proverb, that all people on the globe have some good as well as ill qualities, except the *Africans*. That this is rather owing to their bad education, and the tyranny of their governments, than to their country, is plain from the great personages it hath formerly produced, of various kinds; such as St. *Cyprian*, *Augustine*, *Tertullian*, among the clergy; the *Hanno's*, *Hannibals*, *Asdrubals*, among the heroes; *Terence* among the poets, and a vast number of others we need not mention, any more than their antient industry and application in cultivating their lands, commerce, horses, caravans, and useful arts: whereas they are now every-where degenerated into a brutish, ignorant, idle, treacherous, thievish, mistrustful, and superstitious, people, even in those empires and states where one might expect to find them more polished, humane, docile, and industrious; of which degeneracy their very marabouts give the following original, as a palliative.

How their marabouts account for their lazy and thievish temper.

NOAH was no sooner dead, than his three sons, the first of whom was white, the second tawny, and the third black, agreed upon dividing his possessions between them, which consisted of gold, silver, precious stones, ivory, silk, woollen and linnen cloths, horses, camels, dromedaries, large and small cattle, variety of arms and household stuff, grain, and other eatables, with, among others, tobacco and pipes. The greater part of the day being spent in sorting all these various stores, they were obliged to adjourn the division of them till the next morning; and, having supped, and taken a friendly pipe together, went to rest, each in his own tent. The white brother, after a few hours sleep, got up, and having seized on the gold, silver, precious stones, and others of the most valuable goods, loaded the best horses with them, and rode away to the country where his white posterity have been settled ever since.

THE *Moor* or tawny awaking soon after, and with the same design, was surprised to find that his brother had been before-hand with him, and hastened to secure the rest of the horses, camels, and oxen; and having loaded them with the best carpets, cloths, and other remaining goods, drove away to another part of the world, leaving only a few coarse cloths, cotton, pipes and tobacco, some millet, rice, and other things of still less value. When the black, or the third brother, who was the laziest of the three, came next morning to the place,

(F) The white *Africans*, according to *Leo Africanus*, are divided into five nations or tribes: viz. the *Zanbaghians*, *Musnudans*, the *Zenetæ*, and *Gumeranians* (6). *Marmol* calls the first of them *Zinbagians* and *Mucamudins* (7). The *Musnudans* are seated, according to the former, on the east and south of *Mount Atlas*, from *Hea* to the river *Servi*, and extend themselves along the plains of the four provinces of *Hea*, *Suz*, *Guzula*, and *Morocco*.

The *Gumeranians* possess the mountains of *Mauritania*, the streight of *Errif*, which begins at that of *Gibraltar*, and extends itself eastward to the frontiers of the kingdom of *Tremecen*; and these two tribes have their distinct settlements, whilst the other three are intermixed and dispersed through most parts of *Africa*, though not without knowing, and often quarrelling with, one another.

The *Zanbaghians* do likewise inhabit the deserts of *Libya*, from which, says *Leo*, it plainly appears, that they formerly dwelt in tents, and in the plains; and that they had their own governors, or chiefs, who protected and governed them, and employed themselves in all kinds of arts that were necessary to social life, and, among others, in that of feeding their numerous herds, whilst those who lived in towns were taken up with the cultivation of their lands, or in some other manufactures.

These five nations, or tribes, are divided into 600 families in the geneological table which *Rachû*, or, as *Marmol* calls him, *Ebn Al Rakik* (8), hath given of them. Of the other sort of *Africans* we shall speak more fully in its proper place.

(6) *Afric. lib. i. c. 3. & seq.*

(7) *Ibid. lib. i. c. 24.*

*Ramusio, Viagii, Davity, Dapper, & al. supra citat.*

(8) *Marmol, ubi supra, vide &*



a he was still more astonished ; and seeing neither brothers, nor any of the valuable commodities, easily judged that they had tricked him of them, without any possibility of reaching the one, or recovering the other. In this most affecting situation, he takes his pipe in his mouth, and sits down to ponder on the most effectual means of retrieving his loss, and being revenged on his two perfidious brothers. But none other could he think of but patience, and watching all opportunities of making reprisals upon them, and, by all means, and at all hazards, to lay hold and carry off all he could lay hands on of what belonged to them, in exchange for that share of his patrimony which they had deprived and cheated him of. This practice, they say, is what he not only followed himself, as long as he lived, but what he enjoined all his descendants to do, to the end of the world, and with which they have carefully complied ever  
b since <sup>a</sup>.

But it is not their marabouts alone that have characterised them in that disadvantageous manner, neither is this description applicable to the modern *Africans* only ; for we find the antient ones no less severely treated by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who have represented them under the most odious and despicable character, as proud, lazy, treacherous, thievish, hot, and addicted to all kinds of lusts, and most ready to promote them in others, as pimps, panders, incestuous, brutish, and savage, cruel and revengeful, devourers of human flesh, and quaffers of human blood, inconstant, base, treacherous, and cowardly ; fond of and addicted to all sorts of superstition and witchcraft ; and, in a word, to every vice that came in their way, or within their reach <sup>b</sup>. One of them, who knew them better than any other stranger, hath summed up their infamous character in the most lively colours, in these few words <sup>c</sup>. It is hardly possible to find in any *African* any quality but what is of the bad kind : they are inhuman, drunkards, deceitful, extremely covetous, and perfidious to the highest degree. We need not add to these their impurities and blasphemies, because in these they outdo all other nations, *Africa* being known to have been ever burning with innumerable impurities ; insomuch that one would rather take it for a volcano of the most impure flames, than for an habitation of human creatures. And with respect to this last vice, St. *Austin*, who was a native of that country, scruples not to confess, that it is as impossible to be an *African* and not lascivious, as it is to be born in *Africa* and not be an *African*. Notwithstanding their having been so frequently and severely chastised for their vices, not only by the cursed yoke of several barbarous nations, under which they have been doomed to groan, but what is still a heavier punishment by far, by the unhappy changes they have suffered in their religion ; a misfortune of all others the most affecting to the soul.

*Their infamous character by the Romans, &c.*

*Many enormous vices ;*

*acknowledged by Austin.*

Thus much shall suffice for the general character of the native *Africans*, deferring a farther confirmation of it till we come to give a particular account of every kingdom and state in that vast continent, and wherein our readers will find sufficient proofs to convince them that it is so far from being either unjust or exaggerated, with regard to the far greater part of them, that, in many instances, they deserve, if possible, a much more odious one ; they being in many parts so utterly void of all humanity, and even natural affection, that parents will sell their wives and children, and *vice versa*, for slaves into the *American* colonies (a condition much more dreaded by them than the most cruel death) even for so small a matter as a gallon or two of brandy, of which they are fond to excess, or for some few glass beads, or other taudry *European* trinkets, to adorn their bodies on some public occasions, as a public assembly, a festival, wedding, and the like.

*Void of all natural affection.*

We have taken notice of another distinction made by *African* writers ; viz. between the white and black natives ; a difference which hath exercised the greatest wits of this and past ages to account for in a natural way, but concerning which we shall refer our readers to what we have said of it in our *Ancient History* <sup>d</sup>, and only offer some farther remarks on the curious subject, which will not, we hope, be displeasing to our readers, and will at once explode the two celebrated hypotheses of *Riolan* <sup>e</sup>, and of the *French* academy ; the first of whom affirmed the blackness of the Negroes to be not in the skin, but in the epidermis ; and the latter, that it lieth neither in the skin nor in the epidermis, but in a certain reticulum, consisting of particles extremely soft and fine, which surrounds the whole body between the skin and epidermis.

Here, then, it must be observed, in the first place, that the children of the Negroes come out white from their mother's womb, like ours, and have no blackness at all, except about their privities, and a small black circle about their nails, next to the flesh ; that of the rest of their bodies being contracted gradually after the birth, in twenty-four hours by some, and by others in a week, more or less.

*Some remarks on their black complexion.*

<sup>a</sup> LAERT. Relat. d'Afrique. vol. ii. c. 14. p. 269, & seq.

LUCAN, l. iv. VIRGIL. Æneid, l. viii. SERV. in eundem, & al. plur.

<sup>d</sup> Ancient History, vol. i. p. 47 & 120 (\*\*).

<sup>b</sup> See Ancient History, vol. vii. pass.

<sup>c</sup> SALVIAN. de provid.

<sup>e</sup> Vide RIOLAN opuscul. epider-

mia, c. 4.



Grow white  
when sick ;  
turn black  
when dead.

2. THAT the Negroes, how black soever whilst in health, are no sooner attacked with any sickness, but they grow gradually more pale and whitish, according to the nature and degree of the distemper, even to the total discharge of their blackness ; and, in some cases, acquiring wanness, like that of a maid who languishes under the green sickness<sup>f</sup>.

3. THAT if their disease reduce them to ever so great a paleness, yet they reassume their full original blackness as soon as they are dead.

4. IF any of them chance to receive some hurt in their sugar manufactures, such as a burn or scald, whatever part happens to be so hurt becomes white, notwithstanding their being thoroughly cured of it, and both the skin and the epidermis totally restored.

To this let us add, 5. That all the Negroes in general, both those of *Africa*, and those who have lived ever so long a time in *America*, have the soles of their feet of a different colour from the rest of their body, that is, of an almost white ; so that neither the epidermis nor the reticulum, if any such things be, do extend to that part. These observations, which are very obvious to every one that is conversant among that black generation, and require neither depth of thought nor skill in anatomy to make, are yet sufficient to convince one of the vanity of those two systems above-mentioned ; and that the true cause of this peculiar blackness of their bodies is still as much unknown to us, as that of the swarthiness of their minds we have lately been describing : and will still be more evidently shewn under the next article.

Their religion  
idolatry of the  
worst kind

Horrid super-  
stitions.

THE *African* natives have been, from the very beginning, addicted to the old idolatry, magic, witchcraft, and other superstitious rites and customs of the antient *Egyptians*<sup>g</sup>, from whom they are rightly supposed to have received them, and have, for the most part, retained them to this day. They worshipped the sun, moon, and planets, the fire, which they kept continually burning, a great variety of living creatures, down to the lowest insects and vermin, both of land and sea, as well as a multitude of inanimate ones, such as rivers, lakes, mountains, trees, plants, &c. to all which they pay a kind of worship, as well as to a still inferior sort of imaginary deities or spirits, of which even their priests can give but a lame account ; though they make them, as well as all the others mentioned before, to enter into all the concerns of life, as health, sickness, life, death, good or ill success, auguries, charms, ordeals of several kinds for the absolving of the innocent, or discovering the guilty ; in all which the stupid vulgar are abused by those impudent charlatans, with most barefaced villainies and horrid cruelties ; of all which we shall meet with frequent and pregnant instances, through the course of this history.

Cassers have  
no religion.

The Gallas,  
Agaus, and  
others disper-  
sed through  
Africa.

The impious  
Imbii.

War against  
the Deity.

THERE is still, if possible, a worse kind of heathenism spread through this vast continent, to wit, through the large tract of *Cassraria*, or country of *Cassers*, which extends itself through the inland part, from the equinoxial line, quite to the *Cape of Good Hope* ; and whose inhabitants are but one remove from brutes ; who live, like them, without religion or laws, void of reason, humanity, and industry, and subsist altogether upon plunder and hunting. Much of the same wild nature are the *Gallas* and *Agaus*, who are dispersed through most parts of *Africa*, under different names, though, in all likelihood, all of the same extract, and all following the same inhuman trade of plundering, rapine, and putting all to fire and sword where-ever they come<sup>h</sup>. But the most dreadful of all are the *Imbii*, a generation of impious and barbarous monsters, who are situate pretty near the country of the *Hottentots*, but spread themselves far and wide on both sides, as well as towards the north. These not only declare themselves at war with all mankind, but with heaven itself ; against which they shoot their impotent arrows, accompanied with the most horrid curses, and other expressions of hatred and defiance. They moreover eat the flesh of their slaves and prisoners of war ; the latter of whom they commonly roast alive, and by a slow fire, whilst they strive to drown their dreadful outcries, by dances, music, and execrable shouts of joy<sup>i</sup>.

Many relics of  
Judaism thro'  
Africa.

Jews once set-  
tled there inde-  
pendent.

ON the other hand, we find here such antient relics of *Judaism*, not only in the large empire of *Habassin* or *Abissinia* (whither the famed queen of *Sheba* is said to have introduced that religion, after her return from her grand visit to king *Solomon*<sup>j</sup>), but in many other parts of *Africa*, though perhaps formerly subject to that crown, but since dismembered from it, and sunk in other respects into the grossest idolatry, as seems to confirm that report, founded on an antient *Abissinian* record, of which we shall speak in its proper place, which makes express mention of it. Besides these, which are still in a great measure retained by the *Abissinian* church, though converted (as is also affirmed in the above-mentioned record) to Christianity, so early as the eunuch or high treasurer of queen *Candace*<sup>k</sup> planted it in that empire, there have been great numbers of *Jews* settled in those parts, some of whom composed

<sup>f</sup> LABAT Relat. d'Afrique. vol. ii. c. 15.      <sup>g</sup> De his, vide Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 203, & seq.      <sup>h</sup> De his, vide LINSCHOT, JARRIC, PIGAFET, DAVITY, DAPPER, TELLEZ, BERMUDEZ, LOBO, & al. mult.  
\* Idem ibid. & PURCHAS Relat. lib. vii. c. 8, §. ii.      <sup>i</sup> 1 Kings, c. x.      <sup>k</sup> Acts, viii. 26, & seq.



a a kind of republic independent from those monarchs, and observed all the rites of the *Mosaic* law.

Among those vast herds of them which are dispersed through this great continent, these have been since dislodged from their high, and almost inaccessible, mountains, for their frequent ill offices to those princes, and siding with their revolted subjects, and have been brought into due subjection, and laid under tribute to them. Since which time they have lived dispersed in several provinces of that empire, and have made but an inconsiderable figure in it. *Dispersed.* There are who call themselves originary *Jews*, of the posterity of *Abraham*, who pretend to have formerly come in colonies, and to have settled themselves in *Egypt*, *Abissinia*, and along the *Niger*; and these last are more numerous and considerable than the two former<sup>1</sup>. But those who came and are here still in the greatest number, are such as refuted themselves in these parts, either after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the dispersion of the *Jewish* nation by *Titus Vespasian*, mentioned in a former chapter<sup>m</sup>; or who fled from other persecutions, under the *Romans*, *Persians*, *Saracens*, and since under the Christians; as out of *Italy*, an. 1342; *Spain* and *Portugal*, an. 1462, & seq.; and out of the *Low Countries*, an. 1350; *France*, 1403; and *England*, 1422. All these go differently habited, as well as divided among themselves. They distinguished themselves by their several nations and tribes; have their separate synagogues; but are not allowed any power or authority in the government of this country, except what they exercise amongst themselves; and, though many of them become extremely rich and opulent, yet they are every-where despised and hated; not so much indeed for their religion, as for their foul and knavish practices in every branch of commerce they are concerned in, and adulterating, counterfeiting, and debasing every commodity that passes through their hands.

THE next religion in *Africa* is the Christian, which was planted there, according to the *Abissinian* accounts from the earliest times, by the eunuch of queen *Candace*, lately mentioned. *Christians in Africa persecuted by the heretics.* However that be, there is no doubt of its having been preached there very soon, but it was miserably torn by the factious heretics of those days, the *Donatists*, *Manichees*, *Arians*, *Pelagians*, &c. especially under the reigns of *Dioclesian* and *Julian* the apostate, notwithstanding the great privileges which *Constantine* the Great had granted to the orthodox clergy, to protect them from their insults<sup>n</sup>: but here Christianity met with such an ungrateful soil, that its blessed seed was quickly over-run and choaked up with the rankest weeds; and all the *African* Christians, of whatever denomination, whether natives or foreigners, are equally infected with the general depravity of the country. The church of *Abissinia* was soon infected with the *Abissinian Eutychian* heresy, and over-run with the grossest superstitions, as we shall see in its proper place. Those parts which are subject to the kings of *Portugal* and *Spain*, and have received their faith from the missionaries of the church of *Rome*, as the kingdoms of *Kongo*, *Angola*, *Loango*, on the western, and of *Sofala*, *Melinda*, and others, on the eastern coast, acknowledge, indeed, the church of *Rome* for their mother; but shew little else of its religion than its most superstitious rites and tenets; which they so shamefully stain with vices and immoralities of all kinds, that they are rather a discredit than an honour to the gospel of Christ. *church infected by Eutychius. Roman Catholics given to the grossest superstitions.*

BESIDES them, we meet with a variety of other Christians dispersed through *Africa*; such as *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Maronites*, *Georgians*, *Thomists*, or *Christians of St. Thomas*; most of whom have their own patriarchs; and the rest, as well as that of *Abissinia*, are subject to that of *Alexandria*. As for those protestant nations who have their fleets and settlements not only along the *Barbary* coast, as far as the streights of *Gibraltar*, but likewise from thence along the western coasts, as far as *Cape Vert*, and that of *Good Hope*, such as the *English*, *Hollanders*, *Danes*, &c. we need not say more of them under this article, except that they content themselves with the private exercise of their own particular religions, each in their respective factories and settlements; in some of which they have chaplains for that purpose, though not in all. *Other Christians sects in Africa.*

BUT that which hath made the greatest and quickest progress through *Africa*, is the *Mohammedan*; a religion so nicely suited to the depravity of the natives, as the reader may recollect by the full display we have made of it in the life of its first founder<sup>\*</sup>, that it did not need the help of the sword to make it spread itself far and near; and so far we may venture to say it hath found so kind a soil, as to strike a deep root where-ever it hath been sown; and one would hardly imagine that it could greatly degenerate by being transplanted thither from *Arabia*. It hath, nevertheless, fared otherwise; whether through the ignorance of those who first introduced it, or, which is much more likely, through the depravity of those who received it from them, who are naturally averse to all restraint, it hath dwindled into a *Mohammedanism brought into Africa. And much defaced and maimed.*

<sup>1</sup> GRAMMAY *Afriq. illustrat.* LEO AFRICANUS, l. i & ii. & seq. & alib. pass.

<sup>m</sup> See before, p. 485, & seq. p. 572. 575.

<sup>n</sup> See *Anc. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 251, & seq.

<sup>\*</sup> See before, vol. i. p. 14, & seq.



downright carnal one, and appears, almost every-where, so effectually stript of those austerities with which its founder had decorated it, as the abstaining from wine, swine, and some other sorts of flesh, fasts and long lents, frequent prayers, ablutions, and many other injunctions of the like nature, that one would hardly imagine, nor would a staunch *Moslem* acknowledge it to be the same, disfigured as it is moreover by the many heathenish superstitions with which it is blended, and which are more tenaciously observed than any precepts of the *Koran*. Thus, among the Negroes, they have neither mosques, nor observe any day of the week as a day of rest; nor indeed any of the *Mohammedan* festivals, except that of *Biram*, which is a kind of passover, after their *Ramadan*, or lent<sup>m</sup>; which last they keep merely as introductory to the other, but without any strictness<sup>n</sup>. Much after the same manner shall we find *Mohammedism* mutilated and disfigured in most places in *Africa*, where it hath been introduced, and even in those which are tributary to, or subject to the dominions of, the Grand Signor; such as the states of *Barbary*, and some of his other conquests in *Egypt* and along the *Red Sea*; of all which, and other parts of the *African* dominions, we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the course of this book. In the mean time, though we have given formerly a full account of the various sects of *Mohammedans*, amounting in all to 72<sup>o</sup>; yet, as they are commonly distinguished under two chief heads; viz. the *Lashari*, which are spread over this continent, as well as over *Syria* and *Turkey*; and the *Imams*, which flourish in *Persia* and *Khorasan*; it will not be improper here to give our reader a short account of the marabouts, or saints, of the former, and their tenets, so far as relates to this country of *Africa* we are upon; which will be a farther confirmation of the general depravity of their votaries, which we have been speaking of. These saints, or rather cheats, are very numerous, and highly regarded all over *Africa*, especially among the *Mohammedan Moors* and *Arabs*, on account of their extraordinary way of living; and by the rest, out of fear of a superior power they arrogate to themselves, of hurting and punishing, more or less severely, every one who hath the misfortune to fall under their displeasure or dislike. Insomuch, that this insolent fraternity is become everywhere as dreaded, as it is numerous and powerful.

Mixed with  
Paganism.

Three sorts of  
Marabouts.

The tenets and  
scandalous mo-  
rals of the first.

THERE are three classes, or orders; the first of them dispersed about in cities, towns, and villages, both in the maritime and inland parts: the second is of the wandering kind, without any settled habitations; and the third affect to live in the thickest forests, and rocky and barren deserts. They all pretend to great mortifications and austerities, the last especially; but all of them are wicked and debauched to the most shameful degree, both in their principles and morals. They first affirm, that a man may, by dint of fasting and abstinence from meat, attain the nature of an angel; the heart, by such duties, becoming so cleansed and pure from all evil infection, that it can sin no more, though ever so willing to do so: but they teach, at the same time, that this supreme degree of happiness cannot be attained, but by the help of 50 sciences, which are so many steps by which one must ascend to it. Nevertheless they imagine that God doth not impute to them the sins they commit before they have gained the first twenty degrees. They live at first in the most strict austerity, and macerate themselves with grievous fastings, but afterwards give themselves up to every kind of festivity, and all degrees of drunkenness and debauchery. One of their learned, named *Eseb-ravardi Sitira Varden*, hath described their austerities in four books; whilst another, named *Ibu'lfared*, hath displayed the whole of their religion in a beautiful poetic piece, full of wit and humour, and seemingly designed to inspire one with love. *Al'fagari*, another ingenious author, hath written a comment upon it, wherein he hath collected all the rules of that sect, and discovered the various steps which lead to that pretended happiness. The verse of that piece runs in such a sweet and harmonious strain, and elegant style, that those of this sect rehearse or sing no other at their public feasts; there not having risen one poet for upwards of 300 years that hath equalled him, or hath enriched their language like *Ibu'lfared*.

THE tenets of this sect are chiefly those that follow; that the heavens, fixed stars, and elements, are all holy, or have something of the deity in them; so that no law or religion can be erroneous; and every one is at liberty to worship that object to which he finds his heart is most inclined. They pretend that all knowledge concerning the deity was infused into the first man, whom they call *El Chot*, and who had been elected by God, and made equal to him in knowledge. That after his death the elders, or chiefs of the sect, chose one from among their number of forty, who being also dead, they chose a new one, but from among 765.

Their mad  
freaks.

THESE wretched sectaries are, by the rules of their order, bound to wander to and fro, *incognito*, covered only with old tatters; so that they might be taken for madmen, void of

<sup>m</sup> De his, vide supra, vol. i. p. 48, & seq.

<sup>n</sup> LABAT, & al. supra citat. seq. vide & LEO AFRICANUS, GRAMMAY, MARMOL, l. ii. c. 1. & seq. & al.

<sup>o</sup> Ubi supra, p. 133, &



- a reason and common sense, rather than a set of marabouts, or saints. They run wild, and almost naked, all over *Africa*; and will even offer violence to modest women that come in their way, with as little reserve or shame, as a wild beast would on one of its kind. They are more numerous still in *Egypt* and the on coasts of *Barbary*. One of these brutish fellows, *Leo Africanus* says, he saw at *Alcair*, or *Grand Kairo*, seize upon a matron-like woman, just coming out of the bagnio in one of the market-places of that city, callad *Bain-Al-Kasraim*, and ravished her, in full sight of a croud of people; who immediately all ran after her, and strove to kiss or touch some of her garments; imagining that they had, by that filthy act, contracted some extraordinary degree of holiness; crying out that the adulterer was a person of great merit, and had committed no crime in what he did, but only in outward appearance; whilst the woman's husband saw himself obliged to suppress all appearance of resentment, and even to acknowledge the favour done to his spouse, by a magnificent banquet, and some handsome presents.

An instance of  
their brutish  
incontinence,  
and of the  
people's folly.

- THESE vermin swarm no less in *Nigritia*; where the poor Negroes stand in great fear of their killing power (G), though they hate them in their hearts. They have whole towns and villages along the *Niger*, or *Senega*, and form a kind of republic among themselves; and there, as we are further informed, they have a fine large city called *Consoon*, all built with stone, and covered with tiles, and inhabited by some of the richest merchants in that country; which place is looked upon as the capital of the marabout crew in this part of *Africa* <sup>p</sup>. The same author adds, that they were so insolent as to persuade a petty prince in that neighbourhood to send a haughty message to the chief commissary of the *French*, threatening him and his whole garrison with a speedy and dreadful vengeance, by the infallible help of their conjuring power, for refusing to pay a certain custom. But that wise gentleman soon suppressed their insolence, by letting them know that he had artillery and fire-arms about him, which were proof against all their enchantments <sup>q</sup>.

- THE second class of marabouts is that of the cabbalists, as they affect to be called. These abstain from meats, and have a peculiar diet. They fast much and often, according to the various seasons of the year. They wear small square tablets, engraven with strange sorts of characters, or cyphers; and pretend to have daily intercourse with angels, who teach them the knowledge of all things. A celebrated doctor of theirs, named *Beni*, was the first instituter of all their rules, the compiler of their prayers, and contriver of all their tablets. Those institutes are divided into eight parts; the first they stile *Al Omba Ennonorita*, or the demonstration of light, containing their prayers and fast days. The second, *Seme Al Meharif*, the sun of sciences, treats of their tablets, their usefulness, and manner of using them. The third, *Lefma Al Chufne*, in which is a table of the 99 virtues which they conceive to be comprehended in the name of God. The other five have also their peculiar names, and treat of particular subjects relating to their way of living, which need not be dwelt longer upon <sup>†</sup>.

The second  
class described.

- THE third sort of marabouts are called *Sunnakites*, and live an ascetic life, in woods and deserts, and affect to shun the company of men. They live only upon herbs and vegetables; but retain a mixture of heathenish superstitions and idolatry. They also use circumcision, but do not administer it to any till they have attained the 30th year of their age, and yet baptize in the name of the living God. So that their religion appears to be a strange compound of Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity; and may, in all probability, be the mongrel spawn of the antient *Therapeutes*, described by *Philo*, and of whom we have given an ample account in our Ancient History <sup>r</sup>, as being become so celebrated in *Egypt*, *Libya*, and other parts of *Africa*, for their recluseness from human society; and austere way of living, that they have been challenged both by *Jews* and *Christians* for their own <sup>s</sup>. And thus much may suffice concerning the three *African* sorts of marabouts; we shall only add with regard to the first class; viz. that they are an excellent safeguard to travellers against thieves and plunderers; whether Negroes, *Moors*, or *Arabs*, that infest the roads of that great continent; so the safest way to go from any part to another, is to allure one of those fellows to go with you, and you are sure to travel unmolested from all other rogues and vagabonds; there being none of them, or of any other class, that will dare to offer any insult or incivility to the greatest stranger under such protection.

Third sort  
described.

Probably the  
offspring of  
the antient  
Therapeutes.

<sup>p</sup> LABAT *Afric. ubi supra*, vol. iii. c. 11. p. 338.

GRAMMAY, MARMOL, DAPPER, & al.

<sup>q</sup> Idem *ibid.* p. 334, & seq. vide] & LEO AFRICANUS, <sup>r</sup> Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 170, & seq.

<sup>†</sup> LABAT, *ibid.* & al.

<sup>s</sup> *ibid.* p. 173, & seq. LEO AFRICAN. MARMOL, GRAMMAY, DAPPER, & al.

(G) These poor senseless wretches are prepossessed with such a strong notion that those impudent cheats can dispatch them out of this life in two or three days, and at the same time so afraid of being hurried out of it, at so short a warning, that there is hardly any thing they will not do or part with to avoid their dreaded displeasure (9).

(9) Labat, *ubi supra*, p. 335.



Africa barren  
of arts and  
sciences.

FROM what we have lately said of this class, their pretended intercourse with angels, and a the pompous titles of DEMONSTRATION OF LIGHT, SUN OF SCIENCES, &c. which they give to the several parts of their institutes above-mentioned, our readers may probably be apt to conclude, that they are possessed with the knowledge of heavenly as well as sublunary things, whatever darkness may be spread over the rest of the *African* nation; whereas in fact, and if we may judge from their best productions in arts and sciences, or from the universal agreement of all that have been conversant amongst them, there is not a more ignorant set of wretches in all that continent; if we except the vulgar, whom they only excel in the art of cheating, and the number and variety of ways they invent to elude and domineer over them: so that it would be as vain and absurd to seek for figs and dates growing in *Greenland*, as for arts and sciences flourishing among the *Africans*. If any of them have gained any tincture of b either, it hath been from the *Arabs* that live amongst them, of whom we shall speak in its proper place; and even that so inconsiderable, that it is scarcely to be discerned. Even those most necessary ones, in so great a variety of hot and unhealthy climes, physic, surgery, and pharmacy, are so little understood, except amongst the *Europeans* who are settled there, that their only recourse in all disorders and emergencies of that kind, is to their quacks; who, instead of proper remedies, pretend to cure them only by their charms; but commonly cheat them out of their money and lives.

Ignorance of  
surgery, phar-  
macy, &c.  
Charms used  
instead of phy-  
sic; even in  
Abissinia.

EVEN that once potent, and still so rich and extensive, empire of *Abissinia*, where Christianity had been so long planted (though afterwards infected with Nestorianism) and been professed during such a number of centuries, some of both clergy and laity appear, as well by their c writings as practice, to have long since laid under the thickest darkness of ignorance and superstition, and to have been equally negligent of every branch of the liberal arts and sciences. And it is no longer than the year 1698, that the then emperor was glad to venture his life into the hands of a wandering *French* surgeon, sent to him by M. *Maillet*, the *French* consul at *Grand Kairo*; his whole empire not affording one physician or apothecary to cure him of so slight a disorder as an intermitting fever<sup>t</sup>. Neither are they more skilful in points of surgery, wherein they hardly know any other manual operation than that of cauterising, and that in a most butcherly and cruel manner, and as frequently in improper as in proper cases.

Handicrafts  
and manufac-  
tures in a piti-  
ful plight.

IF we next take a cursory view of their manufactures and mechanic arts, in which we might suppose necessity and gain, if not emulation, might have spurred them on to receive d what helps they could from the many *Europeans* who are settled amongst them, we shall find the spirit of indolence running through them all, even the most necessary of them.

BUT they are naturally too proud and indolent to learn industry from a parcel of indigent despicable strangers, whom extreme poverty and want forces to abandon their native country, and wander to the utmost parts of the globe, through all difficulties and dangers, to get a wretched livelihood. For this is the real notion they conceive of them and their commerce, and, of course, look upon them as people designed by heaven for their drudgery and service, and to import all that is valuable and delightful from other countries, into that happy one: and so satisfied are they with their lot, though ever so unhealthy and barren, and themselves ever so miserable, that, whenever they chance to converse with strangers, one of the e principal questions they ask them is, whether they ever saw, or think there is, a finer country, or a happier people, than theirs<sup>†</sup>. Those rich golden mines, with which the whole country abounds, and which yield their precious ore without the hundredth part of the labour and danger of those of *Mexico* and *Peru*, they lying no deeper than five or six feet from the surface of the ground, and requiring no other utensils than a pick-ax and spade; to say nothing of those vast quantities which are washed down by their prodigious rains, and large rapid rivers, and need no farther trouble than to be sifted and washed from the mud; these, we say, are what they look upon as such an inexhaustible treasure, as sets them above all anxious care and laborious industry, as long as that single commodity, so highly prized and coveted by *Europeans* and *Asiatics*, is sufficient to procure them, without the trouble of f fetching, whatever those countries produce, for their conveniency or delight. As for any thing else, they think their soil can easily supply a sufficiency of it, without any other labour than what they can turn over to their wives and slaves; whilst they enjoy the fruits of it in ease and comfort; that is, in smoking in fresco, if that can be had, telling of stories, singing and dancing, and all such indolent amusements; of which if they sometimes deprive themselves, it is only for the more manly diversions of hunting or fishing. As for handicraft trades, agriculture, household business, as fetching water, wood, and other necessaries, planting, sowing, gathering in, and preparing food for their families, they are naturally so averse to them, that nothing but the most pinching want can drive any of them to it; they being reckoned so much beneath them, as to be only fit for their women and slaves. And so inhuman and void of g

Instances of  
their stupidity  
and indolence.

Hard state of  
the women.

<sup>t</sup> PONCET v. age en Abissinie.

<sup>†</sup> CAVAZZI apud Latat, PIGAFET CORGO, GRAMMAY, & al. plur.



a all natural affection are they, that they can see these poor female drudges sinking under their work, and under a scorching sun, scratching the ground, with no better a tool than a flat kind of mattock or pick-ax, to sow millet, maize, or some grain or roots, for the support of the family, and, perhaps, with a sucking child hanging by a swaddling band on her back, and without any other refreshment from morning to night than a little meal diluted with water<sup>u</sup>. They cause them daily to sweat and slave at a wooden pestle and mortar (H), to grind their maize and millet, instead of a hand-mill, or other more proper convenience<sup>w</sup>. *Way of pounding their maize.*

IF we look into those few manufactures and handicrafts that are amongst them, we shall find them carried on with the same rude and tedious stupidity. To give one or two instances of it : first, in their weaving manufacture. The weaver hath neither shuttle, nor any of those appurtenances which belong to a loom. This last consists only of two smooth and short beams, laid on the ground, and fastened together by a third which goes across them. On these he fastens the threads of the woof, and between every other of them he carefully conducts that of the warp, till he is gone through the whole breadth of it, which is seldom above a yard ; and so continues the same painful task forward and backward, till he hath, not without a great deal of patience, brought it to a full end, which seldom exceeds two yards. From which it is plain that one of our weavers, with his proper tools, could dispatch more in one day than these can do in a month ; and though they have in many parts, *Europeans* settled among them, yet could they never prevail upon them to fall into a more expeditious method, by a proper improvement of their looms. What is, however, surprising, is that they can make shift to turn out some pretty cloths, striped with divers colours, and beautiful enough to the eye ; and after the same method they weave likewise great variety of mats of different colours, and curious enough to be sent into *Arabia, Persia, and India* <sup>x</sup>.

IN their earthen manufacture they know nothing of the use of a wheel ; instead of which they use a kind of molds made of the rind of calabashes, cut into several shapes. In the inside of these they spread their clay with their hands, till they have brought it to a certain degree of thinness, and even with the rim ; which is not only a difficult but often precarious work ; neither have they the use of kilns to burn their vessels, but cover them with straw, and set it on fire, which gives them a black colour, without gloss or varnish ; yet with these poor helps they can produce a great variety of vessels, as dishes, platters, pots, pitchers, pipkins, &c. of all sizes, for their use<sup>y</sup>. *Earthenware.*

WE might go on in the same strain, in describing their masonry, carpentry, their manufactures of iron, copper, of their various weapons of war, and musical instruments, &c. thro' all which runs the same rudeness, and want of genius and industry ; but as these differ, more or less, according to the vast variety of nations which inhabit this spacious continent, whatever we think worth mentioning, relating to those particulars, will be best deferred till we come to the respective histories of such kingdoms and people. In the mean time, it will not be improper to remind our readers, that what we have said of the indolence and want of genius and industry of the native *Africans*, extends no farther than to those who inhabit the inland parts ; those who live on the coasts and maritime parts, having been long since allured to a more active and laborious life, as well as civilized in their manners, by their frequent commerce with the *Europeans* and other strangers. And here emulation and the prospect of gain, have helped so far to divest them of their high opinion and conceit of themselves and country, that they have not disdained to accept of all the helps they could get from foreigners, nor even to be more than ordinary curious in finding out all the most considerable improvements they had made in all trades and manufactures, in order to make them as much as possible their own. But here, though their success hath so well answered their expectations in every respect, that one might think it would have stirred up the rest to have followed their example, seeing it plainly shewed that their indolence and stupidity was more owing to a national repugnance than to want of capacity, yet it hath had a quite contrary effect upon them ; and, instead of a laudable emulation, hath produced an entailed and irreconcilable hatred, contempt, and mistrust between them, without abating one grain of the averseness to labour in the one, or adding one of emulation in the other towards any farther degrees of improvement than those which they found ready made to their hands. *Other trades equally rude.*

<sup>u</sup> Vide int. al. CAVAZ. apud Labat, vol. i. c. 8. p. 119, & seq.   
 ibid. vol. ii. p. 64, & seq. & al. supra citat.

<sup>w</sup> Idem ibid. p. 442, & seq.

<sup>x</sup> Idem

<sup>y</sup> CAVAZ. & al. ubi sup.

(H) Which last is no other than a large stump of some hard wood, about three feet high, and cut, by dint of labour and patience, and with the help of one single iron tool, not unlike a chissel, about the depth of two

feet ; and which tool serves also to shape both pestle and mortar, on the outside, so as to appear neat, and fit for the service they are designed for.



THIS is the main disposition of the *Moors* in general ; and there are but few kingdoms or states in *Africa* that afford an exception to that character, except where they have been either brought under a foreign yoke, whether of the *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, and other *Europeans*, the weight and galling of it hath driven them into an unwelcome activity, or where their princes, out of regard to their own interest, as well as complaisance to those less severe companies who are settled among them, such as the *English*, *French*, &c. have stirred them up to industry, by more humane motives and proper encouragements. For, where these are wanting, or the natives find themselves over-reached, or oppressed by their factors or their underlings, as is but too frequently done, by enlarging the usual weights and measures of the commodities sold, or the stated value of the things exchanged, they commonly resent it to a high degree, if we may believe their half-countryman *Leo*<sup>a</sup>, engrave every injury done to them on marble, never to be forgiven, nor sufficiently retaliated by all possible ill offices, cheating, and treachery, in their power, as we shall see under the next article.

But are often over-reached by the Europeans.

Their vindictive temper.

The commerce of Africa.

Gum arabic how far superior to that of Africa.

The frequent food of the Negroes.

The tree and its flower, seed, &c. described.

THE commerce of this part of the world was but inconsiderable before the coming of the *Europeans* thither, it being chiefly carried on by and with the *Arabs*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, and *Mokammedans*, and mostly confined to the eastern coasts, and those of the *Red Sea* ; but since that time the former, *Italians*, *French*, *English*, *Dutch*, &c. as well as the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, have settled their several factories in divers parts of it ; the latter, by their early conquests and settlements, have carried off by far the greatest share of it, as will be seen in the sequel. This commerce consists chiefly in gold, slaves, morphil, or ivory, variety of odoriferous gums, as myrrh, frankincense, besides a prodigious quantity of that which is known by the name of gum arabic, because first brought hither from *Arabia*, and said to be much preferable to that of *Africa* ; though, if we may believe *Father Labat*, they are the very same, and all the difference between the former and the latter is merely accidental, and principally owing to the vast decay of its traffick in *Arabia*, ever since the *French* company hath exported such vast quantities of it from the *Senega* into *Europe*, from which the *Provençals*, and others who imported that of *Arabia*, have taken the advantage of picking out only the best for export, that is, that which is most transparent, clear, in the largest lumps, and freest from dross, in order to keep up its old reputation and excessive price ; whilst the *Senega* company, who have a more abundant vent for it all over *Europe*, send it hither unpicked, and just as the *Moors* bring it to the factories<sup>a</sup>. And as they purchase it from them for mere trifles, so they afford it a vast deal cheaper than the others can theirs. We shall not here enter into a detail of the various uses it is of to *Europeans*, nor of the many medicinal and other virtues which are attributed to it, which have made them so eager to get settlements along that river, merely for the sake of its gainful traffick. One particular use we cannot forbear taking notice of, which the *Moors*, and especially the *Negroes*, make of it, because we know of no other author but the last quoted who hath mentioned it ; viz. that it is their chief food when they travel, and at other times too ; and that not through pinching hunger, but choice. They cranch it in their mouths with as much pleasure as a boy does a sugar-plumb<sup>b</sup>. It eats, however, more pleasantly when diluted a little in water, or other more palatable liquor, by reason of its natural insipidity ; but in either way it is reckoned a wholesome nourishment.

THE tree on which it grows, like that of *Arabia*, is small, bushy, and thorny, and its leaves long and narrow. The blossoms consist of five small white leaves, which form a kind of cup, filled with stamina of the same colour, which inclose the pod in which the seeds are contained. These are small, round, and hard, and of a blackish colour, and serve to propagate the species. The tree yields its gum either by natural transpiration, or by incision, twice a year, between the two tropics. There are whole forests of them in many parts of *Africa*, especially along the south side of the *Niger* or *Senega*, where some tribes of *Moors* and *Arabs* inhabit, the former in villages, and the latter in tents, who gather and bring it to the *European* factories, as well as to other interlopers, of which there are great numbers, as well as on that of *Gambia*, who will run any risk for that gainful commodity<sup>c</sup>.

HERE, probably, the reader will be glad to know in what the great profit of this commerce consists, and what exchange is given to the natives in barter for this useful drug ; to which end we shall here subjoin a tarif of it, as it was formerly agreed on between the *Dutch* company of *Arguin* and the *Moors*, when they were masters of that factory on the *Niger* (I). But

<sup>a</sup> AFRICAN. l. i. in fin. c. ult. <sup>b</sup> Relat. d'Afrique. vol. i. c. 19. <sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. vide & DAPPER, DAVITY, LINSCHOT. & al.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. MARMOL & al.

(I) That is, some time before the year 1724, when they were driven out of it by the *French*, under the command of *Mons. Salvert*, the same who had taken it about three years before, but in whose absence it had been



- a But we must observe that the gum is not vended by weight, but by a cubicular measure, which, according to agreement, was to contain 220 *lb.* weight, but which both they, as well as other *Europeans*, have taken all opportunities that offered to enlarge, as well as to lessen the weight or measure of whatever they give them in exchange, to the great dislike and mortification of the *Moors*, who would much more gladly see themselves the sole engrossers of all such laudable customs, than be forced to submit, as they often are, to those which the factors practise against them. However that be, the tariff, if duly executed, was to proceed in the manner and proportion which the reader will find in the margin (K). The interlopers, who traded thither under the protection of the *Dutch* governor of *Arguin*, or *Portrendik*, to whom they paid a valuable consideration for it, seem likewise to have had their particular tariff with the *Moors*, and we are told that the *Kandar*, or square measure they bought the gum by, at the last of these ports, contained 700 *lb.* weight of it; but whether they procured this enlargement by an equivalent, or, which is more probable, by some foul practice or stratagem, by which those ignorant people might be easily over-reached, for want of knowing, or, perhaps, being able to comprehend the true value of every inch added to the original cubic, our author doth not tell us; but gives us, in general, reason enough to believe, that they are hardly more honest in their dealings than the factors and their underlings <sup>a</sup>.
- BESIDES the rate of goods mentioned in the last note, for every *Kandar* of gum the traders in it are obliged to make considerable presents to the chiefs of the *Moors* for the liberty of the commerce. These commonly amount to 2400 *Spanish* piasters, either in specie, or one half in goods, *ad valorem*, consisting in blue linen; in which exchange those chiefs seldom fail of extorting much more than an equivalent, and, instead of 7200, make them pay 9975 livres, besides a farther donative of other goods, introduced of late years, to the value of upwards of 2870 livres. To these if we add the interpreter's salary, at the rate of half of a piaster per day, during the 100 days which the fair or exchange lasts, and the wages of the laprots, or *Moorish* porters, carriers, and others, who help to load and unload, at the rate of a quarter of a piaster per day, for the 100 days above-mentioned, the total of which four articles amounts to 14,469 livres and 15 pence; and joined to the before-mentioned articles, the whole amount for 700,000 *lb.* weight of gum will only be 40,044 livres *French*, exclusive of the charge of the vessel <sup>c</sup>. And thus much will serve to give our readers a notion of that gainful commerce, notwithstanding the extortions of the *Moorish* chiefs.
- OTHER factories and countries differ in their customs and tariffs, both with respect to this branch, and those of gold dust, slaves, amber, and other drugs, woods, &c. which will be better seen when we come to give the history of each particular country or state. All that needs be added here, under this head, with respect to the peculiar advantage of the *African* traffick, is, that it promotes a vast consumption and vent of our *European* commodities and manufactures, as those of silk, woollen, linen, and dying, those of iron and copper, wrought into a variety of utensils, as pots, basons, pans, &c. axes, cutlasses, scymitars, guns, pistols, and other fire-arms (L) and warlike weapons, and amunition, as also knives, scissars, razors, and other cutlery, needles, pins, ribands, rings, ear-rings, bracelets, little bells, and other pedlary ornaments for the women, and amongst them small looking-glasses of the ordinary sort, beads, bugles, and other such trinkets, of all sorts, sizes, and colours, besides a multitude of other knick-knacks, of all which the *Moors* as well as *Arabs* are excessively fond, and greedily exchange for their more valuable ones; to say nothing of brandy and other distilled liquors,

The exchange of it here made.

Presents made to the chiefs.

Other salaries and charges.

Total amount.

Other factories in other places.

Commodities exported from Europe.

<sup>a</sup> LABAT, ubi supra, in finem, c. 19.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.

been retaken. An account of this siege, and of this last surrender, the reader may see in the author above-quoted (1).

(K) Every such cubicular measure, called by them *Kandar*, and containing full 220 *lb.* weight of gum, was to bring back in exchange, either a *Spanish* piaster, a piece valued at about 4 *s.* 6 *d.* sterling, or an equivalent in goods at the rate following; viz.

Twelve padlocks.  
Two ounces of coral.  
Four copper basons.  
Half a yard of fine cloth.  
Three quarters of a yard of common cloth.  
Two bars of iron flatted.  
Three ells of bays.  
Six yards and a quarter of linen cloth, either blue, striped, or chequered.

Where, by the way, we must observe the ells were of the *Dutch* kind, and frequently so shortened into the bargain, as to be hardly equal to half of an *English* yard (2).

(L) The *Dutch* are justly censured for having been some of the first who supplied the *Africans* with, and taught them the use of, them; and it were to be wished they had been the only *Europeans* who did, and still continue to do so. However, the excessive heats, damps, and fogs of that country usually rust and spoil them in so little time, and there is such a scarcity of artists capable of mending them, that they become quickly unfit for use, and are thrown aside and neglected, and their old ones come again into vogue. This is the case in most countries of *Africa*, especially between the two tropics; which occasions the demand for them to be much less than it would be if they knew better how to preserve them.

(1) Labat, ubi supra, c. 19. p. 223, & seq. c. 19. p. 345, & seq.

(2) De hac, vide Labat Relat. d'Afric. vol. i. ad fin.



to which they have such an irresistible liking, that they will even part with one of their children, that is, sell him for a slave, to purchase a gallon or two of that pernicious commodity <sup>f</sup>.

*The distinction between the Moors and Arabs.*

WE have now gone through the most general heads relating to the natives of *Africa*, to whom we have frequently, after other *African* writers, given the name of *Moors*, as reckoning them, if not certainly, yet with great probability, to be the descendants of those who formerly inhabited the two *Mauritanias*, of whom we have given a full account in a former part of this work <sup>g</sup>; in order to distinguish them from the *Arabs* or *Saracens*, who over-ran the eastern parts of *Africa*, about the middle of the 7th century, and spread their conquests, like a torrent, to the farthest parts of its western coasts, and have been, ever since, so blended with them both

*Much blended together.*

there and on the eastern side, and intermixed so many of their customs and manner of living, according as either of them got the mastery over the other, that they are not easily to be distinguished, though they themselves know each other perfectly well. And hence it is, that some of the latter forsook their wandering life, and settled in towns and villages; whilst the

*How distinguished by authors.*

former exchanged their settled habitations for a wandering life, and have continued in the same to this day. Hence it is likewise, that many of our *African* writers make no other difference between *Arabs* and *Moors*, but that which results from their origin and new *African* habitations, supposing them to be both of *Saracenic* extract; whilst the original *Africans* are

*Maure, a term used to signify a Mohammedan.*

confounded and lost between the two names. To this we may add, that by the word *Maur*, or *Maure*, is commonly understood by them, of late, not an *African*, but a professor of *Mohammedism*; and that to turn *Maure*, is to turn *Mohammedan* (M), whatever it might have meant before. It is true, indeed, that these *Arabs* were the people who first introduced

*Berberes on and about the two Atlas's.*

*Mohammedism* into this country; but it would be absurd to suppose that they could extirpate all the old inhabitants, if they had all been determined to oppose it, which is very improbable. And it would then be more reasonable to think, that a great number of them would have naturally endeavoured, easy as it was for them, to save themselves by flight, and find a safe retreat among the vast ridges of almost inaccessible mountains, which extend themselves through several parts of that vast country. And this it is which hath made some authors suppose that the *Berberes*, now settled on and about the *Greater* and *Lesser Atlas*, were some of those native fugitives; though nothing can be concluded about them with any certainty <sup>h</sup>.

BUT be that how it will, we are pretty sure that the *Africans* did not receive either *Mohammed's Koran*, or the manners and customs of his followers, but by mere force; and it cannot be supposed to have been a small one, which could cause so great and extensive a change, even

*Arabic tongue spread through Africa and Asia.*

to the very language, among such a variety of nations; and this not in *Africa* alone, but in *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Mesopotamia*, and other parts of *Asia*, where *Mohammedism* had taken root; we mean the *Arabic*, as the only natural tongue of the three *Arabias*, but since spread through all those regions, as well as through *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Algiers*, *Egypt*, *Morocco*, and other vast tracts which lie between the *Nile* and the *Niger*, and even to the coasts of *Abex* and *Ajan*, &c. in all which, though it is not spoken with the same purity, but is, in many of them, disfigured by a variety of dialects, it is yet easily distinguished under all those disguises, and everywhere preserved more or less pure among all that vast multitude of nations and people; so that it is justly esteemed the most extensive tongue in the whole world <sup>i</sup>. But what hath contributed most to its preservation, is the *Koran's* being written in that one only, which is therefore become the learned tongue of all the *Mohammedans*, and that in which that book is to be read to the people, and expounded by their doctors to those who do not understand the sense of it.

*Arab marabouts ignorant, and great hypocrites.*

BUT here it must be owned, that those doctors, in most parts of *Africa*, are much more ignorant of their religion than those in *Arabia*, *Syria*, and other parts of *Asia*. We have already spoken of them under the name of marabouts, they being the chief teachers and preachers, as well among the *Mohammedan Moors* and Negroes, as among the *Arabs*, and are, for the most part, neither more learned, sincere, nor honest than they, making the like great shew and pretence of sanctity, mortification, and devotion, scarce ever beginning or ending a period in their preaching without the name of God and *Mohammed*; but in their hearts are treacherous, tyrannical, ambitious, cruel, and vindictive. They display a great zeal for making proselytes among the Negroes; and having once prevailed upon them to

<sup>f</sup> Vide LEO AFRICANUS, GRAMMAY, SANUT. MARMOL, & al. <sup>g</sup> See Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 139, & seq. p. 192, & seq. & p. 241, & seq. <sup>h</sup> De his, conf. auct. supra citat. DAPPER, LABAT, & al. <sup>i</sup> De hac, vide GRAMMAY, JARRIC, LEO AFRICANUS, MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. mult.

(M) It is accordingly reported of Muley Ismael, the bloody king of *Morocco*, that when two run-away Christian slaves were brought before him, he stretched his lance against them, and cried *Maure*; that is, turn *Mohammedan*. Upon which one of them immediately answered, *Maure, Sidy*, that is, *I will turn, my lord*. The other, on the contrary, opened his breast to him, and

said, *Strike, Sir, I am a Christian*. Upon which, the king threw down his lance, saying, *That dog of a Christian wants me to save him from going into hell*, (alluding to a belief, which is very rife among his subjects, that those who die by his hand go directly to heaven) and rode away.



a be circumcised, and taught them a few prayers and legal ceremonies out of the *Koran* (not without a great many superstitious ones of their own, and foreign to their law), they think they have done enough for them, and leave them to shift for themselves. One would be apt however to imagine, they have some secret means to fix them in their faith, seeing it rarely happens, we are told, that any of that nation, light and inconstant as they are, ever change that religion for another, after they have been once circumcised<sup>k</sup>.

WE have given, in a former part of this work, a full account of the modern *Arabs*, their *Arabs their* extract, tribes, government, laws, chiefs, wars, manners, and way of life<sup>l</sup>; from which it *extract and* appears, in all these respects, excepting that of religion, they have never deviated from the primitive practices of their progenitor, during the long space of near four thousand years, according to the celebrated prediction of the angel to his mother<sup>m</sup>. Those that invaded and settled themselves in this country of *Africa*, being descended from them, and brought up in the same way, have not proved altogether so tenacious of it as they; but some part of them have been prevailed upon, whether out of necessity or choice, to degenerate from it more or less; so that they appear since as divided into three classes, between whom there hath not subsisted, since that difference, either commerce or friendship; but, on the contrary, such a settled hatred *Why hateful* and contempt for each other, as hath quite erased all the relics of their antient consanguinity. *to each other.*

THE first of these classes is of those who have wholly abandoned their old wandering life, and settled themselves in towns and villages, where they apply themselves to traffick, and some sorts of manufactures or handicrafts. But these are the least numerous, and the most *Town Arabs* despised, of the three. Among them are some who apply themselves to learning, and frequent the courts of princes; on which account, it is likely, the whole tribe or class is branded with the name of *Hadaran*, or courtiers, and looked upon by the rest with the utmost contempt, as the most degenerate from the nobility of their ancestors; especially on account of their frequent intermarriages with the *Africans*<sup>n</sup>. *why despised.*

THE second class is that of those who have fixed habitations, and employ themselves in agriculture, and breeding of camels, horses, and cattle of all sorts, and in large quantities. These are likewise despised as bastards and spurious, unworthy of the name of *Arabs*. Among these we may reckon those who live between *Numidia* and *Libya*, who are wild and brutish, as well as more stout and martial, yet carry on a great traffick into *Negroland*, of *Barbary* horses and camels of their own rearing, and are excessive fond of hunting wild asses, ostriches, and other wild creatures<sup>o</sup>.

BUT the most considerable class, and, in their own reckoning, the only one that deserves that name, is that of those who live in deserts and tents, and in a state of freedom, scorning all subjection to any but their own Cheyks, or chiefs of their tribes or families. This is a privilege they claim as granted to their progenitor by God himself, and descended from him to his numerous posterity. No wonder, therefore, they have been always so jealous of it, that, as we have fully proved in another part of this work<sup>q</sup>, they have never been subdued to this day, by any potentate or conqueror, though many considerable and strenuous attempts have been made by several emperors and other powerful princes, not only to subdue, but even to *Wandering* *Arabs the most* *dignified.* extirpate them, on account of their continual robberies, depredations, and plundering way of life; for which they were the more hated as well as dreaded by the rest of the world, as they claimed a divine charter for it, as derived to them from *Ishmael*<sup>r</sup>, who was accordingly turned out of his father's house, without portion or other inheritance, than that of his sword and bow, and the spoils of other nations. Justly, therefore, were such professed robbers (for even the holy scripture gives them that infamous title) (N) every-where detested as a nuisance to mankind. *Live wholly upon plunder.* *Styled robbers by the prophets.*

THIS is one main motive of their chusing to live in tents, and to change their habitations; for should they venture to shut themselves up in towns, they know but too well what risk they would run continually of being surpris'd, and how dreadful the consequence would be to them and their families, if they fell into strange hands, who never gave quarter to those that fell into theirs. So that their life is a life of constant fear and dread: they must be ever

<sup>k</sup> LABAT, ubi sup. vol. i. c. 20. xvi. 10. & seq. to Anc. Hist. p. 261—291.

<sup>l</sup> Ancient History, vol. vii. p. 244, & seq.

<sup>m</sup> MARMOL Afric. lib. i. c. 27.

<sup>n</sup> Genesis, xvi. 12.

<sup>o</sup> Id. ibid. DAPPER, & al.

<sup>p</sup> Genesis,

<sup>q</sup> Additions

(N) God, by the mouth of one of his prophets, compares the idolatrous inhabitants of *Jerusalem* to an *Arabian*, waiting in the wilderness, watching for his spoil (4). The *Septuagint*, whether out of regard to those descendants from *Ishmael*, the son of *Abraham* by *Hagar*, or on account of the similitude of the word, have turned the name *Harabi* into that of a crow, and

the vulgate *Latin* hath omitted that allusion, and translated the word, *Latro*, a thief, or highway robber; but neither of them are agreeable to the *Hebrew* import, which is, that of one of these *Arabs* we are now speaking of, who all make a profession of living altogether upon, and must be of course ever watching for, fresh plunder.



*Their tents  
and habita-  
tions fitted for  
their frequent  
motions.*

upon the watch, and ready to take the alarm, whether it be to fall foul on some new booty, or to avoid some threatening danger; and, if the latter, they must make all possible dispatch to decamp, and go in search of some new shelter for themselves, their wives, children, cattle, and all their other wealth and lumber, all which they must take with them; and, for that purpose, are provided with camels and other beasts of burden. And this likewise obliges them frequently to shift their camps, in quest of fresh pasture; without which it would be impossible for their numerous herds, and even for themselves, to subsist, because their milk is the main part of their sustenance<sup>a</sup>. These frequent decampments oblige them moreover to have their tents made as light as possible; and these were of two sorts, the one made of camels and goats hair, which it is the business of the women to card, spin, and weave, and which they do with such exquisite niceness, that, light as they are, they are proof against the heaviest rains, which fall, in most parts of *Africa*, very heavy and violent, during some certain seasons. The other sort are rather a portable kind of huts, made of the bark of trees, or of some proper woods, and so contrived as to be quickly set up or taken down, and laid on a camel's back. Both sorts are of a round form, and end in a cone, under which is placed the chimney, which serves them also instead of windows, to let the air and light in, there being no other way for them to come in at but that and the door, which is so low, that one must stoop quite double to go in and out; and both that and the chimney must be close stopped in the time of the great rains, or in excessive cold weather, which they have at some seasons of the year, even where they lie between the two tropics, as we have already seen<sup>b</sup> †, and shall have further occasion to shew in the sequel.

*Oblong tents.*

Those who live in towns and villages, and are more at their ease, have their tents and habitations much more convenient and spacious. These are of an oblong oval figure, and supported in the center by one, two, or three standing posts, on which the whole fabric depends. They are made larger or smaller according to the number of people in the family, and divided into several apartments only by carpets, which may be drawn close or open at pleasure. Some have besides lesser tents or huts for the women and children, especially when the family is large.

*Figure on the  
outside and  
inside.*

THE pillars which support the whole are about ten feet high, and three or four inches in diameter, and full of hooks, on which they hang their clothes, arms, saddles, baskets, and other lumber: as for the rest of their household furniture it is pretty much of the same homely nature with that of the *African Moors*, lately described\*. They lie horizontally on the bare floor, or on a mat, or at best a carpet or skin, without pillow, mattresses, or other covering than their hayks, which they wear about them. Those who are married, have each a corner or nook of the tent cantoned off; whilst the rest lie in any other part, whether middle or sides, they can find. So that upon the whole, these tents, on the outside, resemble much the figure of a ship turned upside down, and in the inside a lumber-room, wherein men, women, children, horses, &c. are all stowed together promiscuously, in the manner we have described<sup>c</sup>.

*Slavish em-  
ployments of  
the women.*

THE women have not only the sole care and management of these houses, and of the rest of the family affairs, but descend likewise to most slavish employments, much after the same manner as those of the *Moors*. They grind, bake, brew, and dress all the victuals for the household; they fetch wood and water for their service, and milk the cattle: they do not indeed dig, sow, and reap, like the *Moorish* wives, because these *Arabs* neither allow of it, nor stay long enough in one place to reap the benefit of it; but, instead of it, they take the whole care of their husbands horses, except that of mounting them; they feed, curry, and comb, bridle and saddle them, ready for them. The huts or tents are kept as mean within as they appear without; the *Arabs* affecting the utmost plainness in their furniture of them, so they be neat and clean. Their hearths are in the middle of the tent, round which they sit, eat, drink, and smok in the day, and lie and sleep at nights, and upon no better beds than mats, or at best the furs of wild beasts which they kill in hunting. The rest of their furniture is chiefly that of the kitchen, and consists in some few pots, pans, dishes, plates, a wooden pestle and mortar, to pound their maize, and portable ovens to bake in<sup>d</sup>. If they are extravagant in any thing it is in their own dress, and that of their women, the sumpter and ornaments of their horses and weapons; on all which they bestow the greatest cost they can afford, in gold, silver, and precious stones, according to their rank and wealth.

*Dress and or-  
naments of the  
women.*

THEIR women, above all, are fond of adorning themselves about the head, neck, arms, and legs, with gold chains, pearls, beads of several rich materials, and, where these cannot be had, with those of coral, chrystal, bugles, and other trinkets, of a more ordinary nature; the greatest part of which are the product of their plundering trade, or at best of their commerce<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> MARMOL, LEO AFRICANUS, GRAMMAY, DAVITY, DAPPER, OGILVY, LA CROIX, LABAT, LINSCHOT.  
& al. plur. † Vid. p. 656. \* See before, p. 665, & seq. <sup>b</sup> SHAW'S Travels, p. 291.  
& seq. & al. sup. citat. † Id. ibid.



- a with other *Africans*; in which these seldom part with any gold, but get as much as they can from them, and bestow the greatest part of it in rings, ear-rings, collars, bracelets, and other ornaments for their wives and daughters". All the three classes of *Arabs* have one good quality with regard to their wives; *viz.* that, excepting the slavish work they lay upon them, they are, in all other respects, very fond and obliging to them. Even those we style of the wandering kind, in spite of their natural fierceness, are most obliging to, and tender of them; and it is seldom known that they treat them ill, except they give them some cause of jealousy; and even in this case the husband needs not use any other severity than to send her to her parents or relations, who will not fail, if she be guilty, to revenge the affront done to him and her family with poison, a dagger, or some other speedy death; the dread of which makes them b so exceedingly reserved and cautious of giving the least umbrage, that instances of that kind are seldom heard of amongst them. This is the more extraordinary, considering the heat of their country, which is so apt to kindle such a spirit of jealousy in the men, and that of intrigue and wantonness in the women, as is commonly attended with the worst and most dreadful consequences, of which we shall have occasion to give pregnant examples among the *Turks* and *Moors*, and even in much more moderate climates; whilst those of either class of the *Arabs* are here every where free from such family disorders, and their wives extolled for their conjugal loyalty, prudence, and reserved behaviour.

*Husbands kind and obliging to them. Breach of faith how punished.*

- THESE never appear abroad without their veils, which are large enough to cover their faces and hands; and stir not out, unless when the cares or affairs of the family oblige them to it. c And such is the reservedness of the men, that they always turn aside whenever they meet with any in their way; which is an effectual means to prevent jealousies and quarrels between the husbands; who, on their part, seem so combined in this respect against all accidents of this kind, that if any of them should be observed to cast the least indecent glance upon any of that sex, he must expect nothing but to be publicly exposed, if not severely punished for it by her relations. Their houses or tents, in which the women live, are interdicted to all men except their husbands; and if any of these are so poor as not to have a separate tent or hut for their wives, they will sooner be contented to receive their visitors, or transact any business without, in the open air, than suffer them to come in, unless it be a parent, or very near relation w.

*Reservedness of the women.*

*No men admitted into their tents.*

- d AND hence it is that we do not meet with any author of credit who pretends to tell us whether they are handsome or homely; yet, if one may guess of them by the men and boys, who are generally well shaped and featured, though the former scarcely exceed the middle size, one may reasonably suppose their females to be no less agreeable in proportion, though both sexes are of a very swarthy complexion, and the men probably more so than the women, being commonly more exposed than they to the burning rays of the sun x.

*Complexion swarthy, shape, features, &c.*

- NEXT to their wives the *Arabs* set the greatest value on, and have shewn a more than ordinary fondness for, their horses, or, to speak more truly, of their mares, which they greatly prefer to their horses, not only on account of their milk, which is part of their meat and drink, but much more on account of their colts, which are in such high request, that they sell e them for very considerable sums. Add to this, that their mares are found to be more lively, gentle, tractable, and sure footed. These they admit into their tents, and suffer them and their colts to lie promiscuously with their wives and children, either loose, or at most with their colts tied by one leg to some of the tent posts; whilst the old ones, when lain down, commonly serve for a bolster or pillow for their master's children, without any accident or danger. In return for this singular gentleness, their masters take great delight in loading them with caresses and sweet kisses, of which those creatures seem excessively fond, as well as other marks of their love, and even seek them out, when at liberty, and court them for fresh instances of it y.

*Fondness for their mares.*

*Let them lie in their tents with their wives and children.*

- THEY are very nice and careful in the choice and preservation of their breed, and no less exact in keeping the genealogy of their horses than their own; for it is that principally which f raises the value of them, especially when the owner can make it appear that any of them is fleet enough to beat an ostrich in a race. They are in general neither very high nor fat, but are well shaped and sleek, and are easily kept so. They are never shod; their common food is grass half dried, and a quantity of large millet; and, in the spring, they are put to grass for a month, during which they are never mounted.

*Keep their genealogies.*

*Their food.*

THE usual dress of the men is a kind of shirt next to the skin, and a large pair of drawers, long enough to cover their ankles, the shirt hanging over the drawers about two inches above the knees. Over this the richer sort wear a kind of short jacket, which they call kaftan, with long and narrow sleeves, and without hooks or buttons, but which lappeth over their breast, and is girt with a broad sash, which goes several times round their body. This kaftan is commonly of some fine cloth or serge; and sometimes, though rarely, of silk; but among

*Dress of the men of rank.*

x SHAW'S Travels, & al. sup. cit.

y Id. ibid.

z LABAT, & al. sup. citat.

w MARMOL, LEO AFRICAN. GRAMMAY, & al. sup. citat.



the meaner sort, of a blue or black cotton cloth: as for the poorer sort, they wear neither kaftan a nor shirt, but cover their bodies with an ordinary linen cloth, over their drawers. As they have not the use of belts, they commonly wear one or two cutlasses stuck in between the girdle and the kaftan, and in the same manner they wear their scymitars; but this last is only worn in time of need. Their girdles, which are long and wide, are either of silk or cotton, and knit in a kind of net-work by the women, or of some soft thin kind of leather, curiously embroidered by them. They hang besides, to their girdles, their purses and handkerchiefs; the former of which serve instead of pockets, wherein they put their pipes, tobacco, and other necessary things; the latter serves them likewise instead of towels to wipe their hands, faces, and blow their noses in; upon which account the politer sort chuse to have two, and the rest content themselves with having them made longer than broad, and allot each part of it to its respective b use. The use of stockings is hardly known in *Africa*, except among the *Europeans*; and, instead of shoes, they wear a kind of socks of fine red *Morocco* leather, which reach up to the ankle; and some of the better sort have a kind of flat pumps over them, of the same leather and colour, when they go abroad; and when they ride they slip on a thin pair of boots of the same manufacture: but the common people usually go bare-legged and bare-headed; and in some parts of *Africa*, as in *Abissinia*, none but the emperor himself, or those who are privileged to it by him, are allowed to wear any thing over their heads. But it is otherwise with the *Arabs*, especially those of the wandering class, who live at large, and whose Cheyks, or chiefs, and other distinguished officers, adorn their heads with red caps, incircled by several rounds of fine white cotton, in the fashion of a turban. These moreover wear over their e kaftans a sayk, or wide furtout, without sleeves, of white woollen cloth or serge, closely woven and napped, but with a long cape or capuchin, at the end of which is fastened behind a pretty long tuft or tassel, and is designed to be clapped over the turban in rainy or bad weather. When they are on horseback, they carry their weapons before them, across the saddle-bow, and only hold their zagay, or short lance, in their hand.

Turban and  
other orna-  
ments.

Dress of the  
women of  
rank.

THEIR women wear long drawers, and shifts over them, with wide sleeves next their skin. These, among the *Moors*, are made of linen, but the *Arabs* seldom wear any but woollen, made in the form of a gauze of various colours, and the wide sleeves without any fold at the wrist. Those of the maidens are made of needle-work, striped with linen or silk, like those which the king's daughters among the *Jews* are said to have worn\*. But when the women d are at home in private, they commonly throw off their sayks and drawers, and in their stead, only bind a towel about their loins and middle. Some *Dowars*, (or, as they are vulgarly called, hords) of *Arabs*, observe a superstitious custom; which is, that every bridegroom and bride are to put on one of those shifts above described, on the day of their nuptials, which are not to be pulled off, or washed, as long as they last†. Their kaftan is girt to their bodies with a sash or girdle, like that of the men, but commonly richer, and of greater variety of colours or embroidery; and, instead of a sayk, they wear a large mantle or robe, of a rich azure hue, which comes down to their feet. Their heads and hands, we observed before, are covered with a veil (O), their ears, neck, and breast, arms, wrists, and almost every finger, down quite to their very ankles, are adorned with rings of gold, silver, coral, ivory, amber, and other e materials. Among some of them, the rings that surround their ankles are embellished with little silver or brass bells, like those we put about the neck of a squirrel or lap-dog; and their feet are covered with the same red *Morocco* socks, or pumps, as those of the men‡. This must, however, be understood only of the women of the higher sort; for as to those of

\* 2 Sam. xiii. 18.

† SHAW'S Travels, p. 293.

‡ DAPPER, LABAT, SHAW, & al. ubi sup.

(O) These veils are, in several parts of *Africa*, so contrived as to cover the whole head and shoulders behind, and to come down below the waist before, but have two small holes made opposite to the eyes, and serve those modest females to see their way as they go along; but, if they meet with any men in their way, they immediately turn their faces to the contrary side, that even that small portion of their face may be kept from their sight. It is not, therefore, a little surprising, that they should be so ambitious of such gaudy ornaments, and even of painting their faces, hands, arms, &c. to be seen only by their husbands and family. We are, indeed, told, that this practice of painting their faces and bodies is only in vogue among those of the lower rank, and perhaps to supply the want of more costly ornaments, which are out of their power to purchase. But it is likewise confessed, that those of

higher classes are not above making use of some art to add to their natural charms.

Accordingly, we are told that they commonly make use of a certain paste, made up of pigeons dung, mixed with a quantity of saffron, and some other ingredients, to brighten the dulness of their swarthy complexions; as likewise of some sort of fucus to enliven the blackness of their hair and eye-brows. To this some will add a small round, triangular, or other figure, by way of contrast, which they paint between the eye-brows, or in some other parts of their forehead or cheeks, or that of an olive leaf upon each knee; and all this in order to render themselves more agreeable to their husbands, who, it seems, are as fond of those additional kinds of finery, as their poets are in commending and celebrating them in their panegyrical works (6).



- a meaner rank, they have nothing better to cover their bodies than a piece of cloth, which they wrap about their breast, and goes no lower than their knees, leaving the rest quite bare. As *And of the meaner sort.* for their ornaments, they are of the lowest value, consisting chiefly of fishes teeth, pieces of coral or glass, which serve them instead of pearls and diamonds, to adorn their hair with, over which they wear a veil, to cover their face and necks. To supply the want of more *Paint their faces, &c.* costly finery, which they know the men to be delighted with, they use a kind of paste mentioned in the last note, to mark not only their foreheads, cheeks, and chin, but their thighs and lower belly, with variety of figures; but as that sort of paint must be renewed every two or three days, those who cannot afford either time or cost for it, have a way of sinking those marks into the skin, by punctation, which renders them indelible<sup>2</sup>. Their diet is generally *Their diet,*
- b mean; their bread is either of millet, maize, or rice, made into cakes, either baked on the hearth, or fried in a pan. We have described their mortars, in which the women grind their grain into meal, by dint of labour; but some of the better sort have mills, made of two stones, one over the other, and turned either by hand, or, perhaps, by an ass; and their bread is made fresh every day, and brought hot to them.

THEIR drink is commonly water; but they brew likewise a kind of small liquor from rice, or millet of a coarser kind, mixed with some mares or camels milk a little soured; and from the same mixture they distil likewise, in some parts of *Africa*, a sort of strong spirit, not indeed with such stills as are in use with us, but with a clumsy sort, made either of earth, or of the rind of calabashes, but yet strong enough to intoxicate; though this the strict *Moham-*

c *medans* abstain from, as forbidden by their law. They eat fish and flesh of several kinds, but never of both sorts at one meal, nor in any large quantity: and this, most probably, is the reason why they are so healthy, strong, and lively, and free from chronic diseases, and generally live to 70 or 80 years. The greatest treat a man can give them, when they come into a town or village, is a quantity of oil and vinegar beaten together, and a hot cake dipped in it.

THEY are no less hospitable in their own habitations to strangers who come to them, and treat them in the best manner they can, and with singular courtesy; which is so much the easier for them to do, as their manner is as plain as their fare; for, from the greatest Cheyk to the lowest person, they use no other ceremony than washing their hands, after which they set themselves cross-legged around a mat, or, at best, a low table, upon which the dishes are placed, which, whether boiled or roasted, or of rice, or other spoon meat, are easily parted asunder with their hands, and without the help of knife or fork, whilst every one hath his handkerchief tied to his girdle to wipe his mouth and hands. *Hospitality.*

BUT as the *Arabian* people are dispersed through such a great variety of climates and soils, so their circumstances and way of living must greatly differ; and in some parts, as in the district of *Barca*, in *Numidia*, and *Libya*, they are so excessive poor, through the barrenness of the ground, that they have little else but dates, and some sorts of venison, to live upon, and are often obliged to sell their children to procure the necessaries of life. Yet even these do not abate one ace of their pride and high conceit of themselves, or from thinking themselves the noblest and happiest people under the sun, in spite of all their misery. Nor doth this hinder them from being more brave and courageous than the *African* natives, as likewise more active and industrious than they, in breeding vast quantities of cattle, especially barbs, *Traffick of the Arabs.* in which they traffick with the negroes. They likewise are much given to hunting various wild beasts, of which also they make a considerable gain. Some of them, even in those barren parts, addict themselves to the study of natural philosophy, rhetoric, and poetry; which last *philosophy, poetry, &c.* consists, like ours, in rhyme and numbers, smooth and agreeable enough; and their compositions of this kind chiefly run on the subject of their warlike exploits, their various chases, amours, and such-like subjects, which they set to suitable tunes, and sing or dance to the sound of their lutes, viols, drums, and other instruments<sup>a</sup>; the reader may see a specimen of their music and musical instruments in the author last quoted<sup>b</sup>. *Songs and dances.*

BUT neither this, nor physic, nor philosophy, arithmetic, &c. do any of the *Arabs* teach as a science. They have, indeed, persons who pretend to them, and, by their practice, seem, at least, to suppose some skill in nature or the mathematics; but all this is gained only by experience, habit, or custom, assisted by strength of memory and quick invention, which few of them want so much as they do application and encouragement to cultivate and improve them. With respect to such branches of the mathematics, such at least as relate to navigation, the *Arabians* who trade from the *Arabias* to the coasts of *Abex*, *Ajan*, and *Zanguebar*, were indeed found, from the first times of the *Europeans* doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*, to have had quadrants, compasses, astrolabes, and other helps, the inventions of former ages, by which they can steer along these coasts as well as to the *Persic Gulph*, and even to some parts of *India*, *Study no branch of learning as a science.*

<sup>2</sup> DAPPER, LABAT, SHAW, & al. ubi sup. *Travel, & Miscellan. Observat.* p. 268, & seq.

<sup>a</sup> MARMOL, ubi sup. lib. i. c. 32. DAPPER, SHAW'S

<sup>b</sup> Idem. ibid. p. 71, & seq.



and were reckoned some of the expertest pilots on these seas ; but as for those who live within the *African* coasts, and seldom traffick farther than from one kingdom to another, or at most to some of the islands adjacent, they are quite ignorant of them, and only steer from place to place by a kind of rote, which they can only gain by long practice <sup>c</sup>. Even physick, a science so well understood by many of their celebrated countrymen, and so necessary in a country so unhealthy in many places, and into which they came as strangers, is still more neglected among them than among the native *Moors*. It must be owned, that their being *Mohammedans*, and great sticklers for predestination, might inspire them with a contempt of it, seeing there is, according to them, no possible means of averting the divine will, which dispenses sickness and health, life and death, by an irreversible decree. This is, indeed, the doctrine of the *Koran*, and the practice of the ignorant bulk of the *Turks*, but from which the wiser part have, of late, much receded ; and accordingly we find a receipt against the plague recommended by *Sidy Mohammed Zeroke*, one of their most celebrated marabouts, and prefaced with these remarkable words : “ The lives of us all are in the hands of God, and when it is written we must die. However, it hath pleased him to save many persons from the plague, by taking, every morning while the infection rages, one pill or two of the following composition ; viz. of myrrh two parts, saffron one part, of aloes two parts, of syrup of myrtle berries q. s. <sup>d</sup>.”

Their great  
superstitions,  
engrossed by  
their cheating  
marabouts.

BUT, with regard to the *Mohammedans* in *Africa*, whether *Arabs* or *Moors*, we have already observed, that they are so far from being strict observers of their law, that what their marabouts have introduced of it hither, is, in many respects, so maimed and defaced, and so blended with superstitious trash, that a true *Mohammedan* hardly deigns to own it to be that of his prophet <sup>e</sup>. Accordingly we find them place more confidence in their pretended wizards, conjurers, witches, charms, and other such senseless fooleries, in all sorts of distempers, whether by way of prevention or cure, than on any the most rational and experienced means ; to say nothing of their saints or marabouts, some of whom set up for great miracle-mongers, a privilege denied to their prophet ; and others for infallible diviners and divers into futurity ; but all of them alike arrant cheats, and so openly and impudently, so that one cannot enough wonder at the stupidity of the people, whom nothing can divert from having recourse to them in all exigencies of that or almost any other kind, though so often cheated, and always sure to be fleeced by them <sup>f</sup> ; for whether they succeed or not, kill or cure, they always make sure of their pay before-hand, and of some plausible evasion to stop their votaries mouths, let matters turn out as they will (P).

Some of the  
Arabs use  
physic, &c.

Their remedies  
for the rheu-  
matism, gout,  
&c.

HOWEVER, all the *Arabs* are not so far bewitched by their marabouts, but many of the wiser sort, especially in *Barbary*, and other parts of *Africa*, where they converse much with *Europeans*, have been excited to use such proper means as physick affords, instead of their superstitious and senseless charms ; and have adapted a kind of regular course of pharmacy for diseases, and surgery for wounds, sores, &c. In the first they deal chiefly in vegetables, and in the latter in outward applications, such as cataplasms, as hot as the patient can bear ; and, in some cases, as rheumatic or gouty pains, cauterising by red-hot needles ; but know little of phlebotomy, vomiting, purging, cupping, and other branches of physick and surgery. The cautery above-mentioned is made by seven punctures with a burning needle, on the parts affected, which must be repeated according to the strength of the patient, or stubbornness of the disease. A decoction of ground pine is their remedy against a fever, and a drachm or two of the root of birthwort against flatulent distempers ; the stone and gravel are effectually cured by the powdered root of arisarum ; and the bloody flux by the like quantity of the root of bookoka, dried in an oven, and powdered. They give little else in the small-pox than five or

<sup>c</sup> SHAW, MARMOL, DAPPER, & al.

<sup>f</sup> SHAW, ubi sup. DAPPER, & al. sup. citat.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ubi sup. p. 266.

<sup>e</sup> See before, p. 661, & seq.

(P) To give our readers one instance for all of this stupid superstition, and the methods by which those Charlatans cheat them out of their goods, if not of their lives ; they have filled their heads with a notion, that most diseases, or rather disasters which happen to them, are owing to some offence committed against the *Jenoone* (a sort of creature which the *Mohammedans* place between the angels and devils), and cannot, therefore, be removed without previously appeasing them by some proper sacrifice, such as that of a ram, sheep, goat, cock, or such other creature, as those jugglers are pleased to prescribe.

The method of doing this is likewise various ; sometimes the carcase is to be buried under ground ; sometimes the patient is to drink a draught of the blood, or

to burn or scatter the feathers abroad, and the like, according to the nature of the distemper or disaster, the sex, quality, and circumstances, of the person, &c. or, to speak more justly, according to the pleasure of the cheating marabout, or circumstances of the patient (7). This notion so far prevails over most parts of *Africa*, and the marabouts, and other pretenders to this kind of witchcraft, are so powerful, that it is no wonder the people have every-where recourse to them, rather than to the use of proper remedies, except where a more intimate commerce with the *Europeans* hath experimentally convinced some of these ignorant people of the knavery and vanity of the one, and the efficacy of the other (8).

(7) Shaw's Travels, p. 306.

(8) Vid. Marmol. Afr. Davity, Labat, & al. sup. citat.



a six grains of alkermes, to force out the pustules, keeping the patient warm; and only use fresh butter to hinder the skin from pitting.

THEY have likewise introduced the inoculation of it among them, though in a much ruder way than that which we have elsewhere described to be in use among the *Chinese*<sup>h</sup>; for here the person receives the infection at a small wound made in the fleshy part of the hand, between the thumb and the forefinger, by means of two or three pustules taken from some infected friend, who is desired to exchange them with him for the like number of comfits, or other such trifles. But the zealous *Mohammedans* are great enemies to all sorts of inoculations of that distemper; and not only cry it down as an impious tempting of Providence, but tell a great number of frightful stories to deter the people from that practice.

b THEIR method of curing wounds received from sword or gun-shot is no less singular than painful, yet is affirmed to be attended with success; viz. by pouring melted butter into them boiling hot. As for bruises, swellings, inflammations, and other ailments of that kind, they commonly assuage them with the leaves of the *Opuntia*, or prickly pear, roasted in embers about a quarter of an hour, and applied to the part affected as hot as it can be borne. This application is likewise reckoned very proper to suppurate and mature boils, plague-sores, and other such tumours; and hath been likewise successfully used in the gout. In slight wounds, bruises, or inflammations, either to assuage them, or to harden and consolidate the parts, some use the powdered leaves of *Albennab*, made up into a pultice with warm water, which applied to the place, tinges the skin of a deep orange colour, which continues for some months; and what is still more surprising, impregnates the blood with it, so as, in one night, to give the urine a saffron hue. And thus much may suffice for the physic and surgery of the *African Arabs*<sup>i</sup>.

We have elsewhere observed that two out of the three classes are addicted to traffick of several kinds; from which one might reasonably conclude, that both numerical and algebraic arithmetic must flourish, whatever arts might be neglected, among them, seeing their ancestors are known to have furnished us with the characters of the former, and to have been the inventors of the latter, and both of them are so useful and necessary in commerce; and yet we do not find, amongst those who carry on the greatest share and variety of it, one in twenty thousand that understands even the first operations of either. However, they have, it seems, acquired such dexterity in addition and subtraction of large sums by dint of memory, that they have fallen into a kind of method of numeration, no less sure and expeditious than singular, which is by putting their hands into each other's sleeve, and touching each other with this or that finger, or with this or that particular point of it, each of them denoting a determinate sum or number; and in this way will transact affairs of the greatest consequence or value, without speaking a word on either side, or letting the bye-standers into the secret. Some of them, we are told, pretend, to such a profound skill in the combination of numbers, that they can compose charms by them to answer any desired end; but as we have no faith in such things, we think them not worth dwelling longer upon<sup>k</sup>. All the *Arabs* in *Africa*, whether they live in wandering camps or in towns and villages, whether free or tributary to some of the emperors or princes, are divided into tribes, or rather families, distinguished by the name of dowars; improperly termed by some, hords, hoards, adowards, &c. every one of which has its particular chief, or Cheyk; which word implies no more than an elder, doctor, or teacher; some of whom are so by election, and others hereditary. The Cheyk's tent is always known by its situation in the center of the dowar, and he by his shirt and other garments, which are commonly longer and finer than those of the rest, and his office is to rule over, judge, and take care of the peace and prosperity of his little commonality. These inferior Cheyks are subject to a higher, styled either *Cheyk-el-kibbeer*, or great lord or elder, or else *Emeer*, or prince, who hath a number of dowars, more or less, under him, according to the numerousness of the tribe over which he presides. These are they who command all the rest, order their expeditions, decampments, their rewards and punishments, decide their greater controversies, whether about the division of their plunder, or disputes amongst them. And those who are under tribute to any power, as under the kings of *Morocco*, the Dey of *Algiers*, or other princes, are they who are to levy it over their vassals, and have it ready against the time in which it becomes due. This part of their office is commonly one of the most difficult, because they are usually taxed so heavily that they cannot force their inferior dowars to raise it, without using some severities against them; and these are attended with great feuds and quarrels, and often end in blows and heart-burnings. And, on the other hand, if the tribute is not ready when the officers come for it, who are always escorted with a little flying army, the whole tribe undergoes a severe military execution; and perhaps the *Cheyk Emeer* is put in irons, and detained close prisoner, till all is paid, with interest; to

<sup>h</sup> See vol. iv. p. 651, & seq. & al.

<sup>i</sup> SHAW, ubi sup. p. 264. vid. & MARMOL, *Afric.* DAPPER, LABAT, & al. <sup>k</sup> De his, vid. SHAW, ubi sup. p. 267, & seq. & al. uti sup.



avoid which extremities, they are often forced to abandon their habitations, and remove to some new ones, far enough out of the reach of their tyrannic masters; whilst the *Scenite* or wandering *Arabs* are not only free from such tributary exactions, but often oblige their neighbouring princes to buy their friendship by considerable yearly pensions<sup>1</sup>.

*Their weapons  
and way of  
fighting.*

THESE Cheyks go commonly armed with a short pike, or else with a javelin, which they hold in their hand; and are so expert at darting them, that they seldom if ever miss their mark, though riding on full gallop, and will kill a man at 50, or hit the middle of a plate at 40 paces distance. They also wear a cutlass hanging on the left arm, above their elbow, instead of a scymitar, and a quiver of arrows before them: and as they are expert at all sorts of military feats, so they are no less careful that all those under them be inured not only to the same exercises, but that they likewise train up their horses to them; so that the agility and address of the one, and the docility and fleetness of the other, whether at these exercises, or in attacking or retiring from an enemy, are justly admired by all the *Europeans* who have been eye-witnesses of them. Their pikes are commonly between 40 and 50 spans in length, well steeled at both ends, and these they couch upon their left arm, and wound at a good distance by the motion of their bodies; but the most dangerous blow is that which they strike whilst they retire, and when least aware of it. The best sort of those pikes are not made of ash or beech wood, but of the reol, a sort of wood very black and heavy, which is fetched from *Libya*, and is the most esteemed for its weight. Those who make use of these pikes are seldom seen to wear a shield, and despise the other defensatives of helmets and coats of mail, as cumbersome to their horses, and as a hindrance to their agility, and their frequent turning about. For the same reason they make no use of fire-arms, knowing neither how to use them on horseback, nor how to keep them in order, or from growing rusty and useless; and being themselves excessively fearful of the fire they make with them. This hath obliged some of their wiser Cheyks to procure musqueteers to intermix with them, in order to familiarize them to that way of fighting. But as we have elsewhere hinted<sup>m</sup>, they grew so soon out of order, that they readily exchanged them for their old weapons: and it is far from improbable that their wives, who usually go with them in their wars (and, as is pretended, in order to inspire them with the greater courage, though in reality to attend them in the meanest offices) and other casualties (Q), were equally, if not more, terrified with the strange effects of those arms, than their husbands, and might prove more forward in spoiling than in preserving them, in order to discourage the farther use of them. However that be, they are to be found but among few of their tribes, and they are returned to their old way of fighting, which is to fall on their enemies on all sides; and, if attacked the first, or find one side stronger than another, to disperse themselves to avoid their first volley, and then return to the charge with incredible celerity and fury; and it is in those feigned retreats, that they make the greatest execution against them who are unacquainted with their ways. Upon the whole, provided there be no fire-arms used against them, they plunge themselves in and out of their squadrons with equal swiftness and intrepidity. Therefore when they engaged Christians, or any other enemy who knew the use of them, they chiefly aimed at wounding or killing their horses, as well knowing that their armour was proof against their weapons. But since that hath been in a great measure left off, and they have been more inured to guns and muskets, they have here also resumed their old way of fighting, and practise it with good success. Upon the whole, they are so inured to this warlike trade from their infancy, that they look upon it as their chiefest bliss, and pursue it with a kind of natural intrepidity and bravery; and are so far persuaded that Providence ordained it for them, that they never begin an expedition or an attack, nor indeed any other of their daily employments, without repeating, with great seri-

*Manner of  
wounding.*

*Fear of fire-  
arms.*

*Their wives  
go with them  
to war.*

*Old way of  
fighting the  
Christians.*

<sup>1</sup> De his, vid. auct. sup. citat. Travels, & al. sup. citat.

<sup>m</sup> See before, p. 667, & (L). LABAT, Relat. d'Afrique. SHAW'S

(Q) It may not be a little surprising that these plundering tribes should chuse to incumber themselves with their numerous families upon such occasions, which adds so much to all their other lumber, and must greatly retard the speed of their excursions; but it must be considered that their females are so perfectly well inured to this trade, as to take the most slavish part upon themselves, and make every thing easy for their husbands to mount and ride away; they dress and saddle their horses, lade the camels with their tents and utensils, and especially with the large panniers, which carry their children and themselves. These are large enough for them to sit or lie in conveniently, and so compact

and closely covered as to keep them from heat, wind, and rain. Those who abound in slaves have no farther business than to direct them to the drudgery, and the rest readily submit themselves to it, as having no place of safety but in their camps. Custom hath inured them, and use perfected them in it; and a constant practice of so many thousand years hath enabled them to find out the most expeditious ways to pursue a life which they so firmly believe was decreed for them by Providence, that they stigmatize and abhor all those of their seed, who exchange it for a more civil one, as so many renegadoes and apostates (9).

(9) See Genesis xvi. 12, & seq. Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 244, & seq. Additions to the Anc. Hist. p. 261, & seq. & auct. sup. citat.



<sup>a</sup> ousness and reverence, the words *Bish-Millab*, In the name of God; nor conclude any, especially if successfully, without crying out, in the same devout tone, *Almandi'llah*, God be praised <sup>k</sup>.

NEXT to their warlike expeditions, their chief and most delightful occupation is hunting *Chief divers-* and racing, at both which they are no less expert and inured, having little or no relish for *sions.* domestic affairs. and being rarely known to converse with their wives or children, but placing their chief satisfaction in being on horseback, and at a distance from home; so that whenever they are deprived of any of these excursions or pastimes abroad, the time goes sluggishly on with them, and is spent in smoking their pipes, or reposing themselves under some neighbouring shade, and entertaining themselves with the idle chat of their own exploits. What <sup>b</sup> we have said, however, concerning their averseness to family cares, doth not set them above some of them, which we should reckon of the menial kind, though indeed much fitter for them than for their wives; in which cases they are no longer esteemed disgraceful. Thus the haughtiest Cheyk, or prince, will no more scruple to go and fetch a lamb from the flock, to kill, skin, and dress it fit for the kitchen, than his princess doth to fetch firing and other necessities to cook it up for him.

WHEN they agree upon the hunting of the lion, the whole dower or district is summoned to appear; who forming themselves into a circle, inclose a space of three or four *Hunting the lion.* miles in compass, according to the quality of the ground, or number of the people, some on foot and some on horseback. The business of the former is to advance first, and into the <sup>c</sup> thickets, with their hounds and spears to rouse the game; whilst the horsemen, keeping at some distance behind, are ready to charge upon the first sally of the wild beast. In this manner they proceed, and still contract their circle, till they either come to close all together, or meet with something to prevent them from it. This sport frequently affords variety of pastime, from the different kinds of animals which are contained within that circle; so that they are often in chace after hares, jackalls, hyenas, and others of the wild kind. As to the lion that is roused up with them, it is, we are told, the nature of that fierce animal, on such occasions, to seize on the nearest person, and hold him fast till he is either cut in pieces, or shot to death <sup>l</sup>.

ANOTHER of their pastimes is hawking; the country not only affording great plenty of *Hawking.* that kind of game, but likewise variety of hawks and falcons, which they breed up to that sport in their own peculiar way; for they do not there make use of dogs to spring the game, but of a piece of oblong canvass stretched out upon two reeds, in the shape of a door, behind which they conceal themselves from it, and walk through the several brakes and avenues to the place where they expect to find it. The canvass is either spotted or painted in the figure of a leopard, and a little below the top is one or more holes, through which the sportsman sees what passes before him; at the approach of which the woodcock, partridge, and other gregarious birds, will, though at ever so great a distance before, covey together; whilst the quail and other kinds which go not in flocks, will only stand still and stare, and are easily shot. Others have a more laborious method of catching partridges in great numbers; *Manner of killing partridges.* <sup>e</sup> for observing, that the oftner and more hastily they are sprung, the more weary and languid they grow, they swiftly rush upon and knock them down with their zervaties, or short truncheons <sup>m</sup> (R).

ANOTHER of their pastimes is, for one dower to go in a body to visit another, or one *Arab* to visit another. In these cases they still use many of the antient ceremonies and compliments which we read were in use among the antient patriarchs; such as bringing of water *Manner of visiting and entertaining each other.* to wash their feet, giving each other the *Shalom*, or peace <sup>n</sup>, to entertain their guests in the best manner they can, and to stand and wait upon, instead of sitting down at table with them; and to enquire after the welfare of each other's families, and every individual belonging to them <sup>o</sup>. But in this last particular the *Arabs* exceed them in courtesy, so far that they <sup>f</sup> will not disdain to enquire after the welfare of their servants, domestic animals, flocks, herds, poultry, &c. whether their dogs are watchful of their charge, keep away the foxes from their hen-roosts, give notice of the approach of lions and other ravenous beasts; whether their cats still wage a faithful war against mice, rats, serpents, and other vermin, &c. and

<sup>k</sup> SHAW, ubi sup. & al. sup. citat.  
ibid.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. ubi sup. p. 299, & al. sup. citat.  
<sup>n</sup> De his, vid. Genesis xviii 4, & seq. xix. 2. xxiv. 32. xliii. 27, & seq. & alib. pass.

<sup>m</sup> SHAW,  
<sup>o</sup> 2 Samuel

(R) These short sticks are commonly used by those *Arabs* who are either ignorant of the use of fire-arms, or are not able to purchase them. They are bound round at each end with iron, and inlaid with pewter

or brass, and serve alike either for these kind of sports; or instead of an offensive weapon, like the *Σκηπτρα* of the antients (10).

(10) Shaw's Travels, p. 303. sub not. 2.



many more of the like nature : and at parting express the same good wishes for the welfare of them all. a

*Their marriages.*

*Their wives bought.*

*How conducted to their new home*

*Their reception and office there.*

THEIR marriages differ but little from those of the *Moors*, already described<sup>p</sup>; and are little else than a downright bargain between the father of the future bride and her future husband. They consist chiefly in paying so many camels, horses, sheep, and cows, which make up the main part of their wealth, by the latter to the former. As soon as that is concluded, the young man is allowed to visit his future bride, in her own separate tent, where she is ready to receive him, in the best apparel and ornaments she can afford. Here her father discloses the matter to her; and, among other inducements, acquaints her with the number of cattle he hath engaged to pay for the possession of her; to which he makes answer, that a prudent and virtuous wife can never be too dearly bought. Among some of them he is not even permitted to see her till he hath paid the full price; so that he is obliged to rely on the report which his mother or some female relation makes of her. If she doth not answer his expectations, he may indeed divorce her; but he must then forfeit all that he hath paid for her purchase, which still falls heavier upon the purchaser; but, at the same time, shews that the parents know much better than we in *Europe* how to set a true value upon their daughters, instead of parting with such vast sums as we do to get rid of them. This is likewise a relic of the antient patriarchal way of marrying; which they farther imitate in making of presents both to the bride, and to some of her near relations, if not of jewels and costly ornaments, yet of such as their circumstances will admit of, over and above the stipulated price. After these articles have been thus far performed, the bride still continues some time with her father, where she receives the congratulations and good wishes of her female friends; after which she is conducted by them to her new spouse, either on horseback, or in a sedan, carried between two camels, with loud acclamations and songs. There she is received in by his female relations, in the same joyful strain and good wishes. Upon her alighting, a stick is put into her hand, which she sticks as deep into the ground as she can, in token, that, as it cannot be removed without some hand to pluck it up, so she will not abandon her husband, unless he divorce her from him. From thence she is immediately hurried away to the herds, where she is set to milk some of the camels or cows, dress some of the horses, or perform some other branches of family duty, before she is admitted into her tent. When she hath performed all these first essays, she is introduced into it, and there received by her spouse in the best and kindest manner, and doth not stir out of it, nor uncover her face before any but him, till the first month is over; after which she enters into the family business, like the rest of the good *Arabian* wives<sup>q</sup>. b

WE omit several other trifling ceremonies of a superstitious nature, which are more or less numerous and various among them, in several parts of *Africa*, according as they retain more or less of their antient heathenism, or have imbibed new ones by being blended with the natives of the country, especially the idolatrous part of it. And for the same reason we shall pass over that variety of other no less impertinent ones which are used more less at their funerals, as charms, and other senseless witcheries, which are used not only after their deaths, but during their sickness, by their marabouts and other pretended conjurers; and only take notice of such as are in use among the more serious and strict *Mohammedans*; and these are but few. First of all, when any one *Arab* dies, all the women who inhabit that tent or hut alarm the whole dower with their loud outcries and lamentations, and are quickly joined in the same hideous chorus by the rest of the females belonging to it. All this while those of near kin to the deceased are busying themselves within with washing the body, and dressing it in a decent manner; and others sing the praises of the defunct in so mournful a tone, and with such floods of tears, as if they were most sensibly affected with the loss. To behold the whole ceremony of howling, weeping, clapping of hands, beating of breasts, tearing of hair, haggard looks, contortions of the body, &c. one would be apt to imagine that the whole female dower was plunged into the deepest grief; yet is all this meer custom and grimace, to which they are so inured from their childhood, that they can, with the greatest ease, pass from acting the deepest scenes of mourning to one of the greatest jollity and mirth. From which some judicious persons have been induced to conclude, that the bloody custom of obliging the wives of the deceased to follow their husbands into the other world (which is still in vogue in some of the inland parts of *Africa*, as well as in *India*, but hath been in a great measure abolished by the *Mahammedans*, where-ever they have been settled) had its birth, and was intended to turn the mock-farce of a sham mourning into a real one. As to the men, even the nearest relations to the deceased, whatever their inward grief may be, they are above expressing it in any other way than a grave and composed behaviour; and in this silent guise they follow the corpse to some neighbouring eminence, where, having dug a grave, c

*Funeral obsequies.*

*Mourning of the women;*

*a mere sham.*

<sup>p</sup> See before, p. 665, & seq.

<sup>q</sup> LEO, GRAMMAY, DAPPER, LAEAT, & al.



a they deposit it, and cover it with earth; after which they rear a heap of stones over it, which serves at once for a monument, and a defence from carnivorous beasts<sup>r</sup>.

Thus much may suffice with respect to the wandering *Arabs*; all that need be added is, *Why they have no mosks.* that though they are almost all *Mohammedans*, yet they have not, that we can find, any mosks through all this vast continent; and indeed, considering their frequent removing from place to place, it would be very inconvenient for them to have any portable ones large enough to serve the whole dower; and they think their own tents and concomitant lumber incumbent-rance sufficient to dispense them from it. For which reason they content themselves with saying their prayers in their tents, after having first washed themselves as usual, where water can be had, or, where that fails, rubbed themselves all over with sand or dust. This shews, how-<sup>Not careful of their religious duties.</sup> ever, their zeal and sincerity in performing those duties of their religion in the best way they can, rather than omit them for want of water or a mosk. The case, however, is otherwise with the two other classes, already spoken of, who live in towns and villages, and want neither the one nor the other, and are employed either in trade or commerce, or follow agriculture and breeding of cattle; for these, especially the latter, who are commonly seated along the rivers for the sake of commerce as well as pasturage, have every where their synagogues, and opportunity of vacating on their religious duties. And yet it is a question whether these or the other class, which may be more properly stiled merchants, are so zealous observers of their law as those of the wandering kind, who live mostly on rapine. It is true, indeed, that the mercantile class is no less given to motion, though on different errands, and travels as much from one kingdom to another, in quest of gain, as the other doth after plunder. Their favourite traffick is that of gold; of which they are the more greedy, as the natives do not suffer them to settle where there are any mines of that precious metal; and as the *Europeans*, with whom they traffick, are very careful not to bring any to them; for which reason they are content to undertake the longest and most difficult, as well as dangerous, voyages into the kingdoms of *Tambut*, *Galaam*, *Gago*, &c. where it is found in great plenty, and exchanged with the inhabitants for cloaths, trinkets, iron and brass tools and utensils, and other commodities of small value. They scruple not to carry it off by main force, where they are strong enough, and even the very owners themselves, and sell them for slaves. So that, in the main, their intentions on this kind of traffick are not one jot honefter than those of their wandering brethren, d for they are equally ready to trade or plunder, as occasion offers; and are as arrant *Arabs* as they. If there be any difference between them, it is only this, that the one is of a more martial and fierce disposition, the other more sordid and greedy after gain, and will submit to the lowest arts, or undergo the greatest fatigues and dangers, to procure it.

To give our readers one instance for all of this last species, we need but subjoin here a short specimen of this one branch of traffick, which they carry on with the kingdoms above-men-<sup>Difficulties attending the Arabian caravans.</sup> tioned, and of the hazards and difficulties which attend the performance of that long journey. 1<sup>st</sup>. It is computed to be between 6 and 700 leagues long, and those leagues far from being of the shortest. 2<sup>dly</sup>. It lies through a vast sandy desert, from the moveableness of the sand stiled also the sandy sea, near 200 leagues in length, and in which no water is to be found, e except in two places, and in very deep wells, very often choaked up with sand; which being, with great difficulty and labour dug out, the water at the bottom comes up so brackish, and so unpleasant and unwholsome, that nothing but mere necessity, and the unavoidable danger of perishing through excessive thirst, can make it go down; even their very camels, the only beast of burthen that is fit for such journies, are satiated with it before they have drank half their fill (S). 3<sup>dly</sup>. These wells are very difficult to be found, and, if missed or passed over, a number

<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid.

(S) These useful creatures (which the *Africans* stile the riches of heaven, for so *Marmol* tells us their name imports, and, one may add, the riches of *Africa*, since they reckon a man's wealth by the number of camels he is master of) seem designed by Providence for the use of these hot and dry climates, and are not only adapted by nature, but inured by art, both to bear the greatest burthens, heats, and fatigues, but that which is the greatest of all, hunger and thirst. We shall shew, in the sequel of this *African* history, by what arts they are trained up from colts to this useful yet miserable drudgery; inasmuch that they will go a whole fortnight, some say three weeks, or a month, or even longer, with a burden of 600 lb. weight on their backs, without a drop of water, or any other sustenance than a few coarse dates given to them once in three or four days.

In this part of *Africa*, where they are bred in great plenty, and bought at a moderate price, the *Arabs* are so inhuman to them, as to deny them their necessary allowance, even where it can be easily had, out of mere covetousness; not caring what they make them suffer during their journey, nor how soon they drop down dead with hunger and labour, so it be not before they have got to their journey's end. Neither are they over-solicitous if any doth so, as it often happens; in which case they only divide his burthen among five or six of his companions. So that by that time they reach the place to which they are bound, they are so emaciated and unfit for further service, that nobody will give any thing for them; and all the recompence they have for their gainful service, is to be turned off to starve and rot above ground. There is still one useful excellency which this creature is endued with by nature,



a number of people must be dispatched backward and forward, as well as to the right and left, to find them out, or the whole caravan must inevitably perish. To avoid which, they are obliged to steer by the compass, as is done at sea, and with much greater caution, and be provided with expert land pilots, who are well acquainted with that route.

Danger from  
tempests and  
quicksands.

BUT the most dreadful of all dangers, is the frequent tempests with which this sandy sea is equally agitated as the ocean, and are occasioned by vehement winds, which raise and whirl the sand to such a height and length, as often overwhelms a whole caravan, and buries them alive beyond all possible recovery. To avoid which, the *Arabs* take care to chuse the most gentle seasons, and such as long experience hath taught are least liable to these furious whirlwinds; that is, a month before and after the two solstices; but never venture at those of the two equinoxes, when these winds are observed to rage most.

Places where  
they trade.

THOSE rich and opulent kingdoms above-mentioned have been hitherto unknown, not only to the *Europeans*, but in a great measure also to the *Africans*, or to any but the *Arabians*, who are too sordid and reserved in matters of self-interest to give the least intelligence either about them, or the way that leads to them. One thing we may be sure of is, that the traffick with them must be very considerable, to answer such a long and fatiguing voyage, and the vast risks and dangers of it. Accordingly we are told, that they bring away great quantities of gold, besides ivory of the whitest kind, bezoar, civet, and a great number of slaves, whom they load homeward with those commodities, instead of their camels, which they leave behind to starve at large. In exchange for those valuables, they carry thither vast quantities of salt, which those kingdoms very much want, besides cloaths, and a great variety of trinkets, which they traffick for with the *Europeans*. And we are farther told, that the *Arabs* settled along the southern coasts, carry on much the same gainful trade with the inland kingdoms on that side; the inhabitants of them being either too proud or indolent to stir out of their country on any such errand, as long as they can have those *European* commodities brought to them from other parts of *Africa* (T). What we have been speaking of concerning the above-mentioned caravan, relates indeed chiefly to the *Arabians* settled in *Barbary* and *Morocco*; but we shall find them every-where over all *Africa* equally immersed in the mercantile way, and travelling far and near in it to enrich themselves by the same fraudulent artifices, sticking at nothing that brings them gain; and, like the rest of their brethren, scorning to procure it by fair, if they can any how do it by foul means. In one thing, however, they are very scrupulous, that though they drive such a large commerce in slaves, yet they will never part with any of them to the *Europeans*. Their reason for it is, that they look upon them as infidels, to whom, they think, it would be the greatest cruelty to sell a *Mohammedan*, though at ever so high a price. This scruple, which is so detrimental to that branch of the *African* traffick, all the merchants in that kind of commodity have often tried all their wit and address to cure them of, but all hitherto in vain.

Nature and  
gaintubels of  
their traffick.

Indolence of  
the people.

\* LABAT, ubi sup. LEO, MARMOL, GRAMMAY, DAPPER, & al. plur.

nature, in order to enable it to go so long without drinking; namely, a kind of reservoir, which contains all the water which he drinks, and dispenses it so gradually, and by small quantities, to the other parts of the body, as to keep it still fresh and active, yet so as not to be exhausted, as it is in other creatures, in less than 12 or 15 days. But this likewise proves often the cause of its death; for when their *Arabian* masters find themselves in great want of it, they make no scruple to butcher them to come at it, and quench their thirst with what is left of it (10).

(T) It will not be thought, we hope, an unseasonable digression to observe here, that it was with a view to that advantageous trade that our *English* company settled at first on the river *Gambia*, not doubting but it had such a communication with the *Niger* or *Senega*, as would open them a way to some of those golden countries. The project, how well concerted soever, proved impracticable on several accounts, which we shall barely hint. One was the excessive heats which reigned all the way, as well as the vast number of trees which grew on both sides of the river, and so stagnated the air, that there was no possibility of living in it, and their men died so fast that they were forced to abandon the enterprize.

The next was the bloody opposition they met with from the *Moors* on both sides of that river, who were stirred up to it by some *Portuguese* mulattos, settled all that way amongst them, and dreaded the detriment which this new project, if successful, would occasion to their own trade. So that the *English* were continually exposed to the shots of the enemy, who lay in covert ambush, on both sides; and had no sooner made their discharge, than they fall flat on their bellies, to avoid the fire of their musquetry.

But the greatest obstacle of all was that of the river itself, and the impossibility of rowing against its rapid stream, or of making their way through some shallows, where it was quite choaked up with rushes, flags, and other such insurmountable impediments. All which forced them back again to their small island of *St. James* on that river, and content themselves with what traffick they could obtain there from the negroes, who brought to them thither gold dust, elephants teeth, slaves, hides, gums, and other commodities of less value; or with what themselves fetch from a place called *Baracotta*, which lieth a little higher up the same river, and where the *Mandingo* negroes barter much the same merchandizes with them (11).

(10) Marmol, Dapper, Labat, & al. sup. citat. Linjchot. Labat, & al. sup. citat.

(11) Id. ibid. vid. & Hackluyt, Leo Africanus, & al.



a THERE is yet another branch ; viz. that of ivory, which these *Arabs* abstain from, out of *Elphants*, a superstitious notion, instilled into them by their pharisaical marabouts, that the touch of any <sup>which is spared</sup> part of that dead animal causes a legal defilement. On which account they never attempt to <sup>by the Arabs.</sup> kill them, but let them range at liberty in numerous droves, without molesting them ; unless, as they frequently are apt to do, they break into their sown fields, before they have got in their harvest ; and even then content themselves with driving them out with lighted straw, which frights them away, without doing them any other harm. This notion, ridiculous as it is, prevents the great destruction which would otherwise be made of that noble animal, and the exportation of so great a quantity of their teeth, as well as of the *African* slaves. But this is all abundantly made up by the negroes, *Moors*, and other natives, who, being less scrupulous

b in such matters, destroy myriads of the former in a year, and live partly on their flesh, and make no conscience to sell their countrymen, and even relations, to the Christians, though they look upon that state as the most dreadful and miserable that can happen to them in this life ; it being a common notion deeply rooted amongst them, that the *Europeans* buy them to fatten and feast on, and afterwards burn their bones, and make charms and other witcheries with them, in order to procure larger yearly supplies of them \*.

HAVING now given an account of what is most worthy notice with relation to the *African* <sup>Africa famed</sup> natives, as well as *Arabs*, we shall next take a short review of the various kinds of animals <sup>for wild</sup> which this country produces, beyond any of the other three parts of the world, it being, from <sup>beasts.</sup> the remotest times, famed on account of its dry and sandy soil, and scarcity of water, and

c for nourishing a much greater quantity and variety of animals of the monstrous kind, than any other in the world. We shall, however, be readily excused by our readers from entering into an enquiry how far the causes *Pliny* and other naturalists have assigned for such unnatural births will stand the test of reason and experience, as well as from examining whether the half of what we read concerning them be really fact or not ; such enquiries, how useful and curious soever, would carry us beyond our stated bounds, and are more properly the business of naturalists. Ours, therefore, shall be chiefly to give a succinct account of the animal productions of the country, which are peculiar to it, or have any thing remarkable above those of other parts of the world : and herein, to avoid needless repetitions, we shall

d confine ourselves to a general account of them in this place, and defer the farther description of such, as either for their curiosity deserve, or for their strangeness require, a particular one, to those countries in which they either most abound or excel. And the same method we shall observe with relation to mountains, rivers, lakes, and other particulars of this large continent.

WE begin with their tame quadrupeds, of which there is a great abundance, not only of <sup>Tame beasts.</sup> those which are to be found in *Europe* and *Asia*, and in much more numerous herds, but in many parts of *Africa* likewise, much larger, stronger, fatter, and better relished, than ours, particularly the bulls, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, and deer. Their horses are indeed smaller, but <sup>Their horses</sup> finely shaped, fleet, and of variety of beautiful colours. Some authors have questioned <sup>excellent.</sup> whether these last were natives of *Africa*, or only brought thither since the coming of the

e *Arabs* into these parts. These are indeed the best breeders and expertest masters in breaking and riding of them ; but from the great multitudes and variety that run wild in many parts of the country, where those *Arabs* have not yet penetrated, one would be apt to conclude, that the natives had them long before that time ; though those of the *Arabs*, especially the barbs, are by far the finest and most esteemed, not by them only, but by strangers of every country. They exceed in swiftness all other creatures, except the dant, or as the *Arabs* call it, lant, a wild beast, of which we shall speak in the sequel ; and some even this ; and when they do, the owners hardly know how to set a sufficient value upon them.

THE camel, though not peculiar to *Africa*, is one of the most useful and necessary animals <sup>Camels, their</sup> in it, not only on account of the great loads it is able to carry above other beasts of burden, <sup>usefulness.</sup> but for its singular tractableness, patience, and abstinence, being brought up to travel some months together, through the hottest sands and barren deserts, with their heavy burthens, and with so small a sustenance of either food or water, as no other living creature can do. Without their help, their vast commerce, which is carried on from one place to another in large caravans, must soon be at an end ; without them, the wild *Arabs* would neither be able to remove their families, habitations, and lumber, so frequently, or so far as they commonly do ; and many other branches of their service would the natives of those hot climates be deprived of in peace, as well as in war ; for in this respect we have elsewhere seen them trained up so as to supply the want even of artillery \*. We shall not take up our readers time with the description of this most useful animal, as its shape and size are sufficiently known from other works of this nature ; and we shall have so frequent occasion to speak of its singular use

\* De hoc, vide CAVAZ. Congo, lib. ii. p. 54, & seq. & al. sup. citat. PIGAFET, & al. ubi sup.

u See before, p. 69, & seq.

\* LEO AFRICANUS, MARMOL,

x Ibid. vol. ii. p. 660.



and laborious services through the course of this *African* history, not only as a beast of burden, <sup>a</sup> but on account of their milk, which yields an excellent drink, and of their flesh, which is the chief food of the natives, especially of the *Arabs* <sup>1</sup>. They are commonly long-lived, some say as far as to 100 years, if not abused, as they too frequently are by their inhuman owners <sup>2</sup>. Other curious, though less momentous, particulars relating to them, the reader may see in the margin (U).

*Dromedaries,*  
*used for*  
*swiftness.*

THE dromedary, a smaller and slimmer species of camel, is no less useful a creature for its swiftness, than the other for its carriage, and is commonly used for expedition; they being affirmed to travel forty leagues *per* day, for ten days together, with the smallest pittance of barley and water; on all which accounts it is called by that name, and chiefly used for speedy travelling. It hath, moreover, a back suited for that purpose; that is, one, and some two, <sup>b</sup> bunches of soft long hair, which are a kind of natural saddle for the rider, and its legs of a proper length for clearing a good deal of ground in a little time. It hath no hoofs on its feet, but a broad foot, fenced by a thick skin, which becomes harder with travelling, and renders that animal the more sure-footed. Their common height is between seven or eight feet from the bottom of the fore feet to the crown of the head. Their skin is sleek, and hair smooth; they can bear hunger, thirst, and long fatigues; and, when they come to the water, which they commonly take care to trouble with their feet, they take in such plenty of it, as will serve them eight, ten, or more days; and if we may believe some authors, to quench the thirst of their riders in case of necessity (X).

*Horses.*

*Fine breed of*  
*barbs.*

THE next useful and profitable kind of animals, is that of their horses, with which several <sup>c</sup> parts of *Africa* abound, and which the *Arabs*, in particular, breed in vast numbers. They are commonly distinguished amongst us by the name of *Barbs*, because first brought into *Europe* from the coasts of *Barbary*. They are originally natives of *Arabia*; though beautiful and fleet, strong and serviceable, yet were left to run wild in the woods in numerous droves, till the *Arabs* first broke them to the bit, and, among other countries in their neighbourhood, stocked the greatest part of this with them, where they have been in great esteem both for their beauty and usefulness ever since, whether for riding, hunting, warring, or coursing, but chiefly for their fleetness in the two last; insomuch, that *Xenophon* tells his *Cyrus*, that, when any of these coursers was arrived to such a height as to be able to out-run the dant, or <sup>d</sup> lant, or to overtake an ostrich, he was usually sold for 1000 gold ducats, or bartered for 100 common camels; the experiment of which was usually tried at their races or public markets. One method among the rest which the *Arabs* use to bring them to that extraordinary pitch of swiftness is, by feeding them morning and evening with camels milk, and that only in such a quantity as will give strength and agility to their limbs, without incumbering them with a superfluous weight of flesh. They likewise send them into pasture, as soon as the grass is full grown, and leave them there about two months, during which time they never get upon their backs <sup>2</sup>. What wild horses there are in *Africa* are of too fleet a nature to be caught in the common hunting way. These, therefore, which however are not very

*Wild horses.*

<sup>1</sup> De his, vide LEO AFRICANUS, lib. ix. MARMOL Afrig. lib. i. c. 14 & 23. DAVITY, DAPPER, LABAT, & al. <sup>2</sup> Ibid. ubi sup. <sup>3</sup> LEO AFRICANUS, MARMOL, RAMUS. DAPPER, LABAT, & al.

(U) It is allowed that the camels of *Africa* are by far preferable and more useful than those of *Asia*, on many accounts, as their largeness, strength, and particularly their being able to travel forty, fifty, or even sixty days with little, or even without food. They are likewise very tractable and submissive under the burden, but vindictive when ill used, and will watch an opportunity of repaying the injury with an unexpected kick or grievous bite.

The method the natives take to rear them up to that slavish service is no less singular. As soon as the colt is foaled, they take him reeking warm from the dam, and lay him flat, with his fore feet bent under his belly, upon a carpet, and wrap him up close in it, adding gradually some weight upon his back; by which means he is easily reared up to receive his burden, in that posture, by touching his knees with a stick. In order to inure them to hunger and thirst, they at first keep them from sucking a whole day, then two, three, and so on to eight or ten days, and practise the same method when weaned, by keeping them from their usual food and drink, and teaching them to receive a daily increase of weight upon their backs, and resting under it upon their bellies, till

they become fit for business, that is, for carrying heavy burdens through long journeys, and barren burning sands, with the smallest, and sometimes without any, sustenance; and to carry a burden of 600, 700, and some even to 1000 and 1200 weight (12).

No less singular is the method by which they breed them up likewise for diversion, and teach them to dance to the sound of the tabor or pipe, by bringing them, whilst young colts, into a kind of stove, made hot for the purpose, where the floor burning their feet, they skip and dance about, now on one foot, now on another, then on their knees; all this while the tabor or pipe playing some tune; by which means they are gradually inured, when they hear the same instrument play, on the cold ground, to dance to the tune it plays, and observe the cadence of it with surprising exactness and agility (13).

(X) This is done, we are told, by opening a hole in their paunch, which is composed of four ventricles, and at the bottom of each are about twenty inlets into so many partitions, which extend themselves still farther, like so many bags, and serve as a reservoir in which they carry this their watry provision.

(12) *Idem* *ibid.* Davity, Ramusio, Dapper, & al. mult.

(13) *Leo Afr. lib. ix. & al. ubi sup.*



a numerous, the wild *Arabs* have a way of catching alive by gins and traps laid in the sand, into which they drive them out of the woods, not so much with a view of breaking them for use, as to feast upon their flesh, which they esteem a delicious bit, especially when young and plump; by which means they prevent their multiplying too fast upon them, and devouring the pasture, which should serve for their own cattle<sup>b</sup>.

OTHER domestic animals, such as bulls and cows, asses, sheep, goats, &c. are here also in great plenty and variety, but need not be dwelt upon; we shall only observe, that their larger kind is much smaller, and their small much larger than ours in proportion. One large kind of cows they have, especially in *Egypt*, without any hair, with long tails trailing on the ground, and necks spotted and streaked with various colours. Their sheep are large, and one sort of them have those long and fleshy tails, which, as we have taken notice of in some parts of *Asia*, weigh between 20 and 30 pounds. That which they call *Adin-naim* is of the bigness of a common ass, and with long ears hanging down. The males are without horns, but the females have them of various sizes and shapes. These are much esteemed by the *Libyans* on account of the plenty of milk they give, of which they make their cheese and butter, and common drink. Their wool, though short, is good and serviceable. Both males and females are exceeding tame and gentle, and some of them strong enough to carry a man on their backs. Among their great variety of goats, they have that kind which breeds the true bezoar, or, according to other authors, the musk; but they disagree so much in their description, that we may justly call both in question. But whether fact or no, the creatures which bear both the one and the other are of the wild, and not of the tame and domestic, kind we are now upon; and to which we shall only add, that among these there are many that run wild in the woods and deserts. There are wild bulls and cows, horses and asses, goats, &c. down to the very dog kind, of which there is a sort of as dangerous and destructive a nature as any of the wolf, tiger, or leopard kind, as we shall see in our progress through this part of the globe. It is with the same view that we omit some others of the same tame kind, which, though of no less curious a nature than those we have spoken of, yet being peculiar to certain parts and kingdoms of it, may be more properly mentioned in our description of their native soil.

d We come now to speak of those of the wild, voracious, and destructive kinds, of which this country produces a still larger quantity, and greater variety. At the head of these we may justly place the Elephant, that noble and excellent creature, which, in our course through the *Asiatic* history, we have had so frequent occasion to celebrate, as much for its surprising qualities of sense, docility, courage, and usefulness, as for its superior strength and size, above all other quadrupeds<sup>c</sup>; but in every part of this vast country, and variety of nations, is found to be as wild, ferocious, and destructive, as any of the savage kind: none of the *African* inhabitants, whether *Arabs*, natives, or strangers, having so much as attempted to tame and render them as serviceable as the *Chinese* and other polite *Indian* nations have done, instead of letting them continue such a dreadful and devouring nuisance where-ever they are. Infomuch that, if we except some few that are brought up tame in the empire of *Abissinia*, and that rather out of curiosity and grandeur than use, whilst they leave all the rest to range and ravage their lands and harvests, they are there and every-where dreaded, and treated as the most dangerous and destructive of the whole savage species; and no wonder, considering how much the greatest part of these *Africans* naturally partake of, and many of them even exceed those animals in their ferocity, and can hardly look upon them in any other light than as reciprocal objects of their prey, nor be intent on any thing else than destroying them, and making all possible reprisals on them, for their horrid devastations, by feeding on their flesh, and making a traffick of their spoils; so that myriads of them are yearly destroyed within that vast continent, even by the confession of the inhabitants; which is farther confirmed by the immense quantities of ivory which are yearly exported into *India* and *Europe*, from all the *African* coasts, as we shall have occasion to shew in our progress through them. So that this noble creature, so justly admired for its excellent qualities in the eastern parts of the world, is only remarkable in this for its savage and mischievous nature, and the vast slaughter which is made of them, where-ever they herd; unless we add, that they are here much larger, taller, and stronger than those of *India*<sup>d</sup>; and those of *Abissinia*, *Kongo*, and the *Cape of Good Hope*, are the biggest in all *Africa* (Y).

WE

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>c</sup> See before, vol. ii. p. 545, 546. vol. iii. p. 267, 713, & alib. pass. <sup>d</sup> De his, vide LEO AFRICANUS, lib. ix. MARMOL, lib. i. c. 23. RAMUS, vol. i. pass. PURCHAS, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. plur.

(Y) We have added *Kongo* to the two other countries, known some of them the breadth of whose hoof measured seven spans, or three feet and eight inches; so on the authority of F. CAVAZZI, who resided a considerable time in those parts, and tells us, that he had that if the rest of the body bore a due proportion to it, it



WE shall not trouble our readers with a farther description of this noble animal, which is by this time so well known, by one way or other, to most *Europeans*; but conclude our account of them with two remarks, the one concerning their ferocity, and the other concerning their slow and unwieldy motion; *viz.* 1st. That whatever devastation they may make in sown lands, upon fruits, &c. for the sake of their sustenance, yet they never fall foul on men or women, but will let them pass quietly by them, unless they be first exasperated by some violent abuse or wound given, or attack made upon them; in which case dreadful and almost unavoidable is the fate of those who have provoked their resentment. For, 2dly, the vast bulk and unwieldiness of their bodies and limbs is so far from being an obstruction to their swiftness on such occasions, that the best runner of them of all would hardly escape being overtaken and crushed to death under their feet. The only way they have to prevent it is to tire them by their frequent winding from the right to the left, and from the left to the right; by which frequent winding those creatures soon become too weary, and are forced to quit their pursuit <sup>a</sup>.

*Their ferocity when provoked.*

*How avoided.*

*Elephants hunted.*

*Their sagacity and approach to human reason.*

*Rhinoceros described.*

*Various accounts given of them.*

*Their tongue a dangerous weapon.*

THE hunting of the elephant is reckoned a noble sport all over *Africa*<sup>f</sup>, and differs in almost every country, but is generally performed with a numerous posse, and loud and horrid shouts of the people. The most common and least dangerous way of catching them is by driving them into deep holes, made for that purpose in the earth, and covered with straw and leaves; and when the beast is fallen into it, they pierce him all over with their sagays and other missile weapons with incredible fury. His flesh yields a plentiful feast, equal to six large oxen; and, among the rest of his spoils, the hair of his tail bears a considerable price, and is curiously woven into collars, bracelets, and other ornaments, the purchase and wear of only the noble and wealthy. We omit many other singularities concerning this noble animal, mentioned by antient and modern authors, relating to their stupendous strength, wonderful sagacity, retentive memory, surprising gratitude and resentment, their privacy and veredundity in coition above all other animals of the wild and tame kind, and others of the like nature, which, we think, we have neither an equal warrant to vouch for, nor sufficient evidence to contradict. One thing may be safely affirmed in general, that they surpass all the other tribes, and display the nearest approaches to rationality <sup>c</sup>.

THE Rhinoceros, so called from its large horn on its nose, is likewise a native of *Africa*; and though inferior in bulk to the elephant, yet exceeds him in the beauty and comeliness of his shape and skin; which last is strangely variegated with speckles in tufts of black and grey. His back looks as if adorned with a natural saddle, and his sides and ribs swell out as if imbossed, quite down to his belly, with folding panes. The skin of his back is so hard that a lance will scarcely pierce it, and his hide so deeply furrowed, as if armed with scales, as commonly reported and represented by painters. His snout resembles that of a boar, on the top of which grows his horn, which is of a lighter or darker brown, or even black, according to his age, as doth also the length and weight of it, which, when full grown, measures about four feet from the root, and ascends with an upright curve, and weighs commonly between 5 and 600 pounds. His body is of the size of a middling elephant, but his legs are much shorter; his tail long like that of an ox, and his ears upright like those of the horse. We shall not enter into a more particular detail of this noble creature: its natural enmity to, and terrible fights with, the elephant, and other of its exploits, of which *Aristotle*, *Dio*, *Pliny*, and other antients, and after them many moderns, have given us a variety of accounts, which would prove a hard task to reconcile. However that be, that there are such huge and strange animals, found not only in *Abissinia*, the country of the *Hottentots*, and other parts of *Africa*, where we shall say something farther about them, but likewise in several parts of the *East Indies*, there is no room to doubt; though by their being so seldom seen in either by our *Europeans*, one may conclude either that they are as scarce as the elephants are numerous, or else, more probably perhaps, they chiefly harbour in deserts and unfrequented places, where living upon such diet as thistles, docks, and such-like coarse fare, which is their common nourishment, their tongue and palate acquires such a strange roughness, that they will, we are told, not only excoriate but excarnify a man or beast to the bone in a short time, by the mere licking of them <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> MARMOL, lib. i. c. 23.

<sup>f</sup> LABAT ex Cavaz, lib. i. c. 9. MARMOL, DAPPER, PIGAFET, & al. De his, vide LEO AFRIC. RAMUS. DAPPER, & al sup. citat.

<sup>d</sup> DAPPER, OGILBY, & F. LE COMPTE.

it must exceed all that we read of those *Colossian* quadrupeds (14). He adds, that some of them breed a kind of bezoar in their ventricle, not inferior to the genuine. *Dapper* tells us much the same, in his gene-

ral description of the *African* animals; but says, it grows in the head of the animal (15). Which of the two is right, or whether either, is out of our power to determine.

(14) *Hist. of Kongo*, lib. i. c. 9.

(15) *Conf. Cavaz. & Dapper, ubi sup.*



a MUCH more reason have we to doubt of the twentieth part of the physical virtues which the superstitious natives, as well as the *Portuguese* and others, attribute to almost every part of this animal, from the tip of the horn to the calcined bones and hoofs. Mr. *D'Herbelot* tells us, on the authority of the famed *Sharif Al Edrisi*, that this creature is chiefly found in the isle of *Rami*, on the *Indian Sea*, about three days sailing from that of *Serendib*, from which the *Indian* kings are furnished with its wonderful horn to drink out of; it having the singular virtue of sweating at the approach of any kind of poison whatever. He adds, that the horn being split in two in the middle, represents the profile or out-lines of a man, as drawn with chalk; and some of them also those of birds<sup>1</sup>. To the description we have given above, *Al Edrisi* adds, that the rhinoceros hath a bunch under his belly, like that which the camel hath on his back; and Father *Le Compte*, that its hoofs are cloven, its feet thick, and as if entangled within so many boots; to which he adds, that the hinder part of his head is also covered with a kind of cowl, like that of our women's capuchins, on which account the *Portuguese* have given it the name of *The Indian Monk*.

WE meet with sundry other particulars and descriptions of this noble creature among writers both antient and modern, which our scanty limits will not permit us to expatiate upon, as well as a great variety of creatures, which are distinguished by the name of rhinoceros, monoceros, licorn, &c. The reader will find what is most worthy notice about them in the margin (Z); and all that we shall add to what hath been said above, is, that the Septuagint, Vulgate, and generality of antient versions and fathers, as well as a great number of our modern interpreters, having taken the *Rhem*, so celebrated in the books of *Job*, *Psalms*, and other sacred ones of the Old Testament<sup>k</sup>, to mean the rhinoceros or unicorn we are speaking of, hath induced our modern travellers to make a more diligent search after it; and where-ever they have met with any quadruped with one single horn, have taken it for granted that it was the *Rhem* of the *Hebrews*, or *Rim* of the *Arabs*, without enquiring too curiously how far it answered the scriptural account of it in other respects, by which means all the several species, mentioned in the last note, have been supposed by various authors to be the unicorn there spoken of; and described it just as they found it either in *Asia* or *Africa*, how different soever in other particulars from the accounts given us by *Moses* and the Psalmist, which represent it as a large, savage, cruel, and untractable creature, fierce, strong, and maleficent; on all which accounts, the generality of modern critics differ from the common opinion, and think that the *Rhem* means neither the rhinoceros nor unicorn, but some other savage creature, though they are far enough from agreeing in the choice of a proper one to substitute in their stead<sup>l</sup>. However that be, there is a manifest difference between the *African* and *Indian* rhinoceros, the former being without scales, and the latter being covered with them; the one having but one horn on its nose, and the other having one there, a second on its forehead, and a third on its back.

THE next in rank and size is the garaffa, called by the *Arabs* *Zarafa*, and by *Pliny* and other antients camelopard, from its beautiful spots like the leopard. It is about the height of

<sup>1</sup> Biblioth. orient. sub voc. Kerkedan. 9, & seq. & al.

<sup>k</sup> Numb. xxiv. 8. Deut. xxxiii. 17. Psal. xxii. 21. Job xxxix.

<sup>l</sup> Vide BOCHART animal. sacr. part v. l. iii. c. 27.

(Z) We read of another kind of rhinoceros, or unicorn, in *Africa*, of the bigness of a colt of two years old, and much of the same shape, whose horn, which grows out of its forehead, is said to be about six feet long, straight and taper, and of exceeding whiteness and smoothness like the finest polished ivory. But what increases its value is its pretended virtue to expel all kinds of poisons; inasmuch, that the creature always dips it in water before it ventures to drink. On which account the rest of the wild kind watch the time when it comes to a spring or a river, that they may have the benefit of drinking after it. The misfortune is, that the creature, as some authors tell us (16), is so shy, as well as swift-footed, that it gets quite out of sight before one can have sufficient time to view it, and much more to wound it with either bullet or arrow. Notwithstanding which, Father *Cavazzi* tells us, that they are often killed, and their flesh is good to eat, except in rutting time. He calls it *Capalanca*, and says it is of the size of a mule, and the skin spotted with white and red (17), but what is still worse, is, that those who pretend to have seen, and

carefully viewed them, describe their bulk, shape, colour, and texture of their skin, length, turn, and shape of their horns, heads, legs, hoofs, mouth, tail, hair, &c. in so many different ways, that one would be induced to believe, either that those writers had conspired to amuse and impose upon mankind, or, which is indeed more probable, as well as candid, that there must be a greater variety of those one-horned animals than we think, tho' all called by the same, or by equivalent names, as indeed there are, if we may believe the learned *Del Campo*, who hath distinguished no less than seven species of them, some of which have the single horn on their nose, others on their foreheads, others on the crown of their heads (18); one species like the rhinoceros above described; others more like to horses, mules, bulls, asses, colts, goats, &c. We read moreover of another species in the kingdom of *Kongo*, called *Abada*, of the bigness of a large horse, but with a head like that of a stag, and with one horn on its nose, and another on its forehead, and both highly esteemed by the inhabitants for the many virtues ascribed to them (19).

(16) *Marmol Afric. lib. i. c. 23. Dapper, Lobo's Abissinia ap. Le Grand, p. 69, 71, & 229, & al.* (17) *Labat's Kongo, lib. i. c. 9. Vide Sir John Chardin's Travels. Vincent Le Blanc's Survey. Purchas Pilgr. & Relat. of the World. Jch. Gabriel Lewis de Barthem. Diction. of Arts and Sciences, & al. plur.* (18) *Comment. in Pliny, lib. viii. c. 21, 11, & 48. Calmet Dict. de la Bible, sub voc. Licorn & Rhinocer.* (19) *Cavazzi apud Labat Kongo, lib. i. c. 9.*



a camel, but much more slender and finely shaped. Its hind legs are considerably shorter than its fore legs, which gives the creature a majestic forehead, especially as its neck rises commonly about six feet or more about the nape, in an almost upright ascent, and ends in a beautiful small head like that of a deer, or antelope, with two ears short and upright; the skin of its breast is smooth and sleek, the hair mixed of black and white, its tail long and slender, its gait and pace slow and even, excepting when frightened or pursued, and then very fleet and nimble. They commonly resort in woods and desert places, shun the sight of men, and herding with other animals. They are in great numbers in *Nubia* and *Abissinia*, where they have several ways of catching them when young, and bring them up tame. One great inconvenience, however, attends their erect front, and length of their fore legs; that they cannot, without great difficulty and wide striding, bring their heads down low enough to graze on the ground, but browse for the most part on boughs and leaves of trees. The same difficulty they find to come at shallow water<sup>m</sup>. *Bellonius* adds, that he saw two of them at *Grand Kairo*, which had two horns on the top of their foreheads, about six inches long, and another like a button, about two inches, growing out of the middle of it<sup>n</sup>.

Other kinds of  
wild beasts  
why omitted.

OTHER beasts of the wild and ferocious kind, such as lions, tigers, leopards, panthers, wolves, foxes, buffaloes, wild boars, elks, stags, roebucks, wild goats, and monkeys, are to be found in great plenty and variety through most parts of *Africa*, and, for the most part, exceed those of *Asia* and *Europe* in size, strength, and fierceness; but as they are all or most of them so well known to most readers, we shall not take up their time with needless descriptions of them, but content ourselves with mentioning what particularities any of them have worthy notice, and that only in those kingdoms and provinces which are most remarkable for, or most infested by, any species of them, and close this article with the dante, which we have already mentioned on account of its extreme fleetness above all other quadrupeds.

The dante, its  
swift.

THE dante, lante, or, as others write it, ampte, is of the size of a buffalo, or wild bull, but much slenderer, its legs longer, and more fit for running. It is naturally very wild, and exceedingly shy, and being likewise very swift of foot, it is very difficult to catch or overtake him, excepting in the summer season, when the burning sand so parches and shrivels his hoofs, that it quite disables him from running. At all other times they sweep the ground with such incredible speed, that no other creature can keep pace with them, except some well-trained *Barbary* horses, as we lately hinted. Their hide is so thick and tough, that the sharpest steel weapon cannot pierce it. Its hoofs are black and tough, its horns of the same colour, but shorter and more sleek than those of the buffalo, and the rest of its body is white. Their snout and ears resemble those of a cow, and their long slim tails hang down, like that of the camelopard, to their heels<sup>o</sup>. *Bellonius* describes much such another creature, which he calls a cow, and differs only from the lante, in that its skin was of a fine bright yellow instead of white, and its hair smooth and sleek, as if it had been curried by a careful hand. This is the animal which *Aristotle* affirmed to have blood without veins; and others have ascribed to it various other singularities, which have perhaps no better foundation. But its singular swiftness above all foot couriers, the ostrich excepted, is what it is chiefly famed for by all who have wrote of it. We might indeed have added here the so much admired and celebrated zebra, or zecora, called by the antients *Asinus Silvestris*, or the wild ass, and by the *Portuguese*, *Burro do Matta*, which, for the whiteness, smoothness, and blackness of its skin, the beauty and regularity of its stripes, as well as the fineness of its shape and limbs, excels all the other quadrupeds, either of the wild or tame kind; but shall, for the reason above alleged, reserve the farther description to the next volume, in which we shall give the history of *Abissinia*, the country which most abounds with them, and from which their skins were first brought, neatly stuffed, into *Europe*, and are no small ornament in every public and princely museum.

The beautiful  
zebra.

The ostrich de-  
scribed.

Its surprising  
fleetness.

WE come now to the next or volatile kind, and begin with the noble ostrich, by far the largest and strongest of all; and though unable, by reason of its bulk and weight, as well as from the paucity and unaptness of its feathers, to raise itself to any height from the surface of the earth, is yet endued with such strength in its wings and legs, as to scorn the courser and its rider<sup>p</sup>, and is an over-match for the swiftest *Barbs*. They are commonly found in great numbers in the dry barren deserts of *Africa*, but especially in the empires of *Abissinia*, *Monomotapa*, *Morocco*, *Biledulgerid*, &c. where they lay their eggs in the hot sands, and leave them to be hatched by the sun, and by the next female which chances to light upon, and after having set some time upon them, leaves them to the next comer; every nest consisting of 10 or 12, and sometimes 16 or 18, eggs, being indifferently reared up by any other female that lights upon them, as if they were their own. On which account the inimitable author of the book last quoted, introduces the Almighty as charging them with cruelty and want of natural affection<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> LEO, l. ix. MARMOL, l. i. c. 23. LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 10. DAPPER, CAVAZZI, RAMUSIO, & al. mult.  
<sup>n</sup> Comment. in PLINY, ubi supra, DAPPER, & al. <sup>o</sup> LEO AFR. MARMOL. <sup>p</sup> Job xxxix. 18.



- a for their offspring, and leaving them to be trod to death by wild beasts \* (A). But whatever danger they may be exposed to whilst in the shell, Providence hath given them strength and speed sufficient to avoid it as soon as they get out of it, when they immediately rove about for their food, and with such swiftness as not to be easily caught; and, when full-grown, can out-run the fleetest horses; insomuch, that we are told by *Xenophon*, that *Cyrus*, having met with a large drove of them near the *Euphrates*, sent some of the best horses he had in his army after them, without being able to catch a single one. Some add, that, when closely pursued, they will, in their flight, take up stones, and throw them backwards with their feet, with extraordinary force and agility. Their wings, which are very short, in proportion to the rest of their limbs, are of no other use in their running than to beat and spur their heavy bodies forward, by striking them against their knees. They are exceeding tall, some antients say above the height of a man on horseback †. But the generality of them rarely exceeds seven feet and a half from the head to the ground. The common notion is that they digest iron, copper, and other metals, stones, and other things equally hard; and the truth is, that such things have been found in their maw, but probably for the same end as other inferior birds swallow small pebbles or grains of sand (B); not for food, but to assist the attrition of it. Their flesh, which is forbid by the *Mosaic* law ‡, if the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* versions are right, is said to be offensive both to the taste and smell, and of a viscous nature, yet is commonly eaten by the *Africans* and *Arabs*, especially in *Numidia*; but they are much sonder of the young ones, which they catch as soon as hatched, and breed up for food, by letting them rove about in droves, till they are fat enough to be killed and salted for use. The *Arabs* have likewise a way, before they cut off their heads, to tie a string or tape about their necks, a little below it, by which a kind of oily grease is gathered about the ligature, and is esteemed among them not only as a pleasant condiment to be mixed with their food, instead of oil or butter, but likewise as a sovereign ointment against bruises, aches, sprains, and such-like disorders. Our authors add, that the ostrich hath neither taste, smell, hearing, nor memory; which, if true, will farther account for the strange stupidity which is commonly attributed to them, that they will, in time of danger, endeavour to hide their heads in the sand, among weeds and brambles, and think themselves in safety, though the rest of the body lies open to their pursuers § (C). We are even told, that they will suffer themselves to be approached and caught by a man covered with an ostrich's skin, and who can imitate some of their motions †. We shall not trouble our readers with a description of their feathers, which are so well known, and are such an ornament to the heads of our martial beaux, as well as formerly to beds and rooms of state. All that we shall say of them is, that their natural colour is a mixture of white and black in the males, with an additional mixture of grey in the females. As for that beautiful variety of red, crimson, blue, yellow, &c. in which they are brought over to us, they are the effects of art, and chiefly known and used among the *Arabs*, who buy them of the natives in their natural, and dye them for foreign sale in that variety of colours, in which we see them. Some of their eggs are made into drinking cups, and other table and household ornaments; and if we may believe *Pierius*, some make them into caps, which they think no small ornament to their heads.
- e Those that are laid by the old ones are commonly the largest, and the others are so in proportion: they are all good to eat, and even those which are broken in the laying, which is a common case, occasioned by the stupidity of the creature, prove a nourishment to the young ones, who greedily feed on the multitudes of worms and other insects which are either bred in, or croud into them †.

*Their wings not for flight.*

*Their flesh forbid by Moses, but eaten by the Africans.*

*Their stupidity.*

\* Ibid. vers. 14, & seq. vide & Lament. iv. 3.

Deut. xiv.

† CLAUDIAN in Eutrop. in Appian, & al.

‡ LEQ, MARMOL, CAVAZZI, DAPPER, & al. supra citat.

§ Vide PLINY Natur. Hist. l. x.

¶ Levit. xi.

† PLINY, ubi supra. STRABO, l. xvi. & al.

(A) This notion, however, of the antients, is now much questioned by the generality of our learned moderns; and Mr. *Vanſleb*, among others, assures us (20), that it is owing to their bulk and weight, which would not fail of quashing them, if they were to lie upon them; but adds, that both male and female stand by and watch them by turns, and hatch them, as it were, with their eyes; though should either man or beast drive them off to any distance, they would not be able to find the nest again; and this, in all probability, hath given birth to the vulgar notion of their forgetfulness and cruelty.

(B) Some authors tell us that they live upon, and pick

them up at random, and digest them, even to red hot iron (21). And we are told of one which was dissected before the royal academy of *Paris*, in whose maw were found about seventy *French* liards (or farthings), a great number of them half corroded, and some very nearly wasted by the acrimony of the stomach, and their constant friction one against the other (22).

(C) Thus elegantly expressed by *Claudian*:

Stat lumine clauso  
Ridendum revoluta caput; creditque latere,  
Quæ non ipsa videt.

(20) *Relation of Egypt*, p. 103.

(21) *Leo Afric. lib. ix. Marmol, lib. i. c. 23.* See also his *French trans.*

lator D'Ablandcourt, *Ramusio Collect. viag. vol. i. p. 58 (C), 72 (F), 94 (C), & seq.*

(22) *Vide Calmet Diction.*



Other birds.

EAGLES, vultures, hawks, hems, pelicans, and other birds of the venatile kind, are here in such numbers and variety, that it would require a volume barely to describe them. a

A bird with one horn.

THE most remarkable amongst them is the eagle, of which they have seven sorts, most differing from ours, not only in bigness (some of them being near as large and others larger than the ostrich last described †), but in colour, shape, and other particulars, not worth mentioning. Among those of the strange and monstrous kind, they have one which hath a horn on its head, which runs parallel, and near the same length, with its bill, on which account they give it the name also of rhinoceros. In other respects it resembles the stork or crane, and is a bird of prey. There is another of a lesser size, with two horns, to which the *Europeans*, we suppose, have given the name of *Devil*. The last we shall mention is that which the natives b call the four-winged bird; not that it hath really so many, but because there is a kind of additional one which grows at the end of each of its pinions, which leaves a kind of chasm between, so that, when it spreads them abroad, they look so much like a double wing, that any man might easily take it for four wings. It is a bird of prey, and of the bigness of a large turkey-cock, well shaped in body, with a fine tuft on its head, a large hooked bill, and its feet armed with strong claws. What is most singular in this creature, we are told \*, is, that it stirs not out for its prey but in the night, or dusk of the evening, and yet finds provision enough to keep itself, contrary to other birds of prey, fat and full of flesh; but is at the same time so shy and strong-winged, that it is with great difficulty that the expertest marksman can come near enough to have a fair shoot at it. c

Another with two, called the Devil.

A bird with four wings.

Parrots, &amp;c.

AFRICA would yield us a still more extensive field, were we to enter into a detail, or even a bare enumeration of those of the tame kind, as cocks, hens, turkeys, swans, geese, ducks, doves, pigeons, &c. or of those which are made so by art, as parrots, makaws, cokatoes, singing ones of the finest shape, notes, and diversity of colours \*. Among the vast variety of those of the talkative kind, we are told that the green are the easiest taught to speak and sing distinctly, and a greater number of words and notes, though their voices are commonly less sweet than those of the grey, white, and variegated kind; among these last some are of a very large size, with tails two or three feet in length, and for the beautiful mixture and variety of colours, scarcely inferior to those of the peacock. Others again, though no less beautiful, hardly exceed the bigness of our sparrows, and are so gentle, docile, and melodious, that the women, especially of quality, hardly think themselves sufficiently adorned, unless they have one of them perching upon their fore-finger. Those of the game and esculent kind are no less numerous and various, and even of those which are most commonly reckoned peculiar to colder climates, to the no small wonder of the *Portuguese* and other *Europeans*; and, by their own confession, not inferior in taste and goodness to those of *Europe* †. d

Game fine tasted and numerous.

Winged quadrupeds and serpents.

Fast large serpents, dreadful and destructive.

WE may have occasion, in our circuit through this vast spacious continent, and variety of nations, countries, and climates, to mention some of the most remarkable ones of all those kinds, as we come to those parts which are most frequented by them. We likewise read of others of the monstrous kind, such as dragons, griffins, and other winged animals, as bats of a very large size and make, flying squirrels, flying serpents, fishes, and others of the like e uncommon species, of which we have no need to speak in a work of this extent. Some of them, worthy of notice, we have spoken of in our *Ancient History*, particularly the flying serpent, and the bird which lives upon and destroys them †. Others are either too fabulous or inconsiderable to deserve more than a bare mention. We have there likewise taken notice of two destructive animals of the amphibious kind; viz. the crocodile and sea-horse, which infest most parts of *Africa*, as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, as well as *Egypt*, and those which lie in the neighbourhood of the *Nile* ‡, and may have occasion to mention some of those parts which are most infested by that monstrous vermin. It swarms no less with the most dreadful variety of serpents, some of them of such prodigious length and bulk, as would hardly be credited, were it not vouched by such numbers of eye-witnesses, as well as backed by parallel instances in the history of other countries, as well ancient f as modern, so subtil and dangerous, as to infest the roads by lurking among the thorns and briars, grass, &c. or even climbing on trees, and lying perdu, in order to fall on every prey that comes in their way, whether men or beasts, and swallowing them up alive. Others will take their opportunity of sliding into holes and corners of the houses, in the night-time, in order to seize on some of the family, or any domestic animal: one kind is said to kill with their eyes like the basilisk; others by their poisonous breath and stench; a third, by their bite or sting, or even the touch, which is of so venomous

† DAPPER, & al. *supra* citat.

\* LABAT Relat. d'Afrique. vol. iii. p. 360. &amp; seq. vide &amp; DAPPER, &amp; al.

*supra* citat.

\* LEO AFRIC. MARMOL, RAMUS. &amp; al.

† Idem *ibid.*

‡ Ancient History,

vol. i. p. 182, 532, 925 (S). See also *Modern History*, vol. iii. p. 504.

‡ Ancient History, vol. i. p. 180.

‡ Vide int. al. *Ancient History*, vol. iv. p. 663. vol. v. p. 309. vol. vi. p. 805, & (S). p. 837, & (T).



- a a nature, that the inhabitants know of no other way of saving the life, than by the immediate amputation of the limb infected <sup>a</sup> (D). *The bite and touch mortal.*
- BESIDES those of that monstrous size, they have multitudes and a great variety of others, of various shapes, colours, and qualities, and all of them venomous, though not to an equal degree. The viper in particular, is one of the smallest of the creeping kind, and beautifully spotted and chequered from head to tail, but its bite is not in the least mortiferous and incurable amongst them. The misfortune is, that most of the *Africans* in general, whether Christians, *Mohammedans*, or Heathens, retain still a strange relic of their old heathenish superstition, and think it most dangerous, and some of them a very horrid crime, to destroy any of them; so that being left alone to live and range, they multiply to such a degree, that the paths, hedges, fields, and the very grass, swarm with them, and travellers can hardly move a step without running a great danger of their lives, especially as they generally go barefooted and barelegged. But besides those of the serpent kind, there are multitudes of other insects of the same poisonous nature, which haunt their roads, fields and their very houses, some of the flying, others of the reptile kind; of this latter sort are the scorpions, whose sting is reckoned incurable, and in many parts causes immediate death, and destroys myriads of people in a year <sup>b</sup>: and some of this species, but of a larger size, have also wings, both in *Africa* and some parts of *India*, and are of course so much the more dangerous and destructive. Besides these, there is a variety of others of a smaller size, very prejudicial, some to the eyes, others to other parts of the body, especially to the fingers and toes, where they leave either the poison of their sting, or one or more of their eggs under the nails, which turn into worms, and must be extracted with exceeding care, by a skilful hand, because, being very slender, they are apt to break in the drawing out; and if ever so small a part be left behind, it will have the same effect of causing the most excruciating pains, and ending in a gangrene and death. These, and others of the like kind, are common all over *Africa*, and are bred in their stagnated waters, in lakes, pools, and marshy grounds, which are overflowed by the violent rains of one season, and dried up by the excessive heats of another; so that there is scarce a kingdom or district which is not infected by some of that pernicious vermin in one shape or another. There is one species of them called dubb, which in shape and nature resembles the tarantula, but is much larger than those which breed in *Italy*, and some other parts of *Europe*, and of course more pernicious; for if they can pierce with their sting the double leathern sole of a peasant's shoe, with what force must those penetrate the naked foot of an *African*, especially since they are commonly, as we are told, of the length of a man's arm, and about four inches in diameter, and so strong, that, if they get the fore part of their body into a hole, though the rest thereof be out, the strength of a man cannot draw them out, but by making the orifice wider. Like others of the serpentine kind, it will move its limbs several days after the head is taken off, and its body cut into several pieces. Some add that it never drinks any thing, but expires as soon as any water is put into its mouth. This creature the *Libyans* and other *Africans*, where these vermin swarm, make no scruple to broil and eat, and account them a pleasant food <sup>c</sup>. *The dubb, like a tarantula.*
- d THE camelion, or camelian, or little lion, so called because he preys upon other little, as the great one doth upon large animals, is a reptile, which swarms likewise all over *Africa*. It resembles the common lizard, but his head is more erect, and not unlike that of a ram, abating the horns. His tail is about a span long, and his feet like those of a monkey, by which he can not only walk swiftly, though awkwardly, but climb and fasten on the smallest branches of a tree, or hang upon them by its tail in pursuit of its prey, which is neither the air, wind, or rays of the sun, as the antients and the common notion and proverb describe, but real insects, either of the flying or reptile kind, which he catches into his wide mouth, by the help of a *Its real food.*

<sup>a</sup> LEO AFRIC. MARMOL, DAPPER, LABAT, & al. supra citat. & al. DAPPER, LABAT, & al.

<sup>b</sup> RAMUSIO, ubi supra, p. 9 (A), 75 (D).

<sup>c</sup> RAMUSIO, DAPPER, DAVITY, PIGAFET, PURCHAS, & al. vide & MARMOL, l. i. c. 23.

(D) Of this deadly nature are those monstrous and unwieldy ones, bulky and gross about the middle, and lessening gradually towards the head and tail, which infect *Mount Atlas*, *Biledulgerid*, *Zaara*, and other parts of *Africa* (21). They are not only watchful after their prey, but nimble in seizing and holding it, by twisting themselves about it; but after they have once devoured it, whether it be a man, sheep, hog, stag, cow, or other large creature, the weight so oppresses their stomach, that they can hardly move, much less defend themselves, till eased of part of their load, which is not till after

several days, their digestion being very slow, perspiration very small, if any, and their other evacuations but seldom and small (22).

These are reckoned the most dangerous and destructive on all these accounts, but much more, because not only the least bite of their teeth, but the very touch of any part of them, is attended with a gradual corruption of the flesh, which, we are told, dissolves on the bones like soap in warm water, with exquisite pain, as well as horror, to the unhappy person, and is sure to end in death.

(21) See Ramus. Viag. edit. 3. part viii. p. 94. Dapper, Davity, Ludolph Ethiop. lib. i. c. 12, & c. Ramusio, ubi sup.

(22) Ra-



tongue about three or four inches long, which he shoots out of a kind of scabbard or case, with a wonderful nimbleness, without ever missing his aim, and swallows them as fast as caught. For this reason they mostly frequent woods, hedges, and places where the verdure draws those insects. He never drinks; nor hath he either bladder or urinary passage. His skin is smooth, and of a greyish colour, whatever hath been said to the contrary, and retains that hue after his death (E). That on his back is hard and scaly, and somewhat prickly along the middle of it. The eyes are round and piercing, though without eye-lids; and he can turn them to any two contrary objects, so as to look with one upwards and with the other downwards, with the one forward and with the other backward, and both continually intent on its prey, which is generally flies, worms, caterpillars, maggots, grasshoppers, and such kind of insects, which his glutinous tongue lays such sure hold on, that they cannot disengage themselves from it. But besides those insects, we are told that they have found in its maw the seeds of limons, citrons, and other fruits, maniok's meal, and the seeds of many esculent herbs, so that they want not variety of food of a more solid substance than that of the air or the sun's rays<sup>f</sup>. The *Africans* look upon it as a dangerous animal, on account of its pernicious flaver; and so ominous, that, if they see or meet with any of them, they conclude from thence, that either some of their absent friends are dead, or that some of their present ones will shortly die, or some other disaster will happen to themselves<sup>g</sup>.

THE next and most dreadful of all the *African* insects are their pismires, of which they have such a variety, and such innumerable swarms, that they destroy not only the fruits of the ground, but even men and beasts, in so little a time as one single night, and would, without all doubt, prove more fatally destructive to the inhabitants, were they not so happily destroyed by a proportionable number of monkeys, who greedily ferret and devour them. But of these, and some other grievous plagues, which the far greater part of this vast continent is afflicted with, particularly that most horrid and pernicious one of locusts, which seldom fail a year of laying waste some of its provinces, we shall defer all farther mention till the next volume, where we shall have a large field to display their dreadful devastations in.

AMONG all the monstrous kinds which *Africa* hath been remarkable for producing, in the greatest number and variety, but which we think, with the generality of the learned, are not worth mentioning, and much less confuting, we shall confine ourselves to the description of that curious and celebrated one, if yet it may indeed be properly ranked amongst that class, which the *Greeks* called *Monocephalus*, on account of its having a head like a dog, though, in other respects, resembling a monkey or baboon, but much larger and stronger than they (F). But what

<sup>e</sup> LEO AFRIC. MARMOL, RAMUS. DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. plur.  
<sup>g</sup> DAPPER, & al. ubi sup.

<sup>f</sup> CAVAZZI Kongo, l. i. c. 9.

(E) The common notion is, that the eyes, head, body, and tail of this animal change alike their colour according to that of the nearest object, excepting only the white and red (23). But the learned *Pancirolos Romanus*, in his anatomy of it, assures us, that it is altogether of a grey or ash colour, and that, whatever change is observed in it is not caused by the proximity of any object, but by the motion of its heart, caused either by heat, cold, or the inward motion of its blood, of which it hath but a small quantity in its veins, any more than flesh upon its bones. From this others have imagined, that this change of colour was rather owing to the transparency of its flat and emaciated body, through which the objects on the other side easily transmitted their various colours (24).

The fabulous *Arabs*, ever fond of the marvellous, relate other wonders of this little animal, which no one else could ever find out. In particular they tell us, that he bears such an antipathy to the whole serpentine species, that where-ever he sees any of them, he immediately gets on some tree, shrub, or other eminence, if it be to be had, and places himself perpendicularly over its head, and emits a poisonous kind of froth, or saliva, out of its mouth, which no sooner reaches any part of its head than it deprives it of life (25).

(F) We would not here be understood as if we absolutely rejected all that hath been written by antients and moderns on this head, but only that we think it a topic too uncertain and vague to be debated in a work of this extensive nature. That there have been, and will be

whilst the word endures, a variety of births and productions, which are commonly called monstrous, is what will hardly be denied by any sober man; though hitherto not sufficiently accounted for to satisfy the curious and inquisitive.

Another observation we would offer on this subject is, that many living creatures may be wrongfully ranked amongst that class, merely because such objects are not frequent, and seen perhaps but by one of a sort; whereas were they more closely enquired into, they would be numerous enough to compose a distinct species. Of this kind we take those pongas, or gigantic apes, mentioned by *Purchas* (26), on the authority of *Andrew Battel*, which, in every respect but their feet, and gigantic size and bulk, resemble the human, and in that one only, unless we add their extreme ferocity, resemble the monkey kind. Their face, head, hands, and ears are without hair, and like those of a man; their eyes hollow, and overhung with large eye-brows; the body covered with hair, though not thick, and of a dunny colour; their legs the same, but without calves; and carry their hands on the nape of their neck, when they walk on the ground. They sleep upon trees, and build shelters against rain, and live chiefly upon such fruits as they find in the woods, and eat no flesh. They are so shy and nimble, that the natives cannot catch them; and so strong when caught, that ten men cannot hold them; and yet so stupid, that, though they take great delight to come and warm themselves at the fires which

(23) *Pliny, Solinus, ubi supra, c. 33. Theophrast. de animal & al. mult.*  
*Marmol, l. i. c. 23. Ramusio, vol. i. p. 94. Davity, Dapper, La Croix Relat. de l'Afrique lib. i. c. 6. sect. 2. Purchas*  
*Relat. l. vi. c. 1. §. 3.*

(25) *Ubi supra.*

(24) *Bellon. Leo Africanus, l. ix.*  
*(26) Purchas Relat. lib. vi. c. 3. §. 6.*



a what they are chiefly remarkable for is, their being observed to piss twelve times a day, and as many in the night, at equal distances of time, in the time of the equinox<sup>a</sup>; from which, we are told, the *Egyptian* priests took the first hint of their *Clepsydra*, or water-glasses, which were made to run just one hour; if not of dividing the natural day into twenty four equal parts (which was only divided before into day and night watches, of two or three hours each), and which, we are told, were invented by *Ctesiphon* of *Alexandria*; but were afterwards exchanged for the more sure and commodious sand-glasses; in memory of which they used to have the figure of that animal painted or carved on their hour-glasses<sup>i</sup>.

Gave rise to  
to the water  
hour-glass.

AFRICA being surrounded almost by the sea, and parted only from the *Asiatic* continent by the narrow isthmus of *Suez*, as hath been already observed, and abounding within with such numbers of large lakes and considerable rivers, must of course be supposed to afford the greatest plenty and variety both of salt and fresh water fish. The misfortune, with relation to this last is, that not only those lakes and large reservoirs of water, in the heat of the summer season, are either in part or wholly dried up, which not only destroy the fish that live in it, but infect the air with their stench; and even those which retain water enough to keep theirs alive, communicate the same infection to them, and these to the poorer sort of the natives, whom necessity obliges to feed upon them. Even many of their noble and large rivers are so choaked up, through the shameful indolence of the people, with trees on both sides, which meeting in their branches together, exclude them both from the rays of the sun, and the benefit of the winds and fresh air, for a great number of leagues together; so that here also what fish is able to live in them is no less pernicious and unwholesome to those that eat it<sup>k</sup>. We may add another plague which attends the fresh water kind; viz. the vast multitudes of crocodiles, sea-horses, and other such amphibious animals, which prey upon and make a terrible havock amongst them. This doth not, however, hinder their having it in such plenty, as to make it, in many parts, the common food; and some sorts of them, dried in the sun, serve them instead of bread, as we shall see in the course of this *African* part.

Great plenty  
and variety  
of fish.

In many parts  
unfit to eat.

THE coasts, however, it may well be supposed, are supplied with a still greater plenty and variety, and drive a large commerce in them both on the eastern and western side; and this last, besides some pearl fisheries, which we shall have occasion to mention in a more proper place, and that of the zimbis, a small shell-fish, the shell of which is the only current coin, both which bring in a considerable revenue to the owners. The *Portuguese* have not only set up many others for large and small fish, but have taught the natives, till then too proud and indolent for such a kind of slavery, to follow their example, and make the most of those advantages which their situation, and the neighbouring ocean, so liberally throw in their way<sup>l</sup>.

OF all that vast variety of fishes which are caught along that prodigious compass, and which it would be endless to enumerate (as well as the various ways which those maritime nations make use of to carry on their several fisheries, of the principal of which we shall give an account in their proper place and turn) we shall confine ourselves here to one or two of the most curious, as peculiar to this western coast, and carried on by strangers as well as natives; viz. that of the *Tuberone*, as the *Spaniards* call it, and the *Italians* more properly *Pescocane*, or dog-fish, from its resemblance to the land one, but most commonly known in the *American* seas by the name of *Rekin*, or *Reguen*. This voracious creature is of such a size and length (some of them being above twenty-five feet in length, and four in diameter) is withal so bold and strong, and its huge mouth armed both above and below with a treble row of such sharp teeth, some round, some flat, and others triangular, each row closely clasping into each other, with an almost irresistible force, as to be able, with one stroke, to bite off the thigh, or even the body, of a man or horse, that it might, in all probability, long enough ago have devoured the greater part of the watry tribes, if Providence had not put a kind of bar to its devouring appetite, by the difficulty which its unwieldy body, and the disposition of his mouth, give him to come at and swallow its prey (G).

The Rekin, or  
sea-dog, de-  
scribed.  
Horrid voraci-  
ousness.

It

<sup>a</sup> FLORUS, PLINY, & al. supra.

<sup>i</sup> Vide KERCHER mechanic Egypt.

<sup>k</sup> DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ubi

<sup>l</sup> LEO AFRICANUS, MARMOL, LINSCHOT. DAPPER, LABAT, PICAFET, & alib.

travellers are obliged to kindle in woods and deserts, in order to keep off wild beasts, serpents, and other hurtful creatures, as soon as those travellers are gone far enough out of their sight; yet none of them have sense enough to supply those embers with fresh fuel, but go away as soon as they find the fire gone out.

Had any of these pongas been caught and brought into *Europe*, it would have been stiled a monster, as one of the same kind actually was, which some sailors found

drowned and cast upon some of those coasts (26); yet it is plain from their going in such vast droves, and killing and carrying off with them so many Negroes, that they are no other than a gigantic species of the ape kind, by all the particulars mentioned above, more resembling human creatures, than any of the rest.

(G) One impediment, we are told, is its mouth being placed about a foot or more below its snout; so that its fierceness after its prey rather contributes to drive



It is chiefly on this account that both the *Africans* and *Europeans*, who frequent this coast, are so eager, and undergo such fatigues and dangers, to destroy it, and not for any reprisals they can make upon him, unless it be that of his skin; for as to the flesh, it is mostly so tough, harsh, ill flavoured, and hard of digestion, that none but the *Moors*, and some famished *Spaniards* will venture to eat it, and of that only which grows upon the extremity of the ribs down to the belly. The *Moors*, who are commonly excellent swimmers, and pretend that they are in no danger from them whilst in the water, but only when they attempt either to get into their boats, or go to land, have but one common method of destroying them; viz. by getting under them, when they see them intent after some prey, and ripping their bellies open with their sharp weapons. And as they swarm not only along the whole coast, but venture pretty far up the large rivers, in pursuit of their prey, which they follow with such eagerness and speed, as sometimes to launch their whole body on the shore, they seldom miss a year without making a horrid slaughter among them where-ever they meet with them. But the more polite *Europeans*, who make it one of their chief diversions to catch them by the hook and line, are content, for the sake of the sport it yields, to undergo the greatest danger which attends it<sup>m</sup>.

How destroyed  
by the natives.

How caught  
by the Euro-  
peans.

Their strug-  
gles to get  
loose.

THEIR method is to provide some of the strongest and sharpest hooks, well charged with flesh, stale, and well besmeared with lard, or other greasy stuff; this they fasten to a strong iron chain, of six or eight feet in length, and that to a stout rope, long enough for the purpose, and fling it into the sea. The greedy creature, if hungry, soon shortens the best part of their sport, by eagerly swallowing it; but, if otherwise, will considerably lengthen it, by its frequent attempts and nibbling at it, off and on, sometimes by swimming at some distance around it, again and again, as if doubtful and afraid to venture, till at length its ravenous appetite is so far excited, that it can no longer resist the tempting bait, but, at one pull, gets it into its maw. But no sooner is it made sensible of its point, by a gentle pluck of the rope, than it begins to shew the most extravagant motions, and attempts to disengage itself from it, first by endeavouring to bite the chain, and next to gnaw the cord, to which it is fastened, asunder. Finding this ineffectual, he next strives to spew it out, and sometimes by such violent straining, as if to turn his stomach inside out, to get rid of it; at other times by beating itself against the ship, till its strength is quite exhausted, when they begin to draw him nearer to them, and get his head above water, and, by the help of a rope fastened about it, they, with a slip knot, draw him high enough to twist its lower parts with it, and, at length, get him into the ship, and then on to the shore, in order to dispatch it.

The young ones  
a delicious  
dish.

The Manati,  
or hand-fish,  
scribed.

Its vast bulk.

WE are farther told that the females are still more fierce and dangerous, especially in the season of spawning, and when they have young ones, which, it seems, they carry about them in some proper fold or partition of their ventricle; so that when any of them are caught and killed, the first thing these sportsmen go about is to search after their brood, if any they have, which they esteem a most delicious morsel, though not till having previously kept them in some vessel, filled with salt water, and shifted it three or four times, till their inside is thoroughly cleansed; without which precaution their flesh would prove dangerous, and occasion some dreadful disorders; and the same would ensue if it was not thoroughly dressed<sup>n</sup> (H).

THE next rare fish of the *Africans* we propose to mention here, is that of the *Manati*, as the *Spaniards* call it, on account of its having seemingly two hands, with which it carries its young ones close to its breast. The *French* call it *Lamentine*; probably on account of some mournful noise it makes when in distress or danger; but its most proper name might perhaps be that of the sea-cow, from its resemblance, in some respects, to the land one. It is of an extra-

<sup>m</sup> De hoc, vide LABAT *Afric. occident.* vol. i. p. 348, & seq. CAVAZZI, *Descript. Kongo*, l. i. c. 10. p. 282, & seq. <sup>n</sup> Ibid. ubi supra.

it farther from it; and therefore, in order to catch it more readily, he is forced to turn himself (not upon his back, as some have absurdly affirmed, which would rather add to than remove the impediment, but, as we are assured by eye-witnesses) on its side, and by the motion of its jaws and fins to draw and ingulph it in its wide mouth.

Another impediment attending its speed after it, is the stiffness and unpliableness of its vertebræ, which makes him tack and turn about with greater difficulty, and gives a seasonable time to his prey to escape. To this we may add a third; viz. that his extreme eagerness makes him swallow every thing that comes in his way, without distinction. He is commonly seen swimming about and after the sailing ships, and watching to catch every thing that is either thrown out, or falls from

them, whether men, beasts, bales, and bundles of woollen or linen, even to wooden and iron tools; all which he indifferently swallows down with equal greediness; for such have been found in its maw; not indeed digested, as some have imagined, but only corroded more or less, according to their nature, and the time they have lain in it. So that, in fact, he is frequently the dupe of his voracious appetite; and, whilst he is taken up in devouring an imaginary nourishment, he loses that which would yield him a real one (27).

(H). One more particularity our author adds, on what authority we cannot tell, concerning this voracious animal; viz. that the brain of it, being dried, becomes as hard as a stone, and being scraped, and given to a woman in labour, is, by the *English*, esteemed an effectual remedy to ease and accelerate it (28).

(27) Labat *Relat. de l'Afric. occident.* tom. i. p. 348; CAVAZZI *apud eund. Descript. of Kongo*, lib. i. c. 10. b. 192. lib. v. p. 282, & seq. (28) Labat, *ubi supra*, in *finem* tom. i.



- a ordinary size and clumsy shape, its length about eighteen, and its diameter between four and five feet. Its body is almost round from the head to the navel, but grows gradually flatter from that to the end of its tail. It hath a large head, wide mouth, and thick lips, covered with some straggling long hairs above and below. Its eyes are small and dim, and its sight weak, which is amply compensated by the exquisiteness of its hearing and smelling, and is alarmed at the least distant noise, whether at land or sea, being exceedingly fearful, as are most other animals, which, like it, are destitute of all defence, except the two fins, like hands, with which it carries its young (I). Those fins, which hang about two or three inches above their paps, and spread themselves wider downwards, the length five or six, being hollow, and parted by a kind of cartilage, like that of other fishes, can be of no use to them out of the water, much less
- b to drag such a vast heavy body along the ground.

THE *Africans* are very expert at, as well as greedy of, catching this fish. The cramp-hooks with which they strike him, and other such large creatures, are of iron, and about seven or eight inches long, the point very sharp, and the other end hath a hole or ring, through which they run a string, of the length of ten or twelve fathoms, at the end of which they fasten a piece of wood, which floats on the water. The rest is performed much after the same manner as that of the whale, except that the *Moors* endeavour to come near enough to strike it a second time, in order to hasten the effusion of its blood; and as soon as it is dead, they either take it up into their canoes, or tie it to them with a rope, and tow it to the shore.

- c THE flesh of it is of an exquisite taste, superior to the *Mediterranean* ton, or our *English* Fine flesh, and sturgeon, especially from about the middle of the ribs down to the belly; but the most delicious bit of all is the udder, next to the sucking ones it carries under its fins. It hath moreover along the back a long streak of fat, not unlike hog's lard, and about five inches thick, which being melted with the rest of its panch, yields an excellent kind of butter, which is not subject to grow rancid. Its skin is thick, and tough enough to be tanned, and some of the poorer sort sole their shoes with it untanned. As the female hath but two dugs to suckle, and two fins
- d to carry its young, which are commonly a male and a female, one would be apt to judge they can bring forth no more than two at a time; and indeed they are never caught with a greater number (and these no longer than till they are able to live without her milk and shift for themselves), and consequently that they cannot multiply very fast; and yet, when we consider the vast slaughter that is made of them by the *Moors*, and the much greater numbers that are devoured by the rekins, crocodiles, sea-horses, and other large fishes of prey, which are ever in pursuit after them, one cannot but suppose, at least, that they supply that destruction by their frequent pregnancy, and that they must of course bring forth at least ten or twelve times in a year: but about this we can offer nothing but bare conjecture ° (K).

- THERE are several pearl fisheries both on the eastern and western coasts, especially about the former, the most considerable of which lie round some small islands, over against the kingdom of *Sofala*; the misfortune is, they have not there the sense to expose the shell-fish to the warmth of the sun, in order to make them open, as they do in those of *India*; but, instead of that, lay them upon the coals, by which strange method those pearls which they catch, both small and great, contract a dull kind of redness, which robs them of their natural orient lustre, as well as of their value, and the poor fishermen of their gain, considering the small share of it which the proprietors of those fisheries allow them, and the great pains they are at, not to say the risk they run, in diving and groping for them. This slavish work is performed by the women as well as the men; both being equally expert and excellent swimmers and divers, are obliged to plunge ten or twenty, and in some greatly above that number of fathoms into the sea, by the help of a weight fastened to their legs or feet, with a bag hanging about their necks, into

° LABAT, ubi supra, p. 338.

(I) This absurd notion of their being real hands hath been a little improved by our travellers, who have not scrupled to suppose the creature to have arms and legs also. The painters and engravers have not failed to confirm it by their descriptions; from all which it hath been naturally raised to the dignity of those amphibious ones which indifferently range on land and water. Whereas, if we may believe those who have seen numbers of them in the *Niger*, *Gambia*, and other *African* rivers, and assure us that they have no other excrescences than those two fins above-mentioned, which are of no other use to them than to carry their young, and apply them to the breast, will easily conceive the absurdity of such fiction, especially when compared with the monstrous load of body which they must be supposed to drag after them on the ground, which is usually between 1400 and

1500 lb. weight. So far are they from it, that, whenever the waters happen to fail them in those creeks and shallows, into which they frequently go for pasture, they are inevitably lost, being altogether unable to move forward or backward, but are either dispatched by the people, or perish above ground (29).

(K) We are told that there are commonly found three or four white stones in the head of this creature, to which the natives attribute some singular virtues, when pulverized, and taken in some liquid vehicle, and, among others, that they are a gentle emetic, and an effectual remedy against all nephretic disorders and aches; that they cure the stone in the reins and bladder. Their bones, calcined, are likewise used by them against the piles, and all kinds of hæmorrhages (30).

(29) Labat Relat. d'Afrique. vol. i. p. 339, & seq.

(30) Labat, ubi supra, p. 342.



which they put the oysters, or other pearl fish, which they catch by groping; but are forced frequently to give the signal to those in the boats above, by the pull of a string, to be hoisted up to fetch breath and have the benefit of the fresh air. In the like manner they catch every other shell-fish, either for food or ornament, particularly the zimbis, which pass for current money amongst them, and some other sorts, which are esteemed either for their beauty, or some superstitious virtues which they attribute to them <sup>p</sup>.

*Ambergrise.* BOTH the eastern and western coasts abound with ambergrise, and make a considerable commerce of it with the *Europeans* and other nations; the misfortune is, that, though it be found in great quantities, and pieces of considerable weight and bigness, particularly along most of the eastern side, and especially on the coasts of *Sofala* and *Mosambico*, whose natives despised it, as being, in their opinion, nothing better than the excrements of the whale, cast upon their coasts by the winds and waves <sup>q</sup>; yet no sooner came they to be apprised of the high price it bore in other countries, than their avarice inspired them with a strange jealousy; so that, not daring to trust one another in carrying on this advantageous traffick, they took it into their heads to break those huge masses of it, which they found, into small pieces, that every one of them might have his share, and be able to carry it to market: and well they may be so diffident of one another, who know themselves to be all cheats alike. Nor need we wonder they should be so stupidly ignorant of its value, till taught by the *Europeans*, seeing the more polite *Japanese* entertained the same contemptuous notion of it, as we have shewn in a former volume, till the arrival of the *Portuguese* amongst them <sup>r</sup>. But of this we meet with some other instances in the course of this *African* history, and shall only add, that, if the natives here could be prevailed upon to bring it to sale in the same lumps they find them thrown up, they might, in all probability, exceed in bigness those vast pieces we have had occasion to mention in the volume last quoted <sup>s</sup>.

*The two chief sorts described.* WE need not here tell our readers that there are two kinds of it, and both found in great plenty on this continent, the one of a greyish ash colour, which hath a most exquisite and delicious fragrancy, and bears by far the largest price; the other of a brown and darkish hue, hard, and without any scent, unless heated by friction, and then strong, and rather offensive than pleasant (L). But the most precious and valuable is the former, which, next to diamonds, pearls, and gold-dust, is reckoned the richest commodity that belongs to the *African* commerce, and is thrown by the sea in large quantities along the eastern coasts, especially after violent storms, and more particularly upon those small islands which lie contiguous to the great one of *Madagascar*, and the coasts of *Quiloa*, *Sofala*, and *Mosambico*, though very little of it is to be found on this side the *Cape of Good Hope*. Various are the ways which the natives, both here and in *India*, have fallen upon to search after this precious drug (after they became apprised of its high value), and which, as we have seen in a former volume, they did in some places make no other use of than to caulk their canoes <sup>t</sup>.

*The first the most valuable by far.* WHETHER it lie on, or is covered under, the sand, they find it here by turning out droves of hogs, which are excessively fond of it, and greedily devour as well as commonly discover it at vast distances by the scent. Others by the flights of birds of all sorts, which flock to it on the same account, it being greedily sought for, as a delicious food, by the whole volatile kind. Others, especially on the coasts of *Mosambico* and *Madagascar*, discover it by means of a large fish, which is very fond of it, but dies upon the eating of it, and is seen on its back <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> RAMUS. PIGAFET, DAPPER, & al. ubi sup.  
LABAT, CAVAZ, vol. v. p. 316, & seq.  
vol. iv. p. 269, sub not.

<sup>q</sup> RAMUS. Viagii, vol. i. p. 313 (C) (D), 3d edit.  
<sup>r</sup> See vol. iv. p. 23, & 45.  
<sup>s</sup> Ibid. ubi sup.  
<sup>t</sup> See

(L) This last, which hath the quality, when heated, of drawing straws, and other light matters to it, is, on that account, called by the *Persians* and *Arabs*, *Karabee*. The *Latins* called it *Succinum*; and being so well known for that and its other qualities among us, we need say little more of it, except that when it is of a whitish or yellow colour, it is called *Lucetrum*, on account of the vast quantity of fiery sparks it emits with a loud crackling noise, when rubbed hard with a coarse cloth: and when of a darker hue, they give it the name of *Pissasphaltum*, on account of its resemblance to the *Arabian* mummy (31).

Its being chiefly found on the sea coasts, hath quite exploded the common notion, that the *Succinum* was the gum of some resinous trees; and the vast quantities which are commonly found on the coasts of *Prussia*, of

which we have given an account in our Antient History (32), have induced some of our learned moderns to dive deeper for it, and to suppose it to be formed at least in some of the deep caverns of the earth, and being thence conveyed, by subterraneous passages, into the sea, is there washed and completed in that form and quality in which it is thrown up by its waves, and gathered in several parts of the globe. But here the great difficulty will be, how to reconcile this supposition with those quantities, which, we are told, are found in several inland parts, especially of *Africa*, at a vast distance from any sea (33): but this is a task, which, could it be performed with any tolerable clearness, which we much question, would carry us beyond our limits, and which we shall turn over to the patrons of that hypothesis.

(31) Labat Relat. de l'Afrique. vol. i. p. 310, & seq. vid. & Ramus. voc. sup. cit. Dapper, Davity, & al.  
(32) Vol. vii. p. [410], & seq.  
(33) Labat, & al. sup. citat.



a swimming on the water". Where-ever any of these, or any other of their prognostics are perceived, the people immediately flock in shoals, and scramble for and divide it amongst them; no argument having been hitherto able to prevail upon them to take up and send it to market whole as they find it, though conscious that it would greatly advance its price; the fear of being defrauded either of part of the drug, or of its price, making them overlook that advantage, and still go on in their old way \*.

*Natives distrust of each other.*

WE come now to a still more valuable commodity, with which this part of the world abounds, and not only yields it in greater plenty, but with much less labour, than any other. We mean their gold-dust, which, in most places, lies so near the surface of the earth, that they need but scratch five or six feet deep to come at it, instead of that immense labour and danger with which that precious metal must be extracted out of the bowels of the earth, in most of those of *India* and *America*. The misfortune is, that the *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*, upon their first discovery of the *African* coasts, betrayed such an insurmountable eagerness after it, and fell into such a variety of indirect, base, and violent means of procuring and extorting it from the simple and unsuspecting natives, as could hardly fail of spreading such an universal alarm and irradicable jealousy amongst them, that nothing less would quench the insatiable thirst of their new guests after it, than the effectual possession of all their mines. The consequence of which hath been, that the inlanders, *Caffers* and *Hottentots*, have, ever since, looked upon all *Europeans* as equally combined to deprive them of their natural right to a treasure, which, of itself, is sufficient to procure to them all that is valuable, curious, or useful, in the other three parts of the globe, without being obliged to stir out of their own. Nor need any one wonder at this prejudice being so universally, as well as deeply, rooted in their minds, that considers what conquests and extensive settlements they have made around the whole eastern and western coasts, how far, in some, they have carried them into the inland, or with what a high and tyrannic sway they made, and have ever since maintained; those acquisitions †; much less reason will they have to be surpris'd at those wise and necessary precautions they have every-where been forced to take, both to put a stop to their further progress, and frustrate all their future attempts upon their liberties or properties, by not only excluding every stranger from penetrating into the inland, but by even massacring every one they catch attempting it; and by concealing from them, with their utmost industry, the places where any of their mines lie. But whether they have any or no, or by a stiff denial of those they have, they even carry their precaution so far, as to pretend to be utter strangers to those nations with whom they traffick for it, and pretend that it is either brought to them from far distant and unknown countries, over wild, desolate, and barren deserts, and dreadful mountains, inaccessible to any other *Africans*; or that it is washed down from their high mountains, by the vehement torrents of their rapid rivers, and with great labour and danger gathered up by the poor inhabitants of the low-lands, whilst the source of the one and other are equally unknown to, and inaccessible by, them. By these and the like pretences; they endeavour to amuse those merchants who come to traffick with them for it, in order to divert or deter the rest from all future attempts after a shorter way of coming at it; and they have proved so successful in it, that even the *Portuguese*, who have been settled so long and so far and wide amongst them, have been frequently disappointed in their search after those mines, and proved the dupes of those *African* princes with whom they were in the strictest alliance, in spite of all their artful politics and superior strength both on the eastern and western coasts. And the *Dutch* at the *Cape of Good Hope* have had the mortification to see those of their nation all massacred by their nearest allies among the *Hottentots*, who were sent in search of those countries where they trafficked for their gold, as will be further seen in the course of this history. So that, upon the whole, we may safely affirm, notwithstanding all the boasted discoveries of the *Portuguese*, *French*, &c. on this vast continent, their extensive settlements, and vast commerce, and, above all, the indefatigable pains they have taken to elude the wise precautions of the natives in this particular, the far greater part of those rich mines remain still unknown to the *Europeans*. The same may be said also of their extent, nature, and richness, seeing in most inland places the natives content themselves with digging up such a quantity of that metal every year, as will serve their district to send to market, and exchange for cloths, iron tools, and such other commodities as they shall want in that year; after which the mine is covered up again, and it is made death for any one to open it till the next season ‡.

*Rich mines of gold.*

*Easily wrought.*

*Africans jealous of all Europeans.*

WE shall therefore defer all further detail on that subject, till we come to mention such remarkable ones as fall in our way, in every kingdom or state through which our route lies. The same method we shall, for brevity sake, observe with respect to their other mines, whether

\* Serapion. ap. LABAT, vol. i. p. 319, & al.  
LEO AFRIC. FIGAFET, CAVAZ, LABAT, & al. sup. citat.  
DAPPER, LABAT, & al. sup. cit.

† Ibidem ibid.

‡ De his vide OSSOR. MARMOL,

LOPEZ, FIGAFET, RAMUS. DAVITY,



of silver, copper, or other metals, minerals and other fossils; confining ourselves to such a curious and considerable ones as we shall meet in our way.

The most considerable mountains. Great and Lesser Atlas.

Mountains of the Sun and Moon.

Lakes and rivers.

Nile.

Niger or Sanaga, its vast traffick with the Europeans.

THE continent of *Africa* is intersected by a great variety of very considerable mountains, some famed for the vast length and excessive extent of their ridges, and branchings on each side. Of this kind are the *Greater* and *Lesser Atlas*, well known and celebrated by the ancients; the former of which stretches itself out above a thousand leagues from east to west, that is, from that of *Jubal Moyes*, and the coast of *Mazra*, about 100 leagues short of *Alexandria*, quite to the *Atlantic* ocean westward, to which it gives its name; and though in its course (in which it divides *Barbary* from the *Biledulgerid*) it be here and there interrupted by considerable chasms, yet still continues on in a direct western course to the *Atlantic* coast, whence it appears, at a distance off at sea, as raising itself from its sandy floor, quite up above the clouds, where it seems, according to the fable, to support the skies <sup>a</sup> (M). We defer speaking of its spacious woods, excellent verdure, fertility, rivers which spring from it, inhabitants, and other particulars, till we come to the history of *Morocco*. The other, or *Lesser Atlas*, called also *Lant*, but more particularly by the inhabitants *Errif*, is another high ridge of mountains, extending along the *Mediterranean*, from the streights of *Gibraltar* to the city of *Bona*, on the same coast, where we shall find a farther occasion to speak of it. Others are famed for their prodigious height, such as those called *The Mountains of the Sun and Moon*; the *Sierra Leona*, or *Mountain of Lions*, in *Guiney*, so called from the vast numbers of those fierce creatures which range at large on them. The *Mountains of Chrystal*, near the famed lake of *Zaflan*, so called from their mines of that beautiful mineral; of *Salt-petre*, on the like account; and these stretch themselves a great way eastward from the kingdom of *Kongo*. The *Pico franco*, a kind of branch of the *Atlas*, which extends itself through the middle of *Caf-fraria*, and through some part of the country of the *Hottentots*. The *Table Mountain*, at the *Cape of Good Hope*, so called from its square figure. Lastly, and to name no more here, the famed mountain of *Ambara*, in the empire of *Abissinia*, at the top of which all the princes of the royal blood were formerly confined, till called down to the crown. Of all which, and many others equally remarkable, we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the sequel of this *African* history.

HERE are some considerable lakes, and a much greater number of rivers which spring from, or discharge themselves into, them. The two most considerable of those lakes are those of *Zaire*, or *Zambra*, out of which spring the two great rivers of *Coanja* and *Lelunda* (N), and that of *Dembea*, through which the famed *Nile* runs across without mixing its waters with it; of both which we shall give a fuller account in their proper places, as we shall also of those and the principal rivers of this extensive continent; and shall here only subjoin the names of the most considerable, reserving, for brevity sake, the farther description of them till we come to speak of those countries which they either fertilize by their streams, or enrich by their commerce.

OF all those, the *Nile* hath from time immemorial, and upon many valuable accounts, obtained the first rank both among the antients and moderns. But as we have given an ample account of its spring head, course, windings, rivers it receives, and other particulars relating to it, in a former part of this work <sup>b</sup>, we shall refer our readers to it, and only add some curious remarks to what we have said of it when we come to the modern history of *Egypt*.

THE *Niger*, more commonly known by the name of *Sanaga*, *Senegal*, or *Zanagal*, is usually allowed the second rank. Many authors have supposed it to have been only a branch, or at least to have sprung from the same source with the *Nile*; and the *Arabs* themselves give it the name of *The Nile of the Nigritians*, from a fancied conformity of its waters, and its regular overflowings, and species of animals pretended to be peculiar to those two rivers; all which the reader will find abundantly confuted by the account we have elsewhere given, both of the river, its spring-head, and course, in our antient history of *Nigritia* <sup>c</sup>. However, as it hath been the scene of a vast and gainful commerce with that whole country, ever since the

<sup>a</sup> Vide auct. citat.

<sup>b</sup> See Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 177. vol. vii. p. 187, & seq.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. vol. vii. p. 164.

(M) This famous ridge, which the natives named *Ayduacal*, and, by way of emphasis, *The High Mountains*, and the *Spaniards Montes Claros*, whether on account of the height, or, which is more probable, from the clearness and whiteness of its summits, which appear at all times covered with snow, receives a variety of other names through the countries which it crosses, and resumes its own again at its other end (39).

(N) This lake *Linschot* and some other writers sup-

pose to be the *Triton*, or famed *Palus Tritonis*, of the antients, from which flowed the no less celebrated river of that name; of both which we have already taken notice in our *Ancient History* (40), where the reader will see that supposition confuted, and how much nearer the source of that was to the sea than to the lake above-mentioned; and the lake itself described, with its thoroughfare for caravans.

(39) De hoc, vid Leo Afric. Marmol, Diego de Torres Ortel, Davity, Dapper, & alib. plur. Anc. Hist. vol. vi. p. 670, & seq.

(40) See

*Normans*



- a *Normans* first discovered and made some considerable settlements upon it, which the *French* have ever since been improving, engrossing, in a great measure, the whole traffick, which, we have good grounds to hope, will be soon wholly wrenched out of their hands by our superior naval forces, we shall think ourselves obliged to give our readers a more full account of it, as well as of its navigation, the various branches of trade that are carried on upon it, and other rivers that fall into it, the different nations of *Negroes* concerned in it, and the several rules and methods of exchanging their commodities with the *Europeans*. All which will be more properly displayed in a subsequent volume, when the course of this *African* history brings us regularly to the coasts of *Negroeland*, emphatically stiled the *Golden Coast*, as the *Niger* or *Sanaga* is, on account of its rich commerce, and the many navigable rivers it receives in its course, emphatically called *Rio Grande*, or the *Great River* <sup>d</sup>.

3. THE next in rank and course, in coasting southward, is the *Rio del Rey*, or *King's River*, *Rio del Rey*. called also *Rio dos Comerones*, or *Crab River*, and runs through that part of *Negroeland* which the *Spaniards* call *Alta Terra d'Ambofi*, and whose mouth lies about six leagues off the cape of that name. Others of less note on the same coast are those of *Monoca*, *Borba*, *Rio del Campo*, *Othe s of less note ; their traffick.* — *de S. Beneto*, and *S. Juan*, which last hath its entrance obstructed by a sandy bar. About twenty-two leagues farther south is the river of *Gaba* or *Gabon*, under the equator ; and about 46 minutes north the celebrated cape called *Lopez Gonzalvez* <sup>e</sup>. These rivers, inconsiderable *Fondness of the natives for European trinkets and liquors.* as they may appear, in comparison of some of those of the first rank, abound with villages and some towns on each side, whose inhabitants carry on a gainful traffick with *Europe*, and exchange many of their valuable commodities, as gums, elephants teeth, slaves, civet, bezoar, and gold dust, for *European* trinkets, as glass beads, bugles, or at best, some iron and brass tools, and frequently for brandy and other spirituous and pernicious liquors, for which they seem to have taken such an eager liking, that they will part even with their children and relations for a small quantity of them. But omitting those of lesser note, both on this and the eastern coast, which carry on much the same traffick, we shall confine ourselves to the most considerable ones, as they come in course, and make one general remark upon them ; viz. that, though our geographers and *African* writers are, for the most part, very sanguine in ascertaining their spring-heads, long-winded courses, &c. yet there are but very few that are navigable so high, by reason of their frequent cataracts, sands, flats, rocks, woods, and other clogs, as *Courses and Springs of rivers not known.* d to give one an opportunity of penetrating so far ; and as to the natives, they are too indolent and incurious, on the one hand, to trouble themselves after such searches, and by far too shy and incommunicative on the other, to impart any thing they know of them to strangers, unless it be with a view to deter them from all attempts of that kind, or deluding them upon some dangerous and desperate one, which would effectually discourage them, as they have actually done, as often as they have found a proper opportunity for it. Sailing southward *The Zaire.* from the river and cape *de Gonzalvo*, lately mentioned, the first great river we meet with is the famed *Zaire*, which divides the kingdom of *Loango* from that of *Kongo*, and is pretended, though without any certainty, to flow from the lake of its name, otherwise called *Zembra* <sup>f</sup>, and whose course becomes so rapid by the long tract of ground it passes through, its many cataracts, and especially by the several large rivers it receives into its bosom, that it is affirmed to run threescore, some say fourscore miles into the sea, before it begins to contract any of its saltnefs <sup>g</sup>. Its inundations are so vehement, that it carries all before it on both sides ; it breeds likewise vast numbers of crocodiles and sea-horses, and of a prodigious size ; which shews how far these creatures are from being peculiar to the *Nile* and *Niger* <sup>h</sup>. Other particulars relating to it will be taken notice of in the history of *Kongo*. Others of note running through this kingdom are the *Selunda*, *Ambrisi*, *Loze*, *Onza*, and *Encocoque Matari*, which last comes down with a rapid course, but hath its entrance stopped by a large bank of sand, so that no trading vessels can sail into it ; nor dare the inhabitants venture to sail on it but in slight canoes, and flat-bottom'd boats. The last we shall name belonging to this kingdom is the *Danda*, a very deep and large river, and navigable about 20 or 25 leagues, and carries vessels of 100 tons ; but is, like the *Zaire*, much infested with sea-horses and crocodiles <sup>i</sup>. It gives name to the province situate along its banks, as will be shewn in the sequel <sup>k</sup>.

THE next in course and rank is the *Coanza*, or *Quansa*, which divides the kingdom of *Angola* on the south from those of *Kongo* and *Metamba* on the north and north-east, and will be described more fully in the history of that kingdom, as by far the most considerable of it, both for its largeness and its commerce, though no less remarkable for its rapidity and dangerous navigation <sup>l</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> De hac, vide & DE BARROS, SANUT. RAMUS. LINSCHOT. DAVITY, DAPPER, LABAT, & al. plur.

<sup>e</sup> DAPPER, & al. sup. citat. <sup>f</sup> OD. LOPEZ Senegal, his Translation. HARTWELL in Kongo. LINSCHOT. BATTEL, apud Purchas Relat. lib. vii. c. 9. §. 2. & al. sup. citat. <sup>g</sup> See PURCHAS, ubi sup. & al.

<sup>h</sup> BATTEL, ap. Purchas, ubi sup. & alib. plur. <sup>i</sup> LA CROIX Afric. DAVITY, DAPPER, BATTEL, ubi sup. & al. <sup>k</sup> Vide LABAT ex CAVAZZI, vol. i. c. 6. <sup>l</sup> Id. ibid. vol. iv. p. 21, & seq.



Rio de las  
Vaccas, or  
Cows River.  
The Caton-  
bella.

IN the kingdom of *Benguela* is the famed river called by the *Portuguese*, *Rio de las Vaccas*,<sup>a</sup> or *Cows River*, from the vast herds which are bred along its banks, and bought by the *Euro-peans*, and receives another no less remarkable called *Catonbella*, composed of three large streams united into one, and of a saltish nature, and along whose banks the natives dig large chanel to receive its briny liquor, which is afterwards condensed into a good salt. There is likewise a good commerce carried on upon these rivers, especially the first<sup>m</sup>, as will be seen in its proper place. On the south side of *Capo Negro*, and almost under the tropic of *Capricorn*, is the mouth of the river *Bembarougua*, *Bravagul*, *Coari*, and some others which descend from the kingdom of *Matamair*, or *Climbeba*, and a few more along the *Cafrarian*, or, as they are rightly stiled, the desert coast, so seldom frequented by the *Europeans*, that we know very little of them till we come to that of the elephants, in the *Hottentot* country, of which,<sup>b</sup> and others belonging to that large tract, we shall speak more fully in its course, and shall only add here, that in this, as well as in all the inland countries on each side the eastern and western coast, there is a great number of other rivers, some of them very considerable, which spring from the high mountains of the *Sun*, *Chrystal*, &c. which, after a long course, and much winding, discharge themselves into some of the lakes, or are absorbed into some of the quick sands; some of the most remarkable of them we shall take notice of in the sequel, as they come in our way<sup>n</sup>.

Other rivers  
on the coast  
and inland.

Those along  
the eastern  
side.

Rio del S.  
Santo.

HAVING sailed round the *Cape of Good Hope*, and steering northward along the eastern coast, beyond that of the *Hottentots*, the first river of note one meets with is, that of the *Holy Ghost*, or *Rio del Spirito Santo*, which, after a long course eastward, discharges itself into the famed bay of the same name, and called by the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, *Baya de las Aguas*, on account of the goodness of its waters, and divides the *Hottentot* coast and country from the kingdom of *Inbanban*. Its course, which is very considerable, and almost directly southward, is through the kingdom of *Manica*, a country inhabited by a tribe of barbarous *Jagas*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, and whose king, or chief, is called *Cbicanga*, where it is only known by the name of that kingdom, this of *Rio del Santo Spirito* being first given to it by the *Portuguese*. Its mouth and bay are likewise called by others *Rio & Baya de S. Lorenzo*, from its being situate over-against the southernmost verge of the great isle of *St. Laurence*, or *Madagascar*, under the 26th degree of south latitude, and about two degrees and a half south of the *Cape Corientes*, according to M. *D'Anville*. The largeness and convenience of this bay, as well as the excellence of its situation and waters, make it a place of great commerce and resort (O), and the *Portuguese* have a fort on one of the north capes of its mouth<sup>o</sup>.

The Inbanba.

Other rivers.

THE next in course is the river *Inbanba*, which runs through the kingdom of that name, and whose mouth lies about one degree north of the *Cape Corientes*, and directly under the tropic of *Capricorn*, according to the most recent observations<sup>p</sup>. North of that is the *Sofala*, or *Cefala*, which gives name to that rich kingdom, and bounds it on the south, as the *Cuama*, or *Guama*, doth on the north, both which will be spoken of in their proper place, as the most considerable on this coast; and on the same account we shall defer speaking of those few remaining ones of note on this eastern coast, which are only those of *Quiloo*, *Mombaso*, *Zebea*, *Ampasa*, *Cuavo*, *Kilmanci*, or *Quilmanci*, *Jubo*, *Magadoxa*, not to mention some few others, of inferior note, along the barren ones of *Zanguebar* and *Ajan*, much less a still greater number of celebrated ones in the kingdoms of *Morocco*, *Fez*, *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, *Biledulgerid*, *Numidia*, &c. which can be no-where so properly described as in the history of those countries which they either enrich by their gainful navigation, or fertilize by their bounteous streams.

<sup>m</sup> LINSCHOT. SANUT. DAPPER, & al.  
ibid.

<sup>p</sup> See D'ANVILLE's map.

<sup>n</sup> De his, vide RAMUS. DAPPER, & al. sup. citat.

<sup>o</sup> Idem

(O) This famed river, which is said to spring out of the lake of *Geyamo*, and to have been at first called *Rio dos Lagos* by the *Portuguese*, is also affirmed to divide its stream into two branches, after it has continued its course through the kingdom of *Manica*; and that the northern one is that which hath been since called *Cuama*, or *Guama*, from a fort of that name, built by the *Turks*, at the mouth of it, of which we shall speak in its proper place; after which separation the southern one, which still retains the old name of *Manica*, receives three considerable ones in its course; viz. 1. The *Nagaa*, so called by the inhabitants; but by the *Portu-*

*guese*, *St. Christopher*, because discovered on that saint's festival. The second is called *Lorenzo*, from the pilot of that name; and both are said to flow from the *Mountains of the Moon*, in the province of *Toroa*. The third, called by the natives *Arroa*, or *Arroe*, is affirmed to come down from the northern mountains of *Monomotapa*, where the golden mines lie, and whence it brings down a considerable quantity of that precious metal, which is carefully gathered up at proper seasons by the inhabitants on both sides, and thence carried to market at the *Bay de las Aguas* (33), and exchanged for *European* commodities, as will be seen in the sequel.

(33) De his, vide Dapper, La Croix, Davity, & al. sup. citat.



## S E C T. II.

*Of the first discovery and sailing round the African Coasts by the Portuguese, and their first settlements on them.*

- <sup>a</sup> **W**E have now gone through the topography and natural history of this vast continent, so far as was necessary to open to our readers such a general prospect of the whole, as might serve as a map, whereby to direct our gradual course through that vast number and variety of nations, kingdoms, and states, which compose it, so regularly as may best avoid confusion on the one hand, as well as a very needless repetition on the other; to facilitate which, it will be very proper to begin this section with a succinct account of the first motives, and gradual steps, of this arduous and dangerous attempt, without, however, entering into a needless enquiry how far the pretended navigations of the *Egyptians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians*, or other antient nations, round this large peninsula, may have contributed to encourage the *Portuguese* to resume and compleat it in the successful manner they have done, concerning
- <sup>b</sup> which much-controverted points, we shall refer our readers to what hath been said upon it in our Antient History <sup>a</sup>. Neither is it our intention here to ascertain the glory of the discoverers of, and settlers on, the western coast, beyond the streights of *Gibraltar*, in prejudice to the *Genoese, Venetians*, and other *European* nations, especially the *Normans*, who lay a claim to it of a much older date, which we have not failed to apprise our readers of at the very threshold of this chapter <sup>b</sup>, to avoid all suspicion of partiality.
- Whatever commerce any of them may have carried on along the *Guiney* coast, none that we can find ever pretend to have sailed so far on it as the *Cape Verd*, much less have they attempted to cross the equinoxial line, with a view of sailing round the *Cape*, in order to open an easier way into the *East-Indies*, which was the main if not the sole prospect which Don
- <sup>c</sup> *Henriquez*, the infanto of *Portugal*, and most sanguine promoter of this expedition had in view, as the most effectual means, if it succeeded, to promote a more extensive and gainful commerce with those opulent nations, than could be obtained by that of the *Red Sea*. He was a good astronomer, and had read, and listened with the greatest attention to every thing that had been written, or could be said, in favour of that project, as well as all that had been urged against it by the more cool and cautious of its opposers, whether courtiers, traders, or mariners. But, upon the whole, so many difficulties and determents were started by these last, from the length and expensiveness of such a voyage, the dangers of a boisterous ocean, and the uncertainty, or rather the small probability of success, besides the extreme jealousy such an enterprize, if it succeeded, would be apt to create amongst the *European* powers, and much more with the *Othman Porte*, then in possession of the *Red Sea*, as would have quickly quashed all the hopeful prospects of its most sanguine promoters, had not that wise and pious prince backed it with a nobler and more laudable motive than that of worldly gain, and such a one as could not fail not only of recommending it to all the devotees of his nation, but engage the pope and his whole conclave, as well as all the clergy and zealots of his church, to applaud and promote it. This was no less a one than that of enlarging far and near the kingdom of Christ, and bringing millions of souls into it, which were then the unhappy captives of Satan, and were miserably involved either in the carnal errors of *Mohammedism*, or in the deepest mists of gross idolatry. So that he had no sooner declared this to be the main spring and design of his intended expedition, than he saw with pleasure the mouths of its
- <sup>e</sup> most strenuous opposers effectually stopped, and his zeal cried up every-where to the skies; insomuch that some of his new-gained partisans scrupled not to affirm, that nothing less than a divine inspiration had put that glorious project into his head and heart, which consequently could not fail of a suitable success <sup>c</sup>, under so pious a conductor. They were, however, mistaken in their hopes; that prince being taken off by death, before he had gone further than making the necessary preparations for the desired expedition; which his successors moreover found themselves obliged to set aside for a considerable time, on account of some wars and other avocations which took up their whole attention; and it was not revived till the reign of king *Emanuel*, some years after the union of the two crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, by his marriage with the *Spanish* infanta.
- <sup>f</sup> This prince, no less politic than successful, easily comprehended the vast importance of this enterprize, and the glory as well as the advantage which the discovery of an easier passage into *India* would be to his crown; nor was he without hopes, from his former good fortune,

*Coasts of Africa when, by whom, and on what account discovered.*

*Portuguese expedition promoted by Don Henriquez.*

*His views in it.*

*His death.*

*King Emanuel pursues the African expedition.*

<sup>a</sup> Vid. int. al. vol. vii. p. 121, & alib. pass. vid. & ODARO. LOPEZ, SANUT. LINSCH. RAMUS. & al. plur.

<sup>b</sup> See before, p. 653. sub not. (C). vide LABAT, Relat. d'Afrique. vol. i. c. i.

<sup>c</sup> MARMOL, lib. i. c. 36.

OSSORIO conquests of the Portuguese, lib. i. & al. mult.



Religion his  
avowed mo-  
tive.

Ambition his  
real one.

Vasco de  
Gama made  
admiral.

of making some considerable conquests both there and on the *African* coasts. To palliate, as well as to recommend both which to the public, he not only professed the same laudable zeal for the propagation of the gospel in those parts, that Don *Henriquez* had done, but added to it that of utterly extirpating *Mohammedism*, which had spread itself far and wide among those remote nations, and had over-run great part of *Africa*, and the vast and potent Christian empire of *Abissinia*. This was a most politic and effectual way to give to all his future expeditions, and exploits in either, the face and merit of a religious war, however oppositely carried on against the laws of nations, and the most received rules of justice and equity, as many of them will doubtless appear to every impartial reader, even from the very relations given us of them by his most dignified subjects and panegyrist<sup>a</sup>. And by these he will the more easily be enabled to discover whether of the two motives had the greatest influence, ambition and conquest, or the conversion of the *Africans* and *Indians*; and will, at once, account for that irreconcilable abhorrence they have ever since retained to the very name of *Praguay*, or *Portuguese*: but to proceed:

EMANUEL, encouraged by these promising prospects, as well as by the success which Don *Henriquez* had met with in his first attempts, who had, before his death, discovered and reduced several islands on that western coast (A), and penetrated above 70 leagues beyond the famed *Cape Non*, formerly mentioned, lost no time to revive so noble a design; and his intention of pursuing it were no sooner known, than he saw himself furnished with a more than sufficient number of the most expert commanders and ablest sailors, ready to receive his instructions and commands, and embark in that meritorious enterprize.

We shall not here so far anticipate on the history of *Portugal*, as to enter into a detail of the preparations which were made for this grand expedition, but only relate the success of it so far as regards this *African* coast, the command of which was given to the celebrated *Vasco de Gama*, a gentleman every way qualified for such an arduous and hazardous enterprize, and who accordingly prepared for the voyage, having previously obtained of the king permission to take his brother *Paul* with him, a man of no less conduct and resolution; and having received his majesty's last instructions, went on board, attended with throngs of his

<sup>a</sup> De his, vide GOMEZ JAQUEZ Hist. of Portug. & BARROS's Decads. Bp. OSSOR. LEO, MARMOL, & al.

(A) The first person whom that prince had sent upon this discovery was called *Johan Gonzales*, who was cast by stress of weather upon a desert island, which he caused to be colonied, and called *Puerto Santo*, or *Holy Haven*, and gave the government of it to *Bartholomeu Perez Tritto*, who found in it a very healthy air, a fruitful soil, and excellent watering. After this, *Gonzales*, in company with *Tristan Vaz*, sailed in quest of a much larger one which they had descried, and called *Madeira*, on account of its vast mountains, covered with timber trees. On their return, they obtained the joint government of it; one part, since called *Fonchal*, fell to *John Gonzales*, and the other, called *Madraco*, to *Tristan Vaz*. Three years after, that is, an. 1423, *Gil Yagnez*, another of the infant's commanders, discovered the cape *Bajadore*, and returned thither on the year following, in company with *Alonzo Gonzales Baldada*; and, having doubled that cape, came to the *Angra dos Ruivos*, or *Bay of Roches*. On the next year they proceeded farther to another bay, where they sent two of their cavaliers to land, to make what discoveries they could. These met with about a score of armed *Moors*, whom they briskly attacked, in hopes of carrying off some of them to their ship to gain intelligence from; but were so bravely repulsed, that they were forced to betake themselves to their ship, one of them having received a wound, on which account they gave that bay the name of *Agra dos Cavalleros*.

This was the last expedition that was made by Don *Henriquez*; after which the design was set aside on account of his death; and king *Edward* his successor, being an infant, and other obstructions happening to the design, it was suspended till the year 1440, or rather 1441, when Don *Henriquez* sent again two fresh vessels, under the command of *Antonio Gonzales* and *Nugnes Tristan*, one of whom sailed as far as *Cape Blanco*, and the other to *Cabo Cavallero*, on account of a skirmish he had at land with some *Moors*, one of whom he took prisoner, and brought him to *Lisbon*.

This success encouraged some *Algarvan* adventurers

to beg leave to try their fortune on the same coast, in six caravals, commanded by *Lancelot*, a domestic of that prince, who, on the year following, sent thither a man of war, under the command of *Vincent de Lagos*, with one *Ludovic Cadamosto*, a *Venetian* gentleman, from whose journal our author hath extracted the account of this expedition, which concluded in the discovery of the river of *Senaga*, and the island of *Arguin*, upon which last the prince ordered a fort to be erected; the other says it was not done till the reign of king *Alphonso*. Two years after, that is, an. 1445, *Vincent de Lagos*, and his *Venetian*, discovered the isles of *Cape Verd*, and gave the name of *Bona Vista* to the first. Don *Henriquez* died on this year, on the third of November, but they went on still with their discoveries, the first of which was the river *Rha Sunne*, called *Caramanca*, the *Golden River*, the *Rio Grande*, and the *Rio del Nuguez Trisiran*, in all which they met with some opposition from the *Moors*, and were obliged to kill many of them in their own defence, if one may allow them so mild a term; and on the same year 1446, another of his captains, named *Alvares Hernandez*, having discovered the *Cape Mosto*, and sailed above 100 leagues beyond the *Cape Verd*, made a descent upon the coast, and being opposed by the lord of that province, killed him with his own hand. They all returned to *Portugal* on the same year, where they found king *Alphonso V.* so taken up with his war in *Barbary*, that he had no time to pursue the discovery of the *African* coasts during his whole reign; so nothing was done of that kind, if we except the discovery of the *Azores*, about an. 1447, as appears by a grant of his to the inhabitants of that of *St. Michael*, and the old project of sailing round *Africa* set aside, till that of his successor, as will be seen in the sequel. Thus much we thought necessary to say concerning the first formers and encouragers of that grand project, and the encouragement which these first attempts gave to king *Emanuel* to pursue it with all possible vigour, till he saw it happily completed (1).

(1) De his, vide Orl. Lopez. Juan de Barros, Gomez Jaquez, Marmol, lib. i. c. 36. Dapper, Ossor. & al. plur. relations



a relations and friends, all in tears, and expressing as deep a grief as if they had accompanied him to his grave, or rather to his execution ; such was the dreadful idea they had of this hazardous enterprize ; infomuch, that he could not refrain from shedding some reciprocal streams at parting from them. *Grief of his friends at parting with him.*

He went on board with his brother, and, among other proper materials and conveniencies for his grand design, was provided with ten malefactors, who had been condemned to die, but were pardoned, on condition they submitted to go along with him, and to be left in any place where he should think fit, there to make the best observations they could on the country, inhabitants, &c. against his return, and to give him an account of them.

b His little fleet consisted only of four ships, his commission being only to make discoveries, and not conquests, in those parts he was sailing to. *Vasco* had the flag ship ; *Paul* was captain of the second ; *Nicholas Calo* the third, and *Gonzales Nunez* the fourth. All four together set sail from *Lisbon*, on the 9th day of *July* 1497, and steered their course for the *Canaries*, and thence to the island of *St. Jago*, lying under the 14th degree of south latitude. Whence steering directly south-east, being terribly harrassed by continual storms during near three months, they came at last in sight of some land ; and *Calo* having luckily fallen on the mouth of a river of fresh water, which they began to be in want of, they all made towards it for a fresh supply, and found it abound likewise with sea-calves. Here they were accosted by some of the natives, whom they presented with clothes, small looking-glasses, and other *European* trinkets : in return for which they brought them some of their provisions and commodities, and continued doing so with great chearfulness and confidence, though only by signs. *Arrive on the coast.*  
c At last one of the *Portuguese* having, by his imprudence, given them a false alarm, drove them away in a panic into their woods ; from whence returning with their arms, a dreadful scuffle ensued, in which *Vasco* received a wound in his foot with one of their weapons (B), whilst he and some of his officers were on shore, and busied in taking the altitude of the sun, which obliged them to retire to their ships. They gave the bay, as usual, the name of *St. Helen*, and that of *St. Jago* to the river, it being on the festival of these two saints that they had discovered them. *and exchange some presents with the natives.*  
*Has a scuffle with some of them.*

THIS, however, was but a small scantling, in comparison of what *Vasco* and his men underwent in their course towards the *Cape*, where they had not only much more boisterous storms to encounter, but, which added to the horror as well as danger, a dreadful darkness, which reigns in these parts at that season of the year. He met with a still more dangerous, though more secret, enemy, in the baseness of his dastardly men, who, wholly unacquainted with those boisterous seas, having, in vain, endeavoured by the most pathetic entreaties, which their fears and despair could inspire them with, to divert him from pursuing his course, at the imminent danger of his and their lives, had at length formed a conspiracy against him. But, happily for him, his brother *Paul* being informed of it, found means to prevent its taking effect ; soon after which the wind and weather taking a different turn, he, to their real surprize and joy, doubled the *Cape* on the 20th of *November* following. The farther they proceeded on this new coast, the more they were enlivened and invited by the verdant and fruitful prospects of it, and the vast multitudes of men and variety of cattle which they descried upon it ; the men in particular, appearing by their garb and gestures, hair and complexion, very like those they had seen at *St. Helen's* bay <sup>e</sup>. These were the *Hottentots*, till then unknown and undiscovered by the *Europeans*, and of whom we shall give a fuller account in the sequel of this book. *Vast difficulty in doubling the Cape.*  
*A conspiracy is formed against him, but is defeated.*  
*Their joy and success after it.*

THEY now chearfully continued their course northward, and came to a new bay, which they called the bay of *St. Blas*, in the innermost part of which was an island, in which they took in a fresh provision of water. The inland appeared to them very fertile, abounding with large elephants and oxen ; the latter of which the inhabitants made use of instead of horses, by clapping pack-saddles on their backs. On the 8th of *December* they were again alarmed with a sudden storm, which drove them out of sight of the land, but which was quickly over ; and they, having regained the coast, kept steering near the shore, till the 10th of *January*, when they descried a small island, at about 230 miles from their last watering-place, whose tall trees and agreeable verdure, intermixed with a variety of cattle, invited them, as the sea was then calm, and of sufficient depth, to approach nearer to it. He came accordingly to anchor near it, and observed the natives to be tall, stately, and of a graceful appearance, and had more gaiety in their dress than any he had yet seen ; they wore bracelets on their arms, *Came to the cape of St. Blas.*  
*Grateful discoveries on the land.*

<sup>f</sup> LOPEZ, SANUT. LINSCHOT. RAMUSIO, MARMOL, DAPPER, OSSORIO, & al. mult. <sup>e</sup> *Idem* *ibid.*

(B) These, it seems, were no other than long spears, whirled round, and thrown with equal dexterity and headed with a sharp piece of horn ; but which being strength, wound as deep as the sharpest javelin (2).



Some of the natives come on board, whom he elegantly entertains.

Others come on board, whom he treats well, and from whom he receives some useful informations.

His narrow escape from Mosambico.

brazen helmets on their heads, and broad swords hanging by their sides with ivory handles, and scabbards not unneatly made. All these fair prospects induced him to send one of his men, well versed in languages, on shore, with presents and compliments to the chief, or king; who returned highly satisfied with the reception he had met with, and brought back with him such presents and refreshments as that country afforded. And here he thought proper to leave two of those exiles with them, which we lately mentioned, to give him what intelligence they could get of that coast and country<sup>b</sup>. He was no less pleased at the next place he came to, which was the mouth of a large river, whose banks on each side were covered with fruit trees, and which they descried on the 5th of *January* in the evening, and waited impatiently for the return of day-light to have a fuller view of it. Accordingly on the next morning they were agreeably surpris'd, not only with its charming prospect, but with the number of natives which approached their ship in their small boats, and with an air of peace and friendship. *Gama* failed not to express his delight by the kind reception he gave them, and the elegant manner in which he entertained some of their principal men on board his ship. The misfortune was, that they had no other way of conversing but by signs, and he wanted to receive some information concerning his route to the *East-Indies*. At last one amongst them, by the help of some broken *Arabic*, made shift to give him to understand, that, in a country a little farther up that coast, from which he was but lately come, he would find some ships of the same bulk and make as his were. This was a welcome piece of news to the *Portuguese*: *Gama* made them some handsome presents, and sent them back, cloathed in silk. He caused a cross, with the arms of *Portugal* under it, to be erected on that coast, and called that river *Rio de bon Signial*, or *River of good Omen*. *Gama*, though impatient to sail in search of this wished-for country, was obliged to stay to refit his little navy, and give his sick men some further respite, and did not sail till the 24th of *February*; nor did they meet with any thing worth notice till the first of *March*, when *Calo*, the captain of the third ship, gave him a signal that he had discovered four islands at a small distance from each other, and seven vessels in full sail from one of them, and bearing towards him, as knowing him, by his flag, to be the admiral. They came up accordingly, and upon their approach, gave a great shout, and hailed him in the *Arabic* tongue, and, as they came up to him, began to play on flutes and other kinds of musical instruments. The men were of a blackish complexion, like those they had seen, but of a genteeler make, and courteously congratulated him in *Arabic* on his arrival in those parts. *Gama* returned their compliments with his usual politeness, and, having invited some of them on board his ship, gave them a very elegant entertainment, during which he ordered some of his men, who understood *Arabic*, to enquire of them what that island was from which they came, and what was the best course for him to sail to *India*. To the first they answered, that the island was called *Mosambico*; that it was subject to the king of *Quiloa*, who kept a governor in it, whom he invested with great authority: that one part of it was inhabited by *Saracens*, and that it was one of the greatest marts upon that coast, for ships that sailed thither from *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*. They told him moreover, that he had passed by a rich country called *Sofala*, which abounded with mines of gold. To his other question they answered, that he must steer his course to *Calicut*, and told him that he might easily get expert pilots that would conduct him thither; and acquainted him how distant it was from that island. All which was joyfully and thankfully received by the admiral and his *Portuguese*, who now began to hope to see shortly all their fatigues and dangers crowned with success.

We shall find a more proper place to speak of these islands, and other kingdoms and states along this coast, in the sequel of our history<sup>1</sup>. All this while these *Arabs*, who were all zealous *Mohammedans*, had no suspicion of his being a Christian, much less a *Portuguese*, but took him and his company for trading *Moors* from *Barbary*; and finding him, by the reception he gave them, and the valuable presents he made to them, to be a man of a greater generosity than any they had ever met with among the whole *Moorish* nation, were willing to encourage it in their turn, by giving him the best directions they could, and flattering him with the most promising prospect of success. He found them not only the more communicative on that account, but, to his great surprize, more expert sailors, and better furnished with all kinds of maritime instruments than he expected; and they parted extremely satisfied with each other.

WHETHER these *Arabs* were sent by the governor of that island to enquire who they were, we are not told; but at their return they gave him such an account of the generous reception they had met with, as quickly induced him to pay them a speedy visit in person; which he accordingly did on the next day, in great pomp, and with a brilliant attendance, and was received on board with a suitable magnificence. But here, unfortunately for *Gama*, the governor, who was no less zealous a *Mohammedan*, quickly perceived, by some questions he put to him about it, and his illusory answers, that he was a *Praguay*, or at least a Christian, and,

<sup>b</sup> *Iidem* *ibid*.

<sup>1</sup> *LOPEZ, LINSCHOT. MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.*



a from that moment, resolved to destroy him and his fleet. We shall give a fuller account of this adventure in the history of that island; the result of which was, that *Gama*, with great difficulty, escaped, and made all the sail he could northwards towards *Quiloa*, according to the intelligence he had gained from his *Arabic* guests; but meeting with a contrary wind, was driven back to an island they had sailed by in their flight from *Mosambico*. This, however, proved a fortunate repulse; for he there met with another *Arabian* going to *Mecca*, whom he took on board with him, finding him an expert pilot, and well acquainted with that coast, and, by his assistance, and that of another experienced mariner, whom his brother *Paul* had carried off in the late scuffle at *Mosambico*, set sail again for *Quiloa*, with his other two ships, (the fourth he had brought with him being only a store ship, and now exhausted, he had

b caused to be burnt some time before); but, though he had a fair wind, could not possibly make that port, which was supposed to be owing to some error or mis-reckoning, but much more likely, as the sequel will shew, to the knavery of the pilot which his brother had forced away from *Mosambico*, and so steered directly for *Mombaso*, which he told him was much the fitter place for him, for the reception of sick men, it being, he told him, chiefly inhabited by Christians; so that *Gama*, whether persuaded or necessitated, was forced to follow his advice, a great number of his men being grievously afflicted with variety of distempers, and several others were already dead of them. Accordingly, he was no sooner come within sight of the town, than he received the kindest and most pressing invitations from the king to come to an anchor, and to come on shore with his men, in order to fix such an advantageous commerce

c with him, as would save him the trouble of a longer and more hazardous voyage as that to *India*, to which they understood he was bound. They likewise extolled the goodness of their country, fertility of their soil, healthiness of their air, and, above all, the high notions which their king had conceived of the *Portuguese* admiral, and of his nation; all which was no other than a deep-laid plot, to which if he had given way, it must have ended in his inevitable ruin, as will be seen in its proper place. But here his good fortune saved him once more, and an accident, which prevented his ship from proceeding farther towards the harbour, and obliged him to make a signal to the rest to weigh anchor, gave the conscious pilot a sudden suspicion that their design was discovered: to avoid the fatal consequences of which, he immediately jumped over-board, and swam to the shore with all the speed he could, and gained it without

d any opposition, in spite of all *Gama's* endeavours to have him stopped, and brought back to him, by those in the adjacent boats. From all which it plainly appeared that the *Mombasan* king, having been apprised of what had happened at *Mosambico*, had laid this plot to get him into his hands, and put a final stop to all his farther discoveries<sup>k</sup>.

As soon, therefore, as *Gama* could get clear of that dangerous bay, which took him up about two days more; during which that prince, vexed to see his scheme defeated, made several fruitless attempts to get his cables cut from his anchors in the dead of night; he resumed his course northwards towards *Melinda*, and, in his way, took a *Saracen* vessel, fourteen of whose men he detained prisoners, to supply his want of hands, and dismissed the rest. One of them, who bore a more promising appearance than the rest, he carefully examined,

e and found him a man very fit for his purpose, and very likely to be of great use to him in the prosecution of his voyage, and him he resolved to keep, and shew a particular regard to. Nothing remarkable happened to them in their way to *Melinda*, where they happily arrived on *Easter* day. Here fortune stood again his friend, and the lucky juncture which had preceded his arrival, procured him a better reception than what he had met with at *Mosambico* or *Mombaso*, or indeed, than he had reason to hope for, as well from his former treatment as from the *Saracen* capture he had lately made; and which, if known there, must create no small jealousy both to the king and kingdom. The *Saracen* lately mentioned, perceiving his uneasiness, offered to go on shore and sound the king and court, and give them to understand that the four vessels which came into that port were bound for *India*, and that the admiral,

f who was a Christian, having near finished his business, would quickly set sail, in order to pursue his voyage<sup>l</sup>. We shall anticipate here the history of that kingdom, so far only as to tell our reader that the proposal was accepted by *Gama*, and that he executed his commission with such success, and gave so advantageous an account of those strangers, that the king, who was advanced in years, and too weak in body to go in person to pay a visit to the admiral, sent his presumptive son and heir, with a magnificent retinue, to pay him his compliments, and to invite him to come on shore; which being declined by him, as inconsistent with his commission from the king of *Portugal*, he contented himself with coming nearer in his long-boat, and taking a view of that metropolis and its excellent situation; and after many mutual assurances of friendship, presents, and other civilities, and being furnished by the young prince

g with an able pilot, and other necessaries, he set sail for *Calicut*, on the 22d of *April*, not without having made him a previous promise to take *Melinda* in his way, upon his return from

<sup>k</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.*<sup>l</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.*



Departure  
for India.

*India.* They resumed their course northwards accordingly, highly satisfied with their success, a and continued that rout till they had crossed the line, and began again to have a view of the polar star; when veering eastwards towards that desired island, the *Melindan* pilot, being well acquainted with it, assured them that they were come in sight of it.

It is time now to take our leave of him for a while, and leave him to pursue his voyage into a new part of the world, the description and history of which we have before related, and where his success laid the foundation for those vast conquests and opulent settlements, which his countrymen have since made in so many parts of it, as the reader may see in the full and ample account we have endeavoured to give of it in a preceding volume <sup>m</sup>. Whilst those discoveries which he made around the *African* coasts ended, as we have seen, soon after his departure from *Melinda*; of which, however, he took such care to dispatch a particular detail b to the court of *Portugal*, as filled it with inexpressible joy. King *Emanuel* in particular conceived such great hopes of succeeding in this grand design from this happy beginning, that he lost no time, nor spared any cost, to pursue it with all possible vigour and speed, and a suitable number of vessels and able commanders, with orders to follow the track of their predecessor, to revisit every *African* place he had come to, and by no means to pass by the governor of *Mosambico* and king of *Mombaso*, without giving them some tokens of the *Portuguese* resentment. They were, in the last place, to complete the discovery of the western coast, and to double the cape of *Guardafuy*, in order to penetrate as far as they could beyond the straits of *Babel Mandel*, into the *Red Sea*; for that they were not now sent merely to make discoveries, but settlements, alliances, and conquests, as opportunity offered, where-ever they c came; and to take every proper measure to enlarge the *Portuguese* dominions, spread their fame, enlarge their commerce, and propagate the Christian faith all over the whole world. How wonderfully and successfully these extensive orders were executed in the *East Indies*, we have seen in the history of those countries, more particularly in the volume last quoted; and how exactly and faithfully they were followed in the continent of *Africa*, will be likewise seen in the subsequent volume. All this while the king was no less diligent in sending other vessels, to carry on the same designed discoveries along the western coasts, from the river *Senaga* and the *Gold Coast* southwards, quite to *Cape Negro* and beyond, almost to that of *Good Hope*, which *Bartholomew Dias* is said to have doubled, but to have been frightened by the violent storms and dark weather from proceeding farther. On this coast they likewise made considerable settlements, particularly in the kingdoms of *Kongo*, *Angola*, and *Benguela*, of which d we shall likewise speak in a proper place.

Gama makes  
new discoveries  
on his  
return.

In the mean time *Vasco de Gama* being returned from his *Indian* expedition, and remembering that he had left a great part of the eastern coast unvisited, resolved to resume his course as much higher to the northward as he conveniently could, in order to complete his discovery of it. The first place he came to was the city of *Magadoxa*, capital of the kingdom of that name, lying about two degrees north of the equinoxial line, on the coasts of *Ajan*; which place, being inhabited, as he was informed, by *Mohammedan Arabs*, he caused to be bombarded, and its walls to be destroyed, as well as the ships that were in the harbour. From thence he hastened to re-visit the good old king of *Melinda*, according to his former promise, where he e only staid to take on board an ambassador from that monarch to the court of *Portugal*; and hence he set sail five days after, being afraid of losing the season for doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*, and happily arrived at *Lisbon*, in the beginning of *May* 1499, and met with a gracious reception from the king and court, having but 55 men left of the 148 that set out with him, and they so dreadfully emaciated and worn out with sickness and fatigue, that their relations could hardly know them. Thus ended this celebrated expedition, and the discovery of the greatest part of the *African* coast, which was soon after gradually completed by the famed *Pedro Alvarez*, *Cabral*, the great *Albuquerque*, and others of his successors, of which we shall speak in the sequel.

Arrives at  
Lisbon.

<sup>m</sup> See before, vol. iv. p. 107. & seq.



## C H A P. II.

*The Modern History of Africa, and of the various nations under whose government it hath been, since the expulsion of the Romans by the Vandals.*

- <sup>a</sup> OUR readers, we doubt not, will easily perceive, by the title of this chapter, the subject of it is not to extend itself to the whole *African* continent, much less to give a particular detail of that vast variety of governments into which it is divided, each of which, at least as far as they are known to us, will be more properly seen and described under their proper heads, in the prosecution of this twenty-first book; but is confined only to that part of it which had been conquered by the *Romans*, and that so far only as is necessary to connect its modern with the antient part, in such a manner as that there may be no chasm left between them, or any thing omitted that is worthy our reader's notice; for though we did not conclude the antient *African* history with the coming of the *Vandals* and expulsion of the *Romans*, but continued our account of the bloody wars they waged against each other; yet, as most of those hostilities consisted chiefly in the invasion and ravaging of the former dominions and conquests, all which were carried far enough from those of the latter<sup>a</sup>, the most material transactions relating to their settlements and new erected monarchy in this part of the world were there omitted, as foreign to the *Roman*, and more properly belonging to this *African* history. However, as in the former, we have been under a necessity, in order to keep the thread of it, to anticipate some occurrences which were more nearly related to this latter, so, in the prosecution of this, whenever there is a necessity of repeating any thing that hath been formerly said, we shall take care to do it in as few words as the subject will admit of, without being maimed, and direct our readers, by proper references, to the places where they may find them at full length.
- <sup>c</sup> THE occasion of this *Vandalic* expedition, and of their founding this new monarchy, we have elsewhere shewn<sup>b</sup>. *Genferic*, or, as *Jornandes* and other *Latin* authors write his name, *Gizericus*<sup>c</sup>, a warlike prince of that nation, had scarce succeeded his brother *Gunderic* in the kingdom of *Galicia*, when he was invited into this part of *Africa*, by the then revolted count *Bonifacio*; and, attracted by his advantageous offers, and more perhaps by his own ambitious views, readily agreed to sail over to them<sup>\*</sup>; and, having provided himself with a sufficient number of transports, for himself and his *Vandals*, amounting, according to some, to 80,000, but according to others, only to 24,000 (A), ordered them all, men, women, and children, on board, and sailed over the streights of *Gadez*, now *Gibraltar*, with them, and soon after landed on the coasts of *Barbary*, in the month of *May*.
- <sup>d</sup> IN the mean time *Bonifacio*, whom necessity and self-preservation alone had engaged in this revolt, as the only means left to defend himself against the black intrigues of the treacherous *Ætius*, having made his innocence appear at the imperial court, and being re-admitted into favour, was as much grieved at his arrival as he had been anxious and pressing for it, and left no means, offers, nor splendid promises untried, to prevail upon him to sail back with his *Vandals* into *Spain*; but had the mortification to find his proposals rejected with the utmost disdain, and to see him resolutely bent upon settling himself and his barbarians in that part of the world, and not only to lay the foundation of his new kingdom, but lead thence his victorious arms into the heart of *Italy*. We have elsewhere shewn how successful he proved in all his expeditions, and what horrid plunder and ravages he committed, not only there, in *Sicily*, and other parts of the empire, but even in *Rome* itself<sup>d</sup>.
- <sup>e</sup> THE foundation of this *Vandalic* monarchy proved no less, if not rather more fatal an epocha to the *Africans* of those parts; for however small the difference may be in other respects between a *Roman* and *Vandalian* yoke, the *Arian* heresy, which that prince not only introduced, but propagated with a more barbarian zeal than he did in his other conquests, failed not to turn it, in a little while, into a scene of the most dreadful and inhuman outrages and persecutions

*The design of this chapter.*

*To what part of Africa confined.*

*The Vandal kingdom, when, and by whom founded. Genferic invited into Africa, 428.*

*Sails thither with his army.*

*His vast success against the Romans.*

*Founds a monarchy in Barbary.*

<sup>a</sup> See *Anc. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 481, & seq. reb. *Getic.* c. 33.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* & vol. vii. p. 527, & seq.

<sup>c</sup> *JORNAND.* de

<sup>\*</sup> See *Anc. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 481, & seq. vol. vii. p. 532, & seq. <sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 501, & seq. vol. vii. p. 533, & seq. *JORNAND.* ubi sup. *VICTOR.* *Uticenf.* de *Perfec. Vand.* *PROCOF.* de *Bello Vandal.* & al. plur.

(A) This may probably enough account for that difference of numbers which we find in the historians of those times; and the lesser might, in all likelihood, be that of his fighting men, and the largest that of their numerous train of women and children, with which those northern nations were wont to incumber

themselves, as well as with a great deal of other useless lumber, in all such expeditions, which required besides an additional one of servants or slaves, and beasts of burthen; according to which supposition the total of 80,000 will just bear a near proportion to that of 24,000.



*Hatred against  
the orthodox  
Africans,*

*instigated by  
the idolatrous  
Moors.*

*Resolution and  
success against  
the Romans.*

*Destroys all  
the noble Ro-  
man works.*

*King Gen-  
seric's cha-  
racter.*

*A full testi-  
mony of his  
horrid cruel-  
ties to the  
orthodox.*

against the orthodox, and especially the clergy, of whatever rank or distinction, either for learn-<sup>a</sup>  
ing or piety; or, to speak more properly, these proved the greatest objects of his cruelty,  
not only on account of the noble and laudable defence they made against him, as an invader,  
a barbarian, a heretic, and apostate, but much more so on account of the numerous conver-  
sions they had made among the idolatrous *Moors*; for by this time the unconverted *Africans*,  
especially their priests and princes, a set of ignorant and superstitious idolaters, had, on that  
account, taken such effectual means to exasperate him against the *Romans* in general, and more  
particularly against the clergy, by their loud complaints and bitter invectives against both, as  
well as by the readiness they expressed to join forces with and assist him against them, that he  
was easily determined to set about the total extirpation both of the one and of the other, out  
of all his conquered dominions. And the better to assure them of his resolution, and to<sup>b</sup>  
attach them to his interest, he declared to them, that they should be from thenceforth the  
executioners of his resentment on all orthodox recusants, and their pastors, whilst himself pur-  
sued his successes against the shattered remains of their forces, till he had extirpated the very  
name and memory of them out of *Africa*. Here fortune so far favoured his designs, that he  
quickly saw the country quite rid of them, and himself at full liberty to turn his whole  
resentment against the *African* church and clergy, as well as against all the standing monuments  
of the late *Roman* prowess, committing the most cruel outrages and devastations in all these  
countries where they had seated themselves, not only upon the prisoners that fell into his hands,  
but against the poor innocent inhabitants. These were soon after followed by the utter<sup>c</sup>  
demolition and destruction of all the stately structures, both public and private, and all other  
valuable and sumptuous works, which those proud conquerors were wont to rear where-ever  
they extended their dominions, as trophies and monuments of their power and grandeur.  
Among which, those they had left in this part of the world were in nothing inferior either  
for number or magnificence, as may be easily judged by the many ruins and sad remains which  
are still to be seen, and of which we have given an account in our Antient History, of this  
once celebrated part of the *Roman* dominions<sup>e</sup>. So that whatever monuments these had  
been at so immense care and charge to erect, to eternize their own glory, those haughty bar-  
barians were no less lavish of their time and labour to demolish and obliterate, and reduce into  
ruinous heaps, to be so many lasting trophies of their own.

GENSERIC, or, as *Jornandes* and other cotemporary authors write it, *Gizeric*, is repre-<sup>d</sup>  
sented by them as a prince of as impenetrable a reach, as immeasurable ambition; and no less  
inhuman to his nearest blood, whenever it stood in competition with either<sup>f</sup>. Neither was he  
less intrepid and immovable than successful in his designs: witness his victories and conquests  
over the *Romans*, and the singular disregard he shewed to the emperor *Leo's* menaces and com-  
plaints, for which he had given so many just occasions, and more particularly by his repeated  
ravages on the islands of *Peloponnesus*, which, with other instances of his hurtful stratagems,  
and breach of faith with them, having been fully displayed in our Antient History<sup>g</sup>, we need  
only repeat here as historical facts of consequence, as no inconsiderable proofs, or concurring  
testimonies, of what we are now going to relate concerning his inhuman treatment of so many  
venerable and learned bishops, clergy, and laymen, on the mere account of their steady<sup>e</sup>  
adherence to the *Nicene* faith. It will at least convince an impartial reader, that what we have  
here abstracted from the consentient report of so many credible historians of those times, with  
respect to the dreadful indignities and persecutions which those pious sufferers were made to  
undergo, during a great part of his reign, are so perfectly consistent with all his other actions,  
as well as with his ambitious and bloody character, that they may be justly acquitted from the  
charge of having exaggerated them, though we cannot so easily absolve them from that fault  
with regard to what they relate of unparalleled constancy, and extatic joys, which those pious  
martyrs expressed under them; much less about the surprising miracles which some of them  
tell us accompanied and decorated their exile and inhuman treatment.

HAVING thus far prefaced the occurrences of this part of his reign, which (as all the other<sup>f</sup>  
remarkable particulars of it were transacted far enough out of his new *African* dominions, and  
are foreign to this section), are the only ones we have left to relate concerning it, we shall beg  
leave to remind our readers, that even this part of it, however interesting it may appear to  
some of them, being more properly the subject of a martyrology, or an ecclesiastical history,  
we may justly dispense with expatiating farther upon it than is consistent with our original plan.  
Instead, therefore, of leading the reader through a complicated variety of the most dreadful  
scenes of furious zeal and barbarity on the one hand, and undeserved sufferings and misery  
on the other, we hope it will be thought sufficient, if we confine our account to a short

<sup>e</sup> See int. al. vol. vii. ubi supra, vid. & SHAW, POCOCK, NORDEN, & al.  
p. 481. vid. & JORNANDES, c. 33, & seq. PROCOP. CEDREN. IDAT. & al. plur.  
p. 508, & seq. vol. vii. p. 537. & seq. & auct. sup. citat.

<sup>f</sup> See Anc. Hist. vol. vi.  
<sup>g</sup> Anc. Hist. vol. vi.



a abstract or summary of that famed persecution, without entering farther into the particulars of it than is barely necessary to give them a general idea of the whole \*.

How long it was after *Genferic's* landing on this coast, before the effects of his rage against the orthodox broke out in that public manner, and to that amazing heat, our authors are not agreed; but probably, not till he had obliged the *Romans* to cede to him all his conquests in that part by a treaty formerly mentioned †: though the strenuous and universal opposition he met with from some of their clergy, joined to the malicious instigations of the idolatrous *Moors*, lately mentioned, may be supposed to have inspired him with such a resolution long before; and, in the mean while, to have pushed him on to treat all those of the church that fell into his hands with the severest marks of his hatred and resentment. But being now arrived at his height of glory and conquest, his arms dreaded by the *Romans*, and no other power left to controul him, he quickly gave a full scope to his ambition and revenge, by a general proscription of all the orthodox, by shutting up all their churches, seizing the fairest of them for the service of his *Arians*, converting others to secular and even viler uses, and demolishing others, especially such as were built after the *Roman* taste, and rebuilding them, or others elsewhere, after the *Gothic* way. He not only deprived the bishops and all ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, of their dignities and revenues, and plundered their cathedrals, monasteries, chapels, &c. of their sacred ornaments and utensils, without distinction, but ordered their sacred books, as well as those which belonged to the church, their missals, breviaries, homilies, &c. to be seized and burnt; which violences being strenuously opposed by the good *Valerianus*, a venerable bishop of eighty years of age, he was immediately stripped of his dignities, and all that he had, and banished, naked and destitute, out of his dominions. In the like manner, and on the same account, he condemned many of their most dignified owners for zeal, learning, and piety, to an exile far more dreadful than death, and aggravated with every circumstance of horror and cruelty; whilst the rest of them, with their helpless flocks, were turned out of all, and left to wander about, dispersed and destitute of all comfort; so that those whose zeal, learning, or merit, had prompted his fury to accelerate their martyrdom, though by the most excruciating and ignominious deaths, as many of them had been, in the height of his fury and jealousy, were esteemed to have shared by far the milder doom. The places which were pitched upon for their banishment, and the scenes of their sufferings, were some of the most barren and horrid deserts of *Barbary*, some of which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of this book, and such as belonged to the idolatrous *Moorish* princes lately spoken of.

The guards who were to conduct them thither, were the subjects of those chiefs, now either in alliance with, or tributary to, the *Vandalic* king, and their most embittered enemies next to him; and who, from their innate hatred to them, as well as to recommend themselves the more to his favour, made them undergo alike the most cruel fatigues, and intolerable indignities and miseries, during a long and painful route through wild, rocky, and unfrequented ways, sufficient of themselves to make them experience the most insupportable miseries under such a merciless escort. Not only the sick, blind, lame, and maimed, but even the superannuated, and worn out with extreme old age and infirmities, many of them scarcely able to stand on their feet, were yet forced, by dint of blows and other inhuman treatment, to crawl along with the rest, until they sunk or expired under their load of misery; which whenever any of them did, as was the case of many hundreds, their relentless guards were, we are told, ordered to tie their hands and feet, and leave them thus exposed to the beasts and birds of prey, with which those parts greatly swarm, and to pursue their march with the rest § (B).

We leave it to our readers to judge how small a number of this numerous, and for the most part invalid company, must be supposed to have reached their doleful exile under all these disadvantages, and, to most of them, insurmountable difficulties, as well as the extreme misery of those who were unfortunate enough to outlive them, only to be turned over to greater dangers and sufferings, and such as none but those, who either by experience or read-

\* De his, vide JORNAND, c. 33. PROCOPIUS de Bello Vandal. VICTOR Utiensis. CEDREN. & al. † Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 533, & seq. CEDREN. LASIUS, GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. plur. § Idem ibid.

(B) The generality of authors who have written upon this subject affirm, that this inhuman order was given by the king to their no less barbarous conductors. Some of them even add, that he ordered them to tie all that could not walk by the feet, and to drag them along through thorny and rocky ways, till first their clothes, next their skins, and, last of all, their flesh, were torn off from their bones. Nevertheless, when we consider that they could hardly be known to them

but by the treatment they meet with from the *Moors*, and we find no instance of any such atrocious cruelty during his reign, but rather of his relenting, both with respect to the orthodox and to the *Romans*, as we shall see in the sequel, we rather think that, if any such orders were given, it must be by his son and successor, who proved by far the worst and most implacable enemy to both.



ing are thoroughly acquainted with the nature of those wild and inhospitable deserts, and their still wilder and more destructive inhabitants, can possibly conceive <sup>a</sup>.

BUT here, in the midst of all the preparations for this dismal tragedy, an occurrence happened, which not only suspended the execution of it, during the short remainder of his reign, but seemed to promise no less than that it would be wholly set aside, and that the king began indeed to relent of his innate barbarity. *Zeno*, now raised to the imperial throne, had been forced to clap up a peace with *Genferic*, by which he renounced all claim to his *African* conquests, and yielded them wholly to him and his descendants \*; but being now more afraid of his arms than ever, on account of a strict alliance he had since made with the warlike *Odoacer*, had thought fit, by way of precaution, to send an embassy to him to confirm the former peace.

Severus sent  
ambassador  
to him.  
Renews the  
peace with  
him.

THE person appointed for this commission was named *Severus*, a senator no less esteemed for his uprightness and generosity, than admired for his politeness and address; with whose singular prudence and behaviour *Genferic* was so highly pleased, that he readily complied with all his proposals; and being now well advanced in years, and desirous, on that account, to leave his son and successor *Huneric*, in the quiet possession of his new-founded kingdom, gladly embraced that opportunity of confirming his former treaties with him; and hence it is presumed that the politic *Severus* found means, by his frequent conferences with him, gradually to soften his pre-conceived aversion against the orthodox, and to retract, at least in some measure, those bloody orders he had given for their total extirpation, as well as from his utter averfeness against releasing his *Roman* prisoners. <sup>b</sup>

Becomes more  
favourable to  
the orthodox.

ACCORDINGLY we are told, as a confirmation of the former, that, a little before his death, he restored the orthodox church of *Carthage* to its antient rights, recalled all her clergy, whom he had before banished, and its bishop *Valerianus* among the rest, and restored to them their ancient privileges and revenues <sup>1</sup>: from which it is probably inferred, that, if he had lived longer, he would, in all likelihood, have done the same by many more, if not all, the catholic clergy, instead of prosecuting his bloody designs against them. They think it even more than probable that it must have been one of the chief articles stipulated on the ratification of the peace, which that emperor could not well dispense insisting upon, nor his ambassador fail of obtaining, as he was, by that time, in such high favour and esteem with the king and his court. To all which we can only answer, that, if this had been the real case, or if *Severus*, <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> afraid at such a juncture to press that point too strenuously, had contented himself with inspiring him with more favourable intentions towards them, one might expect that he would have recalled his bloody orders against them by his last will, as he did there leave such directions to his sons to secure the peaceful and regular succession to his kingdom, or have declared his intention some other way. Whereas it plainly appears, by the dreadful manner in which they were executed by his immediate successor, either that he never did countermand them, or if he did, that his son was so far from paying any regard to it, that he persecuted them with greater fury and cruelty than even his father had done; as we shall quickly see under his reign.

Releases the  
Roman cap-  
tives.

As to what regards the other particulars, his generous release of the *Roman* prisoners at *Severus*'s request, and so contrary to his former treatment of them, and which is here urged as an argument that the *Roman* ambassador had, by his politeness and address, inspired that prince with quite other sentiments and resolutions, with respect to his own nation, and the orthodox church, it cannot be disallowed to carry some weight, though not quite so much, if we duly consider the circumstances that attended, or perhaps gave birth to, so generous a compliance. *Severus*, after having refused, with a singular and disinterested modesty, the rich presents which that monarch would have heaped upon him, had artfully closed his denial with a hint, *That the only one he could make him, worthy the acceptance of a Roman ambassador, was the release of those Romans whom he kept prisoners in his dominions.* There was therefore no other way left for *Genferic* to prevent his being outdone in politeness and generosity, but <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> that of complying with so laudable a request, or even granting him more than he desired of him, as he accordingly did, by the immediate discharge of all that were in his own or his family's possession, without any ransom, and permitting him to redeem all the rest <sup>k</sup>.

IT is therefore very improbable that the authors, who have transmitted two circumstances so honourable to him as this release of the *Roman* captives, and that of the restoration of the church of *Carthage*, should have neglected mentioning that of his good intentions to the rest of the orthodox, if any such had been in his mind, towards this last period of his life. And much more so still, if this had been the case, that he should have omitted leaving such proper directions either in his last will, or by some other way, to prevent his successors putting his

<sup>a</sup> PROCOPIUS VICTOR, & al. sup. citat. sup. citat.

\* See Anc. Hist. vol. vi. p. 513. vol. vii. p. 539. & auct. <sup>1</sup> VICTOR Utiq. Perseq. Vand. p. 16. & al. sup. citat. <sup>2</sup> See Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 539. & auct. ib. cit.



a former cruel orders in execution against them ; or if he had, that the same writers should have forgot to take particular notice of it. Whereas, on the contrary, there is not only no mention or hint in their writings of any such change, but all that they have recorded concerning that last will of his above-mentioned, is merely about settling the succession amongst his descendants in such regular order, that is, solely according to eldership, as might best preserve the peace and prosperity of his new kingdom, and most effectually prevent, as he there words it, those disputes and intestine wars between them, which have proved so fatal and destructive to other monarchies and states <sup>1</sup>.

ACCORDINGLY we are told that his four next successors proved such religious observers of his injunction, that they all enjoyed it in their turns, without either quarrels or contentions from within, or opposition from without, till *an.* 433, when being disregarded by the then usurper, who seized on it by treason, it gave an opportunity to the *Romans* to drive him and the rest of his *Vandals* out of *Africa*, as will be seen in the sequel. *Genferic*, however, doth not, upon the whole, seem to have paid so great a regard to the peace so lately concluded with the emperor ; but we read of a fresh breach of it almost as soon as the ambassador had left his court. Those authors have not indeed given us the particulars of it, but only tell us that, meeting with a stout repulse, he was forced to retire to *Carthage*, extremely mortified and enraged at his defeat, and died there soon after. There is nothing in all this transaction (though His death: omitted by other writers, as well as the occasion of it, probably for the same reason) that is inconsistent with that prince's character, who could seize on that metropolis by the vilest treachery, and be so frequently guilty of the breach of the most solemn treaties \*.

HOWEVER that be, *Genferic* did not long outlive that last peace, but died after a long and successful reign of sixty years, and with him all the hopes which the orthodox had conceived from their short-lived reprieve, and the peace concluded with the *Romans*. He was succeeded by his eldest son *Huneric*, or, as some authors write him, *Ungaricus*, and *Hungarichus* ; a prince who not only inherited all his father's barbarian fierceness and hatred against the orthodox, but greatly outdid him in both ; and in his short reign of less than eight years, exercised greater cruelties against the *African* church, than he had in his of sixty. He had been sent hostage to *Constantinople* in his father's time, had moreover married the princess *Eudocia*, the daughter of the emperor *Valentinian*, whom his father had brought prisoner from *Rome*, and by whom he had a son and successor ; yet neither were able to abate his extreme hatred either against the orthodox or the *Romans*. He had besides her another wife, the daughter of *Theodoric* king of *Wallia* ; but this last, upon some slight suspicion or surmise that she designed to poison him, he sent shamefully back to her father, with both her nostrils slit <sup>m</sup>.

HUNERIC was not long in possession of the throne before he revived the persecution which had been suspended by his father, and with much greater fury than he had ever done. We have already taken notice of the various artifices which the idolatrous *Moors* made use of to instigate the one ; and the unparalleled sufferings which they caused those illustrious sufferers to undergo, [as they were appointed the chief managers and conductors of that horrid tragedy] do not permit us to doubt of their being equally zealous and industrious in spurring on and exasperating the other to the execution of it. Accordingly those unhappy victims were no sooner ordered to be delivered into their merciless hands, but one might see them brought from all parts of his dominions, bound in chains, to the two places of rendezvous, to the number of 4966, consisting of the most eminent bishops and clergy, as well monks of sundry orders and ranks, and some of the most distinguished among the laity, thence to be escorted or dragged by them in two bands to the horrid barren deserts assigned for the place of their exile. They were accordingly escorted at first to the two cities of *Sicca* and *Laris* (C), where the relentless *Moors*, instigated by their superstitious and inveterate priests, were ready to give them a suitable reception and entertainment, till the whole complement of their victims were arrived, and with them an order from court for their doleful march. For we are told that they were thrown, without distinction, into dismal dungeons, where, like *Jeremiah* the prophet, they sunk into the mire knee deep <sup>n</sup>, and were stifled with stench and want of air and room, being squeezed together in such numbers, that they had not space enough to lie down. Horrid confinement and misery.

<sup>1</sup> JORNANDES, & al. ubi sup. \* Anc. Hist. vol. vi. p. 483, & seq. vol. vii. p. 536, & seq. <sup>m</sup> MARIAN Hist. Hispan. l. v. c. 3. VICTOR, PROCOP. & al. sup. citat. <sup>n</sup> Jerem. xxxviii. 6. & seq. De his, vide JORNANDES, PROCOP. VICTOR, & al. sup. citat.

(C) These were, according to the acts of the council, or *Carthaginian* conference, two episcopal cities, the former placed by some in *Africa propria*, and by others in *Nubia*, and one *Martinus* is, in the acts above-mentioned, styled *Episcopus Sciaccensis*. The situation of the other is still less known, only the same acts mention

the *Episcopus Larissensis* as an assistant at that grand conference (2). But it is probable that both bishopricks had been sequestered, and their prelates deprived, if not banished, during the late reign and persecution, with many others of the same rank and merit, which we have taken notice of a little higher.



Surprising constancy. Their food and other fare was of the same kind with their lodging; and even the patience and contentment they expressed under such harsh treatment, especially every act of religion, and every sign of joy they shewed, for suffering in so glorious a cause, gave fresh occasion for their relentless persecutors to exercise the greater acts of inhumanity; so that great numbers of them expired under the extreme misery and inhuman usage of their keepers, though a much greater number, we are told, surmounted all these grievous hardships, and lived to exhibit a still more surprising scene of intrepidity and constancy, under a new and greater load of woe.

Distracted at parting from their flocks. Dreadful treatment from their Moorish guides. Huneric's strange death. 484. THE day of their release from the dreadful confinement being come, and all things ready for their march, these noble sufferers made their first appearance in the broad day-light before a vast and mixed multitude of friends and foes, and in such a strange and gloomy guise on the one hand, but with calm and joyful deportment on the other, as could not fail of exciting in the beholders a suitable variety of passions at both. Not only their cloaths (such as had any) but their bodies, and their very faces, were covered and incrustated with the mire and filth of the dungeon, their persons so emaciated, and limbs so enfeebled, that they could scarcely crawl or stand, yet hurried forward by dint of blows, whilst many of their distracted flocks met them with lighted candles, and strove, in vain, by their tears and earnest intreaties, to retard them only so long as either the baptizing of a few children, to confess, or perform some other part of their sacred functions towards some of their sick or dying friends; in requital for which they met with no other comfort than the sighs and tears, or perhaps the last and parting blessing, of their disconsolate and helpless pastors; and even these they were forced to purchase at the expence of the most severe scoffs and drubbings from their conductors. We have already taken notice of the bloody order which those had, or pretended to have, received from the king, with respect to such of their prisoners, who, either through age or other infirmities, were unable to go forward; and we doubt not but there were many of these among them, especially after such a grievous confinement; much less need we question the readiness of those butcherly Moors to put them in execution from their first setting out, if but to strike the rest with the greater dread. Yet were all these scenes of horror so far from working any such effect, that, instead of the groans and outcries which one might have expected from them, nothing was heard amongst them, if we may believe the many historians who have transmitted the account of their sufferings, but the loud singing of psalms and hymns, and the general voice of joy and exultation. What is the most miraculous of all is, that they continued their joyful songs, even after their barbarous guides, in order to prevent it, had ordered their tongues to be plucked out by the roots. Among those glorious martyrs who suffered under this reign, was the venerable *Letus*, bishop of *Leptis*, and some other dignified ecclesiastics. How many more became such among those exiles, either through the fatigues of the journey, or during their melancholy abode in those dreadful deserts, we are not told. However, it was not long before the Divine Providence was pleased to put a stop to it, by the sudden and exemplary death of their persecutor, who, after a short and bloody reign of a few months above seven years, was taken off in the same strange manner as the heresiarch *Arius* was (D), whose errors he had been so zealous to propagate through all his *African* dominions, and for the sake of which he had not only raised such a persecution as we have been describing, but had moreover laid waste so many monasteries of men and women, and bestowed their revenues, and even the very persons of both sexes indifferently, on those bloody Moors, who had been the promoters and executioners of his cruelties against the orthodox church. We do not read of any war he had with the *Romans* during his short reign; and it is probable he was so taken up with his domestic persecutions, and the propagation of his *Arian* heresy, that he had neither time nor inclination to break the peace lately concluded with them by his father; whilst the empire was at that time in so distracted and weakened a condition, that he was in no apprehension of meeting with any opposition from that quarter.

° PROCOPIUS, VICTOR. & al. ubi supra.

p Idem ibid.

(D) It is related of *Arius*, that he expired in a common jakes of the city, and that his bowels and all his entrails came out (3); and the same is also related of *Huneric*, with this addition, that his flesh had been some time rotting upon his bones, and crawling with worms, so that he looked more like a dead carcase than a living man (4). Others add, that, being possessed by the devil, whom he had glutted with the blood of so many martyrs, he tore his flesh off with his own teeth, and ended his wretched life in the most excruciating, though justly deserved, torments (5). All which disasters the learned *Aldrette* allows to have

concurred in dispatching such a bloody tyrant out of the world (6).

Here the reader will be apt to suppose, that the zeal and resentment of the orthodox had thrown the two last, at least, into the scale, to render his memory the more odious to the world; and yet, when he comes to consider the sudden and surprising change, which his death brought on under the following reign, he will, perhaps, be induced to think, that nothing less could have occasioned it, than some such dreadful and exemplary judgment on that insatuated and unhappy prince.

(3) *Jornand. Isidor. Hist. Vandal. Victor Uticens. & al. de Gest. Franc. c. 3.*

(4) *Antiquitates da Spania, lib. iv. c. 23. ad finem, vide & Grammay Hist. illustrat. lib. iii. Roder. Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. c. 15.*

(5) *Idem ibid.*

(6) *Greg. Turon. de Grammay Hist.*

*Krant. Hist. Vandal, p. 24, & al.*



a HUNERIC, though he had a son named *Hilderic*, by the princess *Eudocia*, as hath been already hinted, was not succeeded by him, but by a grandson of *Genferic* named *Gutamund*, or *Guntamund*; who, we are told by *Isidore* and *Procopius*, was the son of *Genson*, *Genferic*'s eldest son, and so probably preferred to *Hilderic*, in conformity to his grandfather's will.

Gutamund,  
3<sup>d</sup> king of the  
African Van-  
dals.

THIS prince, who had been brought up in the *Arian* heresy, with the rest of that monarch's family, did accordingly stain the beginning of his reign, if we may believe *Isidore* and *Procopius*<sup>a</sup>, by exercising many cruelties against the catholics; but had no sooner got the quiet possession of the crown, whether touched with a generous sense of the many and dreadful calamities which his uncle's furious and untimely zeal had brought upon them, or, which is more probable, whether deterred by the awakening circumstances which attended his death, than he immediately resolved to put an effectual end to the still raging persecution, and to recall as many of those noble sufferers as had out-lived the fatigues and miseries of their exile, and to restore them to their churches and flocks, and to a full and free exercise of their religion<sup>b</sup>.

Recalls the or-  
thodox from  
banishment.  
486.

He began accordingly with the venerable *Eugenius*, the late worthy metropolitan of *Carthage*, a prelate of consummate wisdom and piety, as the fittest person to advise and assist him in his charitable design; and these two joined their councils and authorities with such success, that the *African* clergy, both secular and regular, were almost every-where restored to their pristine seats, functions, and privileges, and the *African* church seemed to have wholly recovered its antient splendor; when on a sudden all was eclipsed again, by the unexpected death of their pious monarch; who died in the twelfth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his brother<sup>c</sup> *Thrasamund*, a prince of quite opposite principles and temper; who quickly undid all that he had done, and renewed the persecution against the orthodox, with as great zeal and fury as his uncle had done. He immediately ordered all the orthodox churches to be shut up, the monasteries to be sequestered, together with all their revenues, as well as those of the secular clergy. He carried his resentment so far against the latter, on account of their loud cen-

Restores the  
African  
church to its  
pristine state.

His death.

sures and complaints, that he banished an incredible number of them, some amongst the idolatrous *Moors*, and others into some of his grandfather's conquered dominions in *Europe*; and among them were no less than 120 bishops, whom he delegated to the island of *Sardinia*. At the head of these was the learned *Fulgentius*, by nation an *African*, and a prelate of great merit and piety. All of them, having been before-hand stripped of every thing, must unavoid-

Thrasamund,  
4<sup>th</sup> king of the  
Vandals, re-  
vives the per-  
secution  
against them.

d ably have perished through want and misery, had not the then pope *Symachus* taken them into his care and protection; and partly out of his own purse, and partly by the assistance of other generous Christians, secured to them a comfortable maintenance during their exile<sup>d</sup>. By this time the *Arians* were got up to the summit of power and insolence, no one daring to oppose, or even open their mouths against them, without danger of incurring their zealous patron's highest resentment; whilst the poor orthodox clergy, being destitute of their old pastors, were easily led, either by fear or love, to comply, at least outwardly, with their new guides (E); so that *Thrasamund* had now little or nothing to fear, either from within or without, with regard to the effectual precautions he had taken to guard his dominions from being again infected or over-run with what he called the *Roman* heresy. He had time and opportunity

120 bishops  
banished.

His measures  
to establish  
Arianism.

e enough to enlarge them, and to reduce many of the *Moorish* princes under him; the rest were either tributary, or firmly attached to him against the only common enemy that could oppose his measures, and who were at that time in no condition to attempt it, any more than the *Ostrogoths* and *Visigoths* of *Spain* and *Italy*; whose hands were then taken up with their intestine wars. It was upon this occasion that he gave so kind a reception to *Gaselic*, the son of *Alaric*, by a concubine, whom the revolted *Visigoths* had chosen for their king in the minority of *Almaric*, but had been forced to fly and take refuge at his court, and gave him all proper assistance to recover his kingdom; not perhaps so much out of compassion or good-will to him, as to suppress the growing power of *Theodora*, his brother-in-law, and king of the *Ostrogoths*; and who, by assuming the protectorship of *Almaric*, had it much in his power f to make himself master of his kingdom also. But of this we have already spoken in a former

<sup>a</sup> ISIDORE, ubi supra. PROCOPIUS Histor. Vandal. l. ii.

<sup>b</sup> VICT. PROCOPIUS, & al. ubi supra.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>d</sup> VICT. Uticens. & al. supra citat.

(E) So says *Isidore*, and others after him; whereas *Procopius*, who extols him as the wisest and most magnanimous of all his predecessors, assures us, that he never inflicted any penalties, nor used any harsh methods towards them; but, on the contrary, tried all the gentlest means, by gifts, favours, promotions, and all other methods of benevolence and generosity, to allure them to his *Arianism* (7).

We find likewise some considerable difference in these and other authors concerning the number of his exiles, especially of the episcopal order; the least of which is that of 120, which we have mentioned in the text above out of *Isidore*, whilst others make it amount to near double the number (8).

(7) Bell. Vandal, c. 3.  
ubi supra, & al. plur.

(8) Eaza Bell. Vand. vide & Roderic. Toletan. Vazai chronic. Grammay,



part \*, to which we shall refer our readers. There was however a person whom he seemed a to be apprehensive of, and that one of his own family ; but whether justly or wrongfully, is not easy to determine. This was prince *Hilderic*, the grandson of *Genferic*, by the princess *Eudocia* ; who was to succeed him in course to the *Vandalic* throne. To ward off therefore all danger of change from that side, he obliged him to engage himself, by the most solemn oaths, not to make any change in the religion or government he had been all this while taking the properest measures to establish upon the most solid foundation, and by no means to be prevailed upon to take the least step in favour of the orthodox, or to recall any of the banished clergy. *Thrasamund* having thus barred, as he imagined, all avenues to sinister adventures, finished his reign in quiet, and died after a reign of 26, others say 27 years and four months, in the city of *Carthage*, the royal residence of his predecessors, ever since *Genferic* b had treacherously got it into his possession †.

Make his successor swear to follow them.

Dies.

Hilderic, 5th king of the Vandals. A. D. 524.

His zeal for the orthodox.

His too hasty manifesto in their favour.

Defeated by Gilimer, the 6th and last king of the Vandals.

*HILDERIC*, who had taken that solemn oath against the orthodox with no other view than to quiet *Thrasamund*'s suspicion about him, and to prevent his taking any measures to deprive him of the succession, whilst he was in his heart resolved to recall all the surviving exiles, and to restore them to their former dignities and functions, was not a little puzzled at his first coming to the crown, how to act consistently with his pious resolutions, without incurring the guilt as well as the brand of perjury, and at the same time exasperating the powerful and vindictive *Arians*. The constraint and unlawfulness of the oath might, indeed, quiet his conscience, and absolve him for the breach of it ; but then he had every thing to fear from the strenuous and desperate opposition of his enemies, as well as from the wretched and helpless c state to which the orthodox were by that time reduced. These considerations obliged him to proceed with the utmost caution and secrecy, and to suspend every overt act which might awaken the jealousy of the one, or the expectations of the other, till he had firmly settled himself on the throne, and was in a condition to curb the power and insolence of his foes, and to inspirit his desponding friends in his and their own defence.

This was prudently resolved, and not more so than the present state of his kingdom absolutely required. The misfortune was, that his zeal, whether excited by the solicitations of his mother, who was a most zealous orthodox, or by the sufferings and complaints of the exiled clergy, hurried him away too soon from his wise precautions into an open declaration of his designs, before he had sufficiently secured himself against the oppositions of the *Arian* partisans. This was d by a manifesto, which he caused to be published in the most solemn and grand manner, both in the metropolis and other parts of his dominions ; in which he not only condemned, but disannulled and repealed, all the acts and edicts of his predecessors, and especially of the late *Thrasamund*, either against the orthodox, or in favour of *Arianism* ; recalled all those who had been banished by him, and restored them to their antient churches, functions, and privileges, of which they had been deprived by him ‡.

Our readers will easily imagine what surprize and indignation such an unexpected edict must have raised among the whole *Arian* body, and what bitter reflexions and invectives they vented against the author of it. But this was far from being the worst effect of their resentment, which quickly broke out into an open rebellion ; at the head whereof was one of the e princes of the blood, named *Gilimer*, or, as others write him, *Gildimer*, a zealous stickler for *Arianism*, and no less inveterate an enemy to *Hilderic*, not only on account of his friendship for the orthodox, but of his softness and indolence ; which made him neglect the care of his realm, and command of his army, and commit the whole management of both to a favourite relation named *Almer*, and by some *Achilles* ; who, for that very reason, was no less hateful to him. It was, therefore, natural for a man of *Gilimer*'s ambitious and enterprising spirit to imagine that it would be no difficult matter to have him deposed, or wrench the crown from him by force.

Accordingly, we are told by some historians, he found means to ingratiate himself with his *Vandals*, so as to procure his deposition in the 7th year of his reign, and himself to be f appointed his successor. Whilst others tell us, that he obtained the crown by force of arms, and that he pursued his treason to such a desperate fury, as quickly brought the contest to a decisive battle ; in which that unfortunate king was defeated, taken prisoner, and deprived at once of his crown and liberty, by that successful rebel, in the eighth year of his reign.

The orthodox persecuted.

This proved a fatal blow to the orthodox. *Gilimer*, immediately after his victory, seized upon the throne, and caused himself to be crowned at *Carthage*, ordered the unhappy *Hilderic* and all his sons to be closely imprisoned, and kept under a strong guard, and exercised the most cruel tyrannies, not only on the recalled exiles, but upon many of the orthodox *Vandals*, who had been induced to leave *Spain*, and to come and settle in that part of *Africa*, during g

\* Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 644. & seq. PROCOR. VICT. & al. supra citat.

† PROCOR. VICT. & al. ubi supra.

‡ Id. ibid.



a the late reign. The churches were again shut up, the clergy proscribed, and stripped of their benefices and revenues ; all the former edicts in their favour repealed and cancelled, and new ones issued out in favour of *Arianism*, and the *African* church reduced to its lowest ebb ; and but too probably (as seems rightly observed by the writers of this long *Vandalic* usurpation and tyranny) as a just punishment for the degeneracy and corruption of morals, which, to the dishonour of Christianity, reigned among their clergy, as well as laity ; who, though strict and zealous in their belief, continued still downright *Moors* and heathens in their practice †.

But, be that as it will, *Gilimer's* triumph over it proved a deserved but short-lived one ; and, to the inexpressible joy of the orthodox, as well as the mortification of the *Arians*, was soon after followed by the total overthrow of the *Vandalic* power, and expulsion of that nation out of *Africa*. Justinian sends a powerful army against him under Belisarius.

b The arbitrary sway with which he tyrannized over his subjects, and the horrid oppressions and cruelties, confiscations and banishments, which made the most signal part of his reign, joined to the loud complaints of the exiled clergy, and the strenuous sollicitation of the good old bishop *Lætus*, who had been proscribed and martyred ever since the reign of *Huneric* (but is said to have appeared to *Justinian* the *Roman* emperor, and to have determined him to undertake this expedition, by a promise that he should certainly recover *Africa* from the barbarian *Vandals*) prevailed upon him, notwithstanding the *Persian* and other wars he had then upon his hands, to send a powerful fleet and army thither, under the conduct of the brave and successful general *Belisarius* ; who was for that end recalled from *Persia*, and appointed commander of that important expedition. We are, indeed, told, that he tried by fair means and friendly embassies to make him release these noble captives out of their unjust imprisonment ; but the only effect they had upon him, was to cause them to be more closely confined, and to order the hated *Amer*, who was of that number, to be deprived of his eyes. To complete all, and to shew how little he valued his friendship, or feared his resentment, he at the same time had equipped a squadron against him, which seized on the city of *Tripoly*, and the island of *Sardinia*. Than which, if true, we need not seek for a more cogent motive to determine that emperor to send such an armament and so great a general against him ; who, had he been apprised of the wretched condition he was reduced to by that time, would most likely have judged a smaller force sufficient to drive him out of his kingdom, and the *Vandals* out of *Africa*.

d ALL this while the *Vandalic* tyrant, was so taken up with his pleasures on the one hand, and his persecutions on the other, that he knew little or nothing of these preparations, unless we suppose that a blind fatality was pushing him on to his ruin ; for when he was, at length, apprised of them, instead of taking the properest precautions against them, he fell upon such measures as paved his way to it, and to the enemy's success, and was hastening his own fate by the most horrid tyrannies and bloodshed, sparing neither friends nor foes, nor even his own relations, upon the least surmise or jealousy conceived against them ; so that he was now become odious and detested by all his subjects ; and much more so, when, upon his hearing of the approach of *Belisarius*, he caused the unhappy *Hilderic* and all his children, his brother *Evaragenes*, and others of his near relations, whom he had kept in close confinement from the time he gave him that fatal overthrow we have lately mentioned, to be butchered. Invaded by him.

e Vast numbers of his *Vandals*, who had embraced the orthodox faith during the recall of the catholic bishops, had likewise dispersed themselves into other parts of *Africa*, to avoid the like fate, and were ready to join the *Roman* forces at their arrival ; whilst the far greater part of even his *Arians* had by this time conceived such an abhorrence against him, on account of his tyrannical government and horrid cruelties, that they had neither heart nor will to fight in his defence.

f THIS was the sad condition he had brought himself to, when *Belisarius* appeared upon the *Carthaginian* coasts ; and *Gilimer* knew too well what an enemy he had to encounter, not to make some preparations against him ; which, however, happily proved abortive, as the event, so disgraceful and fatal to him, and so glorious and advantageous to his vanquisher, plainly shewed.

OUR narrow limits will not permit us to enter into a detail of this war, of which the reader may see a full account in *Procopius*, who was an eye-witness, and hath described it at length in two books ; as well as in the other authors quoted in the margin \*. It will be sufficient to say, that *Gilimer* committed the management of it to his two brothers, *Gundimer* and *Gelamund* ; who accordingly attacked the *Romans* at the head of a numerous force ; and, after a stout and bloody conflict on both sides, were defeated and slain, and their army totally routed. *Gilimer*, grown desperate at the news of it, sallied out at the head of his corps of reserve, with full purpose to renew the attack with the utmost vigour and fury ; but by his own indiscre-

Gilimer's two brothers defeated and slain.

He sallies out against the enemy :

† See before, p. 659, & seq. \* JORNAN. ubi supra, c. 56. VICT. Uticens. l. iii. ad finem. CÉDREN. LAZ. MARIAN. de Reb. Hisp. l. v. c. 8. VAZZÆI Chronic. sub ann. 526. ISIDORE Chronic. ad finem. L. MARI. & al. plur.



tion or ill fate, lost the fairest opportunity of retrieving his affairs, and overcoming the a enemy.

but loses the opportunity of defeating them.

Totally defeated and put to flight by Belisarius.

FOR no sooner did they perceive *Gilimer*, at the head of a fresh army, hastening after them, than they betook themselves to flight; at the sight of which the rest of that corps betook themselves to their heels; so that the greatest part of the *Greek* army were quite dispersed, and so far routed, that, had *Gilimer* followed them close, he would inevitably have cut them all in pieces, secured their navy and his own metropolis, and prevented all the disasters and misfortunes that fell upon him afterwards. Instead of which, stumbling unfortunately on the body of one of his slain brothers, the sight of it made him lose all thoughts about the enemy; and, instead of pursuing them, he spent part of his time in idle lamentations over him, and part in interring his corpse with suitable pomp and dignity; which gave *Belisarius* all the time he could b wish to rally his run-aways, and fall upon him. For whilst that general was, with another corps, in the heat of his pursuit after the fugitive *Vandals*, news was brought to him of the disorder into which the approach of *Gilimer* had thrown the rest of his army. He made all the dispatch he could to get them rallied; and, after a proper reprimand, led them on against him with fresh vigour, and found him so unprepared to make suitable head against them, that they easily gained a new and total victory over him †. *Gilimer*, now seeing his affairs grown quite desperate, and no means left to rally his troops, betook himself to flight; but was, some months after, reduced by famine to surrender himself to the *Roman* general.

Belisarius's policy and moderation.

AFTER these two signal victories, and the *Vandalic* tyrant in his hands, the *Roman* general found no great difficulty to drive the rest of that once-powerful nation out of *Africa*, there c being now none of the royal blood left, under whose standard they might again rejoin, and oppose his progress any longer. He had, moreover, taken care, from his very first landing, to secure to himself the affections both of the *Africans* and *Vandals* that came over to him; the one by an express decree to his troops, not to commit any outrages or plunders among them, under the severest penalties; and the other by his kind reception and treatment of them; so that he not only met with a hearty and joyful welcome from the former, but was quickly joined by vast multitudes of the latter, as both had so long groaned under the same tyrannic yoke, that they thought it impossible to exchange it for a worse.

March to Carthage.

Arrival of his fleet before it.

Release of the state prisoners.

CARTHAGE being then the only place of strength, *Belisarius* moved the day after the battle to that metropolis with his army, and reached it that very evening; he found the gates of d it open to him, and the citizens expressing their joy at his arrival, by bonfires and illuminations; yet he would not enter it on that night, for fear of some ambush from the *Vandalic* garrison; who, on their part, were under the utmost consternation, and had taken refuge in their temples and other places of safety. On the same day, his fleet came to anchor in sight of the city, at the port called *Mandracium*; which, instead of opposing their entrance, ordered the large iron chain, which closed it, to be taken down. In that place was a dismal prison, where vast numbers of prisoners of state had been confined by *Gilimer*, and who expected every hour was to be their last, being wholly ignorant of what had happened abroad. To these the *Roman* general paid a kind visit, which at first filled them with fear and dread; but, upon his asking them at what price they would be willing to buy their lives and liberties, they readily offered him their all. Upon which he told them, that he would exact but one thing from e them in return; namely, that, when set free, they should give him what assistance they could, in case of need: to which they eagerly agreed. Immediately after which, causing the gates to be flung open, from which they had a full prospect of his navy, and acquainting them with the design and success of his expedition, he joyfully led them out with him.

Enters into Carthage. Seizes on the throne and treasures of Gilimer.

Gilimer sues in vain for aid.

ON the next day, he caused his other forces to disembark; and, having ranged them with the rest in order of battle, for fear of some ambush or unforeseen stratagem, began his march towards the city, after having strictly forbidden his troops to plunder, or offer any kind of outrage to it. Accordingly he entered it in triumph, without the least opposition; and, proceeding to the royal palace, took possession of *Gilimer's* throne, and soon after of all his immense f wealth and treasure; caused all the churches to be restored to the orthodox, and the *Vandals* to take the oaths to the *Roman* emperor. But his principal care was to cause the walls and fortifications of the city, which had been so neglected by the *Vandal* princes that a great part of them were gone to ruin, to be rebuilt with all possible speed; whose orders were so punctually executed, that, when the unfortunate *Gilimer* was brought prisoner to him, and beheld them in that strong and beautiful condition, he could not forbear repining at his late folly and stupidity, thinking it impossible, in so short a time, to have put them in such a state of defence against the *Romans*, and seeking safety out of them m.

ALL this while that unhappy prince had been endeavouring to annoy the *Romans*, with petty hostilities, and by hiring the *Moors* to bring him all their stragglers and marauders, at so much g a head. He had likewise tried in vain to get fresh succours from *Theudis*, king of the *Goths* in

† PROCOPIUS. ubi sup. & al.

m Idem ibid. l. i. c. 23. Vide & al. supra citat.



- a Spain, the Moorish princes and other states of Africa; to all which he sent splendid embassies, under pretence of joining with them in an alliance against the Romans. But the misfortune was, that *Theudis* was already too well acquainted with his desperate state, in spite of all the false glosses he put upon it, to venture any of his troops into Africa, to fall a prey to the conquering enemy. And as to the Moorish chiefs, *Belisarius* had taken such care by that time to gain the greatest part of them over to his side, and to get hostages from them for their strict adherence, that few of them dared to give him the least assistance. His last refuge, therefore, was to recall his brother *Tzason* from his Sardinian conquests to his assistance; who made all possible dispatch to sail back, and joined his small army on the plains of *Bulla*, on the confines of Mauritania. *Recall his brother from Sardinia.*
- b THEIR first meeting, *Procopius* tells us, afforded such a mournful scene as would have drawn tears even from an enemy, and quickly spread itself through both armies; particularly the newly arrived one, among whom almost every enquiry after their nearest friends and relations was answered with the news of their being either slain or taken prisoners. This dismal account was soon followed by a mutual resolution to make one more desperate attempt to regain their lost kingdom, and to make a bold attack upon that new-fortified metropolis, if but to retrieve their captives out of the Romans hands. For as to *Gilimer*, he betrayed, upon this occasion, such pusillanimity, as, joined to the horrid murders and cruelties they were told he had committed during their absence, rather inspired them with horror and contempt than ardor to fight for him. However, as *Gilimer* did not so much depend upon their zeal and courage, as upon his own policy, he did not doubt of succeeding in it, by bribing their auxiliaries to his interest. He accordingly attempted, and prevailed with those whom he knew to be highly discontented, to turn their arms against the Romans, on the next attack he made against them, by assuring them that they would be joined by all his Arian Vandals, and other malecontents. *Belisarius* was not without some apprehensions from these two quarters; which made him the more watchful over them; and partly by making an example of one of the latter, and partly by the most generous engagements to the former, prevented all further consequences of that conspiracy. This made him, however, conclude it more expedient to lead his forces out against the enemy, than to trust too far to the fortifications of the place, or the fidelity of the citizens; and, having animated them by a suitable speech, marched at their head against the Vandalic army. *Belisarius marches against the Vandals.*
- d *Gilimer* and his brother *Tzason* were not tardy on their part, in using all proper means to inspire their forces with courage and loyalty on this important crisis. Both sides came soon to a decisive blow, in which the Romans, contrary to their usual foresight, were surprised by the Vandals just as they were preparing themselves for dinner, instead of fighting, and had scarce time enough to arm themselves against them. The onset, however, was furious on both sides; the right and left wings of the Vandalic army, consisting chiefly of Moors, were commanded by their own chiefs; the center consisted of Vandals, whom *Gilimer* had forbidden to use either bow or spear, or any other weapon but their swords; and his brother, with his own troops, closed up the rear. A small nameless river parted the armies; over which *Belisarius* dispatched one of his brave captains, at the head of a sufficient corps, to begin the onset, who was twice repulsed by the enemy; but returning a third time, with a stronger force, and the pretorian standard with him, a dreadful slaughter soon ensued on both sides; in which the brave *Tzason*, who fought with desperate bravery, was slain, with about 800 of his choicest men, and the rest were put to flight. The Romans lost only 50 of theirs; when, towards evening, *Belisarius* moving forward with all speed at the head of his army, fell suddenly on the Vandalic camp; which *Gilimer* no sooner understood, than he mounted his horse, attended only by a few, and, without staying to give any farther orders to his army, galloped away towards Numidia, in the utmost consternation and dread. His flight was not presently known among his troops; but, when it was, it spread such an universal confusion and panic, that they abandoned their camp to the Romans; who had now nothing left to do but to plunder it of all its wealth and riches; and, not contented with that, massacred every Vandal they found in it, and made the women captives. *State of both armies. They engage with great fury. Tzason slain. Gilimer's shameful flight.*
- e
- f

THIS last defeat put at once a total end to the Vandalic power in Africa, and left the Romans once more masters of that rich country, and of an immense wealth, and a vast number of prisoners. As for the rest of the Vandalic inhabitants, those were permitted to remain in *statu quo*, on condition that they, who were still infected with the Arian heresy, should embrace the orthodox faith. It is time now to give our readers a short account of *Gilimer's* sad catastrophe.

THAT pusillanimous prince was soon informed of the total overthrow of his army, and the irretrievable condition of his affairs, being chiefly owing to his hasty flight, which his presence might have prevented; or, at least, given him a fair opportunity to rally his men, and fall suddenly on the enemy, whilst they were taken up with the plunder of his camp; in which



Pursued by  
Belisarius.

Flee to a high  
mountain.

His miserable  
condition  
there.

Exhorted in  
vain to sur-  
render.

Mournful re-  
quest.

Surrenders to  
Pharas.

Brought pri-  
soner to Con-  
stantinople.

His death,  
534.

case he might, in all probability, have cut the greatest part of them in pieces, and recovered his capital. The dread of which gave *Belisarius*, who knew not of his flight, so much uneasiness, that it kept him awake all that night; and, as soon as the day appeared, he left his tent, and set about recalling his men to due order. It was then that he was informed of the king's flight; upon which he lost no time to go in pursuit of him as far as the city of *Hippo*, distant about ten days journey from *Carthage*. Here he was told, that the fugitive prince had already gained the *Pappuan* mountain; where he would find it impossible to come at him, it being almost inaccessible by its height and ruggedness, inhabited by *Moors* in friendship with him, and he shut up in the antient town of *Medemus*, situate on the top of it. Wherefore, being unwilling to lose his prisoner on one hand, and afraid on the other to be so long absent from his capital, as the siege of that place would require, and winter coming on, he committed the conduct of it to one of his experienced officers, named *Pharas*, a man of great courage and fidelity, with orders to shut up all the avenues to the town, to prevent any provisions being brought to, or letters or messages from him. Before his departure from this sea-port, he had the good fortune to be put in possession of an immense deal of wealth, which *Gilimer* had ordered to be transported from thence to *Spain*, but was driven back by contrary winds, and helped to complete that prince's misfortunes; who being then kept closely besieged, with his sister, his nearest relations and friends, on the top of a barren mountain, and destitute of all supplies from abroad, must soon be reduced from their highest degrees of luxury to the most excessive want of all necessaries of life. For *Pharas*, having been repulsed by the *Moors* in every attempt he had made to gain the top of the mountain, with loss, having no other means left of reducing them but by famine, kept all the passes to it so closely guarded, that no kind of relief could possibly be conveyed to them; and, as soon as he was apprised of their distress, wrote a most friendly and pathetic letter to him, earnestly exhorting him to extricate himself and his friends from their present misery, by a submissive surrender of himself to the noble and generous *Belisarius*. He was, however, highly surprised at the strangeness of the answer he received from him; in which, on the one hand, he utterly declined his friendly advice, and, on the other, concluded with the most submissive request, that he would so far pity his great distress as to send him a LOAF OF BREAD, A SPUNGE, AND A LUTE. *Pharas* was not a little grieved at his resolution, but was still more puzzled at the oddness of his request, till explained by the messenger in words to this effect; *that the king had not tasted any baked bread since his arrival on that mountain, and earnestly longed to eat a morsel of it before he died: the sponge he wanted to allay a tumour that was fallen upon one of his eyes: and the lute, on which he had learned to play, was to assist him in setting some elegiac verses he had composed on the subject of his misfortunes to a suitable tune.* The good *Herculean*, who could not refrain from tears at this mournful report, did not make him wait long, but immediately dispatched the messenger with the things requested.

*GILIMER* had spent near three winter months on that inhospitable mountain, his misery still hardening him the more against the thoughts of surrendering, when a melancholy scene in his own family presented itself to his view, which at once reconciled him to it. It was a bloody struggle between two boys, the one his sister's son, about a flat bit of dough, laid on the coals; which the one seized on, burning hot as it was, and clapped it into his mouth, and the other, by dint of blows, forced it out, and ate it from him; which might have ended fatally for both, had he not interposed. The sight of this made so deep an impression on him, that he immediately dispatched a messenger to *Pharas*, acquainting him that he was now ready to surrender himself, his men, and all his effects, on the conditions he had offered him, as soon as he was assured that they were embraced by *Belisarius*. *Pharas* lost no time to get them ratified, and sent back to him; and gladly conducted him and his retinue to *Belisarius*'s head-quarters. Where, upon his approaching that general, we are told he broke out in a loud fit of laughter, which was variously interpreted; but was most probably owing to a delirium, occasioned by so long a series of misfortunes. *Belisarius*, however, gave him a reception suitable to his dignity; and, having settled his *Carthaginian* affairs, set sail with him for *Constantinople*, with the first fair wind; and at his arrival presented him to the emperor *Justinian*, with all the immense riches he had brought away from *Africa*. The unhappy *Gilimer* was introduced to him, laden with golden chains, his crown upon his head, his eyes gushing out floods of tears, and his heart breaking out into the deepest groans, which utterly choaked up his words; so that he could only repeat, in broken accents, the words of the wise man, *vanitatum, & omnia vanitas* \*. Having at length recovered himself, he begged of the emperor, in the most submissive terms, that his life might be spared: which was readily granted him, together with a handsome yearly pension for him to live as a private gentleman. But his mind and heart were too unsettled and broken to enjoy long, much less relish, the sweets of a private state. So that growing daily more and more unable to bear the weight of his disgrace, guilt, and shame, he died there of grief, in the fifth year of his unhappy reign, and the

\* Ecclesi. i. 1.



a first after his captivity. Thus *Africa* being freed from the *Vandalic* yoke, after having groaned under it, according to the best authors, the space of 117 years, was once more reduced to the obedience of the *Greek* emperors, and governed by their generals or prefects, as we have shewn in our *Antient History*°. By this change, however, affairs of religion took a more *Orthodox* respective turn, the banished bishops and clergy were recalled, and gladly returned to their *respective* charges; the churches were again opened, the ecclesiastical revenues restored in *statu quo*, and *Arianism* banished from that country.

It was not long, however, before the prosperous state of the orthodox, as well as the tyranny of the *Greek* prefects, occasioned a new revolt among the idolatrous *Moors*; which was like *New revolt raised by the Moors, 539.* to have proved as fatal to Christianity, as the *Vandalic* tyranny had been; insomuch, that *Justinian* was again obliged to dispatch thither one of his best generals, named *Solomon*, an eunuch; who by his valour and conduct, quickly reduced, and kept them quiet for a short time; that is, till newly provoked by the ill treatment of the *Greeks*, they fell upon him, as the author or encourager of it, and massacred him two years after his arrival. The emperor, on the news of it, sent thither a relation of his, named *Ariobindas*, in quality of a proconsul; who was scarcely seated in his government, before he was murdered by *Gundibundus*, one of the late *Solomon's* captains, who was then at the head of the army; but was soon after defeated and put to death by *Artabanes*, a *Persian*, *Ariobindas's* successor. By this means peace was again restored to that province, and the *Moors* so quelled and kept under, that we read not of any considerable revolt in it during the short space it remained in their hands, except that the *Gauls* in *Spain* seized on several considerable places on the *Mediterranean* coast; of which we shall give an account in its proper place<sup>p</sup>.

ALL this while, however, the *Vandals* were not so totally destroyed, nor the *Moors* so thoroughly reduced, but that vast numbers of the former were dispersed amongst the latter, and ready to join forces against the *Greeks*, upon the least probability of success; which occasioned great uneasiness in them, and in all probability encouraged the plundering *Arabs* and *Saracens*, who had already invaded *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*, to penetrate still farther towards these parts, and who accordingly, at that juncture, came pouring in like a torrent; and having defeated the prefect *Gregory*, not only drove the *Greek* forces out of it, and made themselves masters of all that fruitful tract, under the Khalif *Omar*, as we have shewn at large in our *Ancient History*<sup>q</sup>; but, by degrees, enlarged their conquests on that continent much farther than the *Romans* had ever done. *Arabs invade and plunder 544.*

THIS dreadful and irresistible inundation soon wrought, as may be naturally supposed, a considerable change in the *African* government where-ever it spread itself; especially among the *African* natives, who had continued strangers to the weight of the *Roman* and *Vandalic* yoke, knew no subjection to any but their own natural chiefs, and could ill brook that of the *Arabian* cheyks. At the same time the Khalif *Omar*, who was by his vast conquests and successes become exceedingly powerful, sent his general *Amru* to conquer the western part of *Africa*; who marched thither at the head of a powerful army; or, as others affirm, detached thither *Okba ben Nasr*, or, as others write him, *Occuba ben Nasir*, with 24,000 men on that expedition; who accordingly made himself master of all the country between *Barca* and *Zaweilah*, and obliged the people to pay the same tribute which they had done to the *Greek* emperor's prefects. Some add, that *Amru* built a temple, or mosk, there at *Al Fostad*<sup>r</sup>; and some add the city of *Kayrwan*, or *Cairavan*, more corruptly *Cairvan*, and *Cairwan*, *Kayrwan*, about thirty miles distant from *Tunis*, and antiently *Cyrene*, the capital of *Cyrenaica*<sup>s</sup>. It was afterwards demolished by order of Khalif *Moawiyah*, and a new one built near it; which afterwards became the residence of the *Fatemite* Khalifs, who conquered the whole province, and made it the capital of it. *capital of the Fatemite dynasty founded.* We have elsewhere given an account of these schismatics, as they were termed by the other westerns, and the cause of that fatal rupture<sup>t</sup>, which gave occasion to the founding of this new dynasty, in opposition to that of the *Abbassides*; who, on that account, have never called it by any other name than that of *Obeidite*, from *Obeid'allah*, its founder, but never by that of *Fatemite*, whose declared enemy they have always professed themselves, as long as it continued in being, as the reader may remember from the account we have given of their mutual wars in the former volume lately quoted<sup>u</sup>. For which reason we shall avoid repeating any more of it here, than barely and necessarily relates to our present history of this province of *Africa Proper*.

*OBEID'ALLAH* took upon himself the surname or title of *Al Mohdi*, or *Al Mabedi*, or *Obeid'allah* director, the better to support his new dignity of Khalif; which he founded on a traditional prophecy of *Mohammed*, that at the end of 300 years (from the *Hejra*) the sun should rise out of *1st Khalif,*

° Vol. vi. p. 526, & seq. vii. 527. & Mod. Hist. vol. i. p. 239.

<sup>p</sup> PROCOPIUS, & al. supra citat.

<sup>q</sup> Vol. vi. p. 544.

<sup>r</sup> See before, vol. i. p. 58, & seq.

<sup>s</sup> See before, vol. i. p. 239, & seq.

<sup>t</sup> Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 169.

<sup>u</sup> Idem ibid.



*drives out the west.* Accordingly, we are told, that he began to signalize himself in that part of *Africa* <sup>a</sup>  
*Aglabites,* about the year 296, or 298, and drove the *Aglabites*, who had feated themselves there and  
 910. in *Sicily*, under the Khalifat of *Moktasi*, out of the latter, and obliged them to retire into  
*Egypt*; whilst he, extending his conquests over that whole province, then called from its  
 western situation *Maghereb*, did apply that prophecy to himself, and set up the next year for  
 a second prophet or director, and took the name and title of *Khalif Al Mobdi*\*. He made  
*Kayrwan* the place of his residence, and capital of his dominions, whilst he was laying the found-  
 ation of a more opulent one near it, and on the same coast, which he designed to call by his  
 new surname *Mobdi*, or *Mobedia*; but, not living to see it finished, left it to be done by  
 his son and successor; who, upon that account, probably claimed to himself the title of *Mobdi*,  
 and the honour of founding the *Fatemite* dynasty, and is accordingly acknowledged as such by <sup>b</sup>  
 several *Arabic* writers; though the rest ascribe both to his father (X).

*His conquests,* We have already given an account of his other conquests and exploits both in *Africa* and  
*and death,* *Sicily*, and more particularly in *Egypt*, under his successful general *Habbasab*; his reduction  
 933. of the two famed cities of *Barca* and *Alexandria*, as well as of his last defeat, and being  
 forced to abandon that kingdom by the superior forces of the Khalif *Moktader*<sup>y</sup>; by which  
 the reader may judge of the excess of power and grandeur to which he had raised his new  
 kingdom. He reigned, according to the best authors, 24 years, and died in the 63d year of  
 his age, and the 322d of the *Hejra*<sup>z</sup>; which was the first of the khalifat of *Al Radi* at  
*Baghdad*.

*Al Kayem,* He was succeeded by his eldest son *Abu'l Kassef Mohammed*, who then took the surname <sup>c</sup>  
*2d Khalif.* of *Al Kayem Mobdi*. He had signalized himself in war in his father's reign; who had sent  
 him into *Egypt* with an army of 100,000 men, where he had gained some victories over the  
*His conquest,* *Magrebian*s, and over-run a considerable part of that rich country. He was, however, at  
*and defeat, in* length totally defeated, and forced to abandon all his conquests, by the superior forces of the  
*Egypt.* Khalif *Moktader*, in the 308th year of the *Hejra*. When he came to the khalifat, he thought  
 fit to conceal his father's death for a while, for some reasons of state, which the *Arabic* writers  
 have not thought fit to transmit; some of them say a whole year; and was at last proclaimed  
 Khalif in his capital, and reigned 12 years; during which time we read of nothing memorable,  
 except the revolt which was raised by one *Yezid Ebn Condat*, of the tribe of *Zenal*, a man of  
*Conspired* mean extraction, but who was become by this time chancellor, and in very great power under <sup>d</sup>  
*against by* him; in which he was supported by such a strong party, that the Khalif was obliged to shut  
*Yezid.* himself up and fortify himself in the castle of *Mobeia*. *Yezid* was then at the head of a pow-  
 erful army, by the help of which he soon reduced the capital of *Kayrwan*, the cities of *Al Rak-*  
*kada* and *Tunis*, together with several other fortresses. He was no less successful in defeating  
 a considerable number of troops, which *Al Kayem* had raised and sent against him to stop his  
 progress; over whom he gained a complete victory, accompanied with a dreadful slaughter of  
 them; after which he led his forces directly to the castle where he lay intrenched, and besieged  
*Closely besieged* him closely for seven months; by which time he was reduced to such straits, for want of  
*in his capital.* provisions, that he must have been forced to surrender, or be starved, when death put an end  
*His death,* to his anxiety and reign, in the 12th year of his khalifat, in the 334th of the *Hejra*, and was <sup>e</sup>  
 945. succeeded by his martial son *Ishmael*, whom he had nominated to be his heir; who took upon  
*Succeeded by* him the title or surname of *Al Mansur*, and who quickly after his accession severely revenged the  
*Al Mansur;* affront offered to his father by the traitor *Yezid*<sup>2</sup>.

*who raises the* *AL MANSUR*, however, thought proper to conceal his father's death for some months,  
*siege of his ca-* whilst he was privately making all proper preparations to fall upon the rebels with a sufficient  
*pital, and de-* force to put an end to that revolt. He proved so successful in it, that he obliged *Yezid* to  
*feats the re-* raise the siege of *Mobdi*, or *Mobedia*; which he entered in triumph the same year; and, in  
*bels.*

\* Vol. i. p. 512, & seq.  
 FEDA, & AL MAKIN, sub Ishmael.

<sup>y</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>z</sup> See before, vol. i. p. 530, & note (C).

<sup>a</sup> ABU'L.

(X) We have had frequent occasion, through the whole history of the Khalifs, both of *Baghdad*, *Kayrwan*, and *Egypt*, to mention the difference there is between the *Arabic* writers, and how difficult it is to reconcile them, even in some of the grandest points relating to them; and, with respect to this Khalif we are now speaking of, we find the like disagreement, not only with relation to his pedigree (1), but about his conquest of this province, and his being the founder of this dynasty; the honour of both which some of them give to his son and successor *Abu'l Kassef*; who actually arrogated it to himself, as well as the surname of *Mobedi*, in

order to appropriate the traditional prophecy mentioned in the text above.

We shall, therefore, avoid clogging this history with needless repetitions, and vain attempts to reconcile those differences, and shall once for all here remind our curious readers, that we have, in all such disputed cases, endeavoured to follow the most probable side; and that, if any thing occur either by way of confirmation or confutation, it will be taken proper notice of in the supplement, which we have promised elsewhere to subjoin at the end of this work (2).

(1) See before, vol. i. p. 512, & *D'Herbelot Biblioth. orient. sub voce Obeid'allah & Mobadi*, & *auſt. ibi citat.*  
 (2) See vol. i. p. 698, & ii. p. 109, & seq.



<sup>a</sup> the following, gave him two signal overthrows, and obliged him to shut himself up in the strong fortrefs of *Kottama*, or *Cutama*; where he closely besieged him in his turn. *Yezid* defended the place a considerable time, and with a bravery becoming such a traitor and desperado; but finding his efforts frustrated, and the garrison obliged to capitulate, seeing no other way to avoid the effects of the Khalif's resentment, betook himself to a private flight. *Al Mansur*, finding his victim escaped, immediately dispatched a number of forces in pursuit of him; who overtook, and brought him back in fetters; but not till after a vigorous defence, in which he received several dangerous wounds, and died a few days after in the dungeon where he was confined to be reserved for a severe and more exemplary punishment. *Al Mansur*, vexed at the disappointment, caused his body to be flayed, and his skin stuffed and exposed to public view. <sup>Yezid is wounded and dies.</sup> Soon after which he entered into his capital a second time in triumph, and ordered the news of *Yezid's* death, and of the total suppression of the rebels, to be proclaimed through all his dominions. <sup>952.</sup> We have elsewhere mentioned his other conquests in *Sicily*<sup>b</sup>; but meet with nothing remarkable concerning his reign in *Africa*, except that death put an end to it in the 341st year of the *Hejra*, after a short reign of seven years and sixteen days. He died on the 29th of *May*, in his own capital of *Mobedia*, extolled for his magnanimity and eloquence; in the last of which he was become so great a master, that he frequently made long speeches in public with great readiness and presence of mind, and sermons in the mosks without any premeditation. Some *Arabic* writers compliment him with the titles of *Mansur Benasa'allah*, and of 3d *Fatemite* Khalif; and add, that he was the founder of the city of *Mansurah*, in *Egypt*; <sup>Al Mansur's death.</sup> where the *Franks*, with their first monarch at their head, were defeated<sup>c</sup>; whilst *Abu'lfeda*, who makes no mention of any such thing, gives him no higher title than that of *Emir of Libya*<sup>d</sup>. He left the khalifat of *Kayrwan* to his son *Abu Zammim Moad*, or *Mabad*, who took the surname of *Al Moezz Ledinillab*; and, among other conquests, having made himself master of *Egypt*, removed the seat of the khalifat to *Al Kayro*, and became the head of the *Fatemite* dynasty in that country, as we shall see in the sequel. <sup>Is succeeded by Al Moezz.</sup>

<sup>d</sup> *AL MOEZZ* reigned a long time; some say 20 years, in his old *African* dominions; and made *Kayrwan* and *Mobedia* alternately the seat of his residence. We have formerly given an account of the bloody contest he had with *Abdalrahman*, the then khalif of *Andalusia*, and the severe reprisals his powerful fleet made on him<sup>e</sup>; by which our readers may judge to what height of power the khalifat of *Kayrwan* had been raised by this time both by sea and land. We have likewise related how greatly he enlarged his dominions in *Africa*<sup>f</sup>, as a proof of the one, and his signal and surprising victories over the *Greek* fleet, as a pregnant instance of the other. All these not only helped to spread abroad the terror of his arms, but did moreover facilitate and pave the way to his most favourite design, the wrenching of the kingdom of *Egypt* out of the hands of the *Abbaside* Khalifs, and making it the place of his residence, and the scene of his new dynasty. <sup>Removes the khalifat to Egypt.</sup>

<sup>e</sup> This conquest, which he had never lost sight of, though his predecessors had all miscarried in it, he did not begin to put in execution till the year of the *Hejra* 358; when, having made all necessary provisions for it, he committed the management of that expedition to his faithful and experienced general named *Giafar*, or *Jaafar*; of whose quick and surprising success we shall give an account in its proper place. In the mean time this enterprize did not divert *Al Moezz* from the care of his other foreign conquests, especially those in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; to the last of which he failed in the year of the *Hejra* 361, and continued a whole year in it; leaving the care of his *African* dominions to an experienced officer of his, named *Yusef Ben Zeiri*. He failed thence, in the year following, for *Tripoly*, in *Barbary*; where he had not staid long before he received the agreeable news that his general had made himself master of the city of *Alexandria*. He lost no time, but immediately embarked for it; leaving the government of his old *African* dominions in the hands of his trusty servant *Yusef* above-mentioned, and arrived safely at that port, where he was received with all the demonstrations of joy. <sup>f</sup> Here he began to lay the foundation of his new *Egyptian* dynasty; which was to put a final end to the old one of *Kayrwan*, after it had continued about the space of sixty-five years. Our readers will find a full account of the former in the subsequent history of *Egypt*, to which it more properly belongs; and we shall close up the latter with observing, that *Al Moezz* preserved all his new conquests, as well as his old dominions of *Kayrwan*, or *Africa Proper*, under his subjection, and under proper governors; but whose ambition, or rather avarice, suffered them to run quickly into a shameful decay; particularly the new and opulent metropolis of *Mobedia*, on which its magnificent founder had lavished such immense sums, as well as labour and care, to render it not only the richest and stateliest, but the strongest city in the world, as <sup>Great decay of his old dominions.</sup>

<sup>b</sup> See vol. i. p. 553, & seq. & aut. ibi citat.  
ad an.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. i. p. 552.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. p. 554, & seq.

<sup>e</sup> D'HERBELOT, ubi supra, sub voce Mansour.

<sup>d</sup> Chron.



the reader will own it really was, by what we shall have occasion to say further of it in our history of *Barbary*; so that we may truly say, the wealth and splendor of this once-famed, though short-lived, state, took its final leave of it at the departure of its last possessor; seeing that whole maritime tract from the *Egyptian* confines to the *Streights of Gibraltar*, after having long been the melancholy scene of the most bloody and destructive wars with the *Spaniards* and other *European* powers, became at length the nest and property of a most odious piratical crew, under whose tyranny it hath groaned ever since. The *Arabs* who are in the inland parts, as we have shewn already by the account we have given of them, are not much better than they; who, we are told, are the spawn and offspring of those plunderers that first over-ran the greater part of *Africa*. One part of whom, having laden themselves with the richest spoils of it, returned back to their own native seats, whilst the other, and perhaps by far the greatest, settled themselves in the most pleasant and fertile lands, built castles and fortresses to secure their new habitations; and not only intermixed themselves gradually with the natives, especially the *Berbers* in these parts of *Barbary*, but in time came to domineer over them, and by their continual plunders and exactions reduced them to the lowest pitch of misery and servitude; till at length they fell, in their turn, into as great a degree of slavery under the *Turks*.

Other governments in Arabia.

Natives oppressed by the Arabs.

Shake off their yoke, A. D. 1051.

New kingdom erected.

On the other hand, upon the decline of the *Arabic Mobammedans*, three of the five tribes of *Africans*, which came thither with their leader *Melek Ifriki* (Y), being no less tired and galled with the *Arabian* yoke, wrenched the reins out of their hands, and governed successively in *Biledulgerid*, *Libya*, and *Barbary*; so that whilst the *Fezan* family, which founded the city of *Fez*, reigned over the two *Mauritanias*, and that of the *Abd'al-raman*, which had passed over into *Spain*, reigned in *Cordova*, one of the branches of the *Zeneti*, named *Mequinez*, erected itself into a kingdom. These were succeeded by another branch of the same tribe, named *Magaroans*, who stripped that of the *Abd'al-ramans*, settled in *Africa*, of most of their conquered provinces; and after having defeated them and the *Mequinezes*, erected a new empire in *Barbary*, and made themselves masters of a great part of *Numidia*.

Not long after, a chief of the tribe of the *Zinbaghians*, named *Abu Tefsin*, or *Abu Texifin*, took up arms against the *Magaroans*; and, with the assistance of the *Zinbaghians*, *Zeneti*, and other *Numidian* tribes, having defeated both them and the *Arabs*, took upon him the title of *Emir Mumenin*, or emperor of the faithful. And hence it is that *Arabic* writers give that conqueror the title of *Morabite*, or *Morabut*, the most of the officers of his victorious army being men of that profession, but who had embraced *Mobammedism*, whom he had brought over, and sent about every-where among the *Africans*, to exclaim against the tyranny and insolence of the *Arabian* Cheyks, and to proclaim liberty to as many as should fight for it under his standards and victorious arms. By which means he quickly saw himself at the head of a powerful army, and in a condition to withstand these petty tyrants, not only the *Zinbaghian* and *Zenetian* tribes, but an infinite number of other volunteers out of *Numidia* repairing to his standards, in hopes of regaining their promised freedom. Hence all the *Spanish* chronologers give his descendants, who signalized themselves in *Spain* the appellative of *Al Moravides*, by changing only the *b* into a *v*, with the addition of the particle, conformable to the *Arabic* idiom. However, the new *Emir*, being now got at the head of a numerous army, led them directly westward, took the city of *Agmel*, and soon after the province of *Morocco*, and gained so many victories over the *Arabs* and *Magaroans*, who inhabited these parts, as to be

(Y) These, according to our *Arabic* author, who makes them to be descended from the tribes of the *Sabeans*, were, 1. the *Zinbaghii*; 2. *Muzamadini*; 3. *Zeneti*, or *Zeneti*; 4. *Gomerii*, and 5. *Hoarez*; from whom, he tells us, 600 capital families of *Berberes*, and the most considerable ones in *Africa*, owe their origin. They settled themselves first in *Barbary*, and from thence gradually dispersed over the greatest part of *Africa* (3). We know little else of their rise, and other particulars concerning them, they came into this country, nor of their precise settlements and transactions in it, and must be content with this small sketch of their extract out of the *African* authors above-mentioned; which is as follows.

The *Zinbaghians* settled themselves, for the most part, along the mountainous parts of *Barca*, *Nefusa*, and *Gue-neferis*, whilst others of them intermixed themselves with the *Zeneti*. The *Muzamadini* spread themselves farther westwards along the coast, even beyond the *Streights of Gibraltar*, or *Mauritania Tingitania*, along

the ridge of the *Great Atlas*, and plains adjacent, the whole length of the four provinces of *Hea*, *Sus*, *Gexilla*, and *Morocco*; where they formerly made a great figure, but are since dwindled into a poor contemptible people.

A number of them likewise joined themselves to the *Zeneti*, and settled in the province of *Tremecen*, which is the most western one of the kingdom of *Tunis*, and became very powerful. Others settled in that of *Constantina* and *Tunis*, and have been at perpetual wars with the *Turks*, as we shall see in the history of that kingdom; but the most powerful, free, and numerous branch of them, is that which settled in *Numidia* and *Libya*; with whom the *Hoares*, who are vassals of the *Zinbaghians*, are likewise intermixed.

The *Gomerians*, once a very considerable tribe, spread themselves along the *Little Mount Atlas* on the *Mediterranean* coasts, between the frontiers of *Ceuta* and those of *Mauritania Tingitania*.

(3) *Ibni. Alrak. Genealog. Afric. vide & Leo Africanus, lib. i. c. 9, & seq. Marmol, lib. i. c. 24.*



- a able to lay the foundation of that new empire<sup>s</sup>; where we shall resume his history, and that of his kingdom in a subsequent volume.

AMONG the other five tribes, which we have given an account of in the last note, the *Zeneti*, <sup>Various</sup> *Muzamadini*, and *Zinbaghians*, have at different times reigned in *Barbary*, *Numidia*, and <sup>changes of go-</sup> *Libya*, after the decline of the *Arabic* tyranny; for before that time they were all under the <sup>vernment,</sup> subjection of their Cheyks. But during the reign of the *Fezian* family, that of the *Mequinezes*, another branch of the *Zeneti*, usurped the empire; and after that another branch of the same <sup>by various</sup> tribe, called the *Magoroan*, then settled in *Numidia*, stripped that of the *Abd'al-ramans* of <sup>branches of</sup> sundry provinces they held in subjection in *Africa*, subdued the *Mequinezes*, and reigned over <sup>th: Zene.i.</sup> the greater part of *Barbary* and *Numidia*; though they were driven out of this last by the *Zinbaghian Septums*, since nick-named *Al Moravites*, or *Marabuts*, from the great hand these monks had in that conquest, as we lately hinted<sup>n</sup>.

Thus far it appears plain, that the *Zenetian* tribe hath held by far the most considerable share in the government of this part of *Africa*, in one or other of their families. The *Mequinezians*, however, were deprived of it by the new sect of *Al Mohdians*, or, as they are commonly called, *Al Mohades*, one of whose chiefs, a *Marabut* preacher, took upon him the title of *Al Mohdi*, or *Mobedi*, signifying a director of the law, and became the ringleader of the sect, called from him by that name, as implying the orthodox or unitarians. This man's disciples were by this time become so numerous and zealous, as to enable him to raise a revolt against the *Al Moravides*; and, assisted by the *Muzamadans*, waged a long and bloody war against them, and conquered the greatest part of the country; but were at length reduced by another branch of the *Zeneti*, called the *Benemerini*; who were, in their turn, subdued by the *Benistares*, another branch and dynasty of the same tribe; which was at length driven out of *Tingitania* by the Sharifs of *Morocco*, as we shall shew in a subsequent volume.

Thus much we thought necessary to premise in this general-account of *Africa*, in order to give our readers a distinct view of the several nations and governments to which this large <sup>How and by</sup> tract of it hath been subjected, during this epoch, and by what means and steps it hath gra- <sup>what steps</sup> dually settled itself in that variety of states and kingdoms in which we now see it. From whence <sup>settled into</sup> it appears, that whatever names each successive branch hath thought fit to assume, in order to obtain or secure their government, as *Al Moravides* and *Al Mohedes*, they all sprung from <sup>their present</sup> some of the five *Zenetian* tribes mentioned in the last note, especially from the three first; and as for the two last, viz. the *Gomerite* and *Hoarezan*, though they have not erected themselves into eminent monarchies, yet they have enjoyed their own respective governments, under their own chiefs, in several considerable provinces, since the declension of the *Arabic* power; and are equally of the same *Arabic* extract as those Cheyks which had preceded them during the <sup>various forms.</sup> khalifat. It will also appear, that the three first of these tribes have not only spread their conquests from one end to the other of the *Barbary* coast, but have likewise enlarged them in the inland much farther than ever the *Romans* did: all which will be more amply shewn in our general history of *Barbary*, in a subsequent volume.

HAVING now gone through every material point, which relates to the general history of this <sup>The order and</sup> vast continent, we shall proceed to the particular one of each empire and state contained in it, in <sup>course of the</sup> the most distinct and regular order that it is possible for us to observe in so spacious a field; <sup>su' sequent</sup> beginning first with that of *Egypt*, as nearest to that of *Asiatic Turkey*, from whence we set out. <sup>African his-</sup> It was our intention to proceed through those of *Nubia* and *Libya*, and enter into that ancient and extensive tract of the *Abissinian* empire, and smaller kingdoms tributary or adjacent to it: thence, continuing our course eastward to the *Cape of Gardafuy*, the utmost *Afri-* *can* verge on that side, to take in all those states which are along the coast of the *Red* *Sea*, and *Streights of Babelmandel*. Then turning our course south-ward along the coasts of *Ajan*, *Zanguebar*, down to the *Cape of Good Hope*, we proposed to take in every king- dom, not only on that coast, but those in the inland, especially the most considerable and best known to us (the rest being hardly so, but by their names and uncertain situations); afterwards double the cape, and begin a new course northwards along the western side, on which lie, among others of inferior note, the kingdoms of *Angola*, *Kongo*, and *Loango*, and some of the most considerable settlements and conquests of the *Portuguese*, extending themselves to the *Rio de les Macarons*, or *Crab River*; besides some remarkable inland kingdoms contiguous to them, of which we shall likewise take notice in their course. From the mouth of the said *Crab River* extends the coast of *Guiney*, or the *Golden Coast*, through which runs the famed and most advantageous river of *Senega*; and on the north side of it the country called

<sup>s</sup> Vide & MARMOL, GRAMMAY, LEO AFRICANUS, lib. i. c. 9 & 10.  
& al. sup. citat.

<sup>n</sup> LEO, GRAMMAY, MARMOL,



*Nigritia*; or *Negroland*, and the vast desert of *Sarah*, where begins the empire of *Morocco* and *Fez*, on the most western verge of the *Barbary* coast. Whence, steering directly eastward along the *Mediterranean* coast, by the states of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and in the inland, the *Biledulgerid*, our last stage will be through the desert of *Barca*, which extends itself to the confines of the *Egyptian* kingdom, whence we at first marked out the route we designed to take thro' this history, and where of course our next chapter is now to begin. Such was our purposed route, from which we have been obliged to deviate a little, by the difficulty of finding some materials for certain articles, which, however, we shall insert in another part of the work.

*End of the FIFTH VOLUME.*